

# **Iran-Contra Conspirators**

**1987 drawings  
by Trudy Myrrh Reagan**



# Introduction

These portraits are shown in the order of appearance. They are all 9 x 12", done in pencil. After 26 years, I had forgotten who many of them were, so I researched them. Presented here is more information on each person than came out in the hearings.

In 1973, I had drawn the participants in the Watergate hearings while watching television to amuse myself. These 1987 hearings were different. Viewers were confused, for the dirty deals were much more convoluted than Watergate, hard to reduce to sound bites. The adroit obfuscations of Adm. Poindexter, and patriotic pronouncements of Col. Oliver North, playing on anti-Communist sentiment felt by both the Congress and the public, diverted the public outrage that had fueled Watergate.

I was also different: I had a personal connection with the subject. Central America was in turmoil. Besides the long-running civil war in Guatemala, the rest of Central America was caught in Cold War proxy wars. The USSR was helping Nicaragua, which had overthrown a right-wing strongman. The United States supported counterrevolutionary Nicaraguans to try to regain power. They were known as the Contras, using CIA bases in Honduras and Costa Rica. Moreover, the US was propping up an anti-Communist, virulently right-wing government in El Salvador.

In 1983, Salvadoran refugees had made their way to East Palo Alto, three miles from me. A year later I hired one of these families. They told me of horrendous tortures, assassinations, and massacres against their peasant communities. Through them, the activities of my Quaker congregation, and a group of churches calling themselves "South Bay Sanctuary Covenant," I heard personal testimonies about this that made my flesh crawl. (Eventually, 500 churches nationwide would join to offer not only material support to refugees, but strive to change US policy).

The refugees became a conduit for news absent from mainstream media. The blackout of news I already knew about shocked me. I was impelled to do an art series in 1986-7, No Puedo Decir Lo Peor, (I can't tell you the very worst), about the El Salvador struggle.

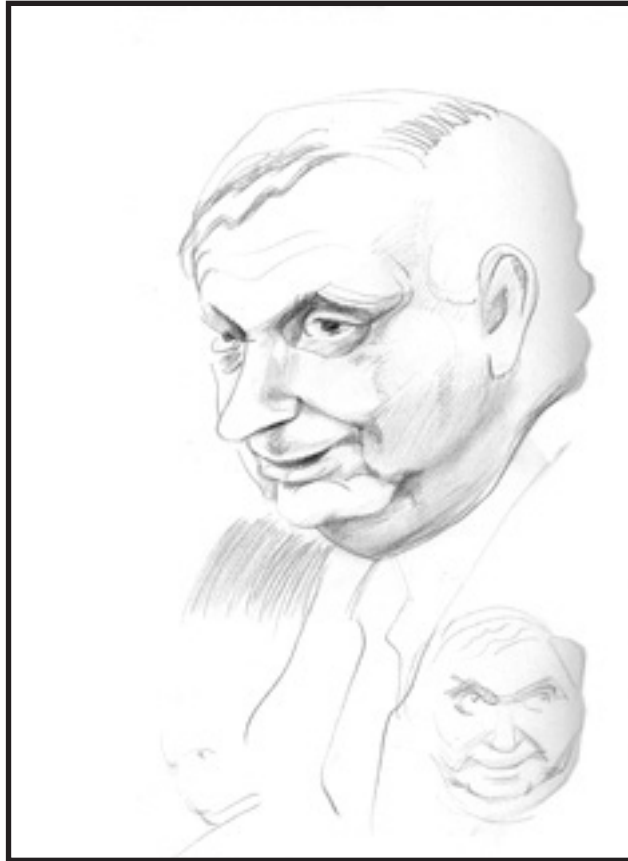
I had an opportunity to meet the Sanctuary Seven in Tucson. They were convicted of illegally protecting border-crossers. At the trial the judge forbade telling how the refugees came seeking asylum, as a result of the US "low intensity warfare" in their home countries. Also in attendance was the Quaker, Jim Corbett, who had been among the very first in Arizona to try to rescue them.

1987 found me at Quaker Center in Ben Lomand, CA, to hear Jim Corbett speak. A friend of his, former seminarian Bill Cane, showed a videotape about a case being brought against the administration by the Christic Institute. Reporter Tony Averigan, injured during a CIA assassination attempt on an uncooperative Contra leader, sued, hoping to expose what he himself had learned about the Contra operation. Part of the evidence in the video was something that sickened me: that secret planes supplying the Contras with weapons often returned full of cocaine to sell on American streets—beginning the destructive crack epidemic in our big cities.

The Iran-Contra hearings, I hoped, would lay out all the skulduggery to Americans to see for themselves on television. I hoped this would stop the activities dead. Boy, was I naïve!

—Trudy Myrrh Reagan, 2013

## Arthur L. Liman



### **Chief Counsel for the Iran-Contra Committee**

He saw Iran-contra as a deliberate effort to conduct foreign policy in secret by using a private organization motivated by profit and accountable to no one. He used his experience as a brilliant prosecuting attorney to elicit information.



## Richard V. Secord



Ex-Air Force major general and CIA agent, he co-founded Stanford Technology Trading Group International (STTGI) with Albert Hakim in 1983. It was a complex web of for-profit business entities and non-profit front organizations that they nicknamed The Enterprise. It arranged the Iran arms sales and Contra aid.

He pleaded guilty in November 1989 to making false statements to Congress and sentenced to two years of probation. But later, the elder President Bush, who was CIA Director 1976 to 1977, pardoned him.

## Richard Secord in a 1987 interview



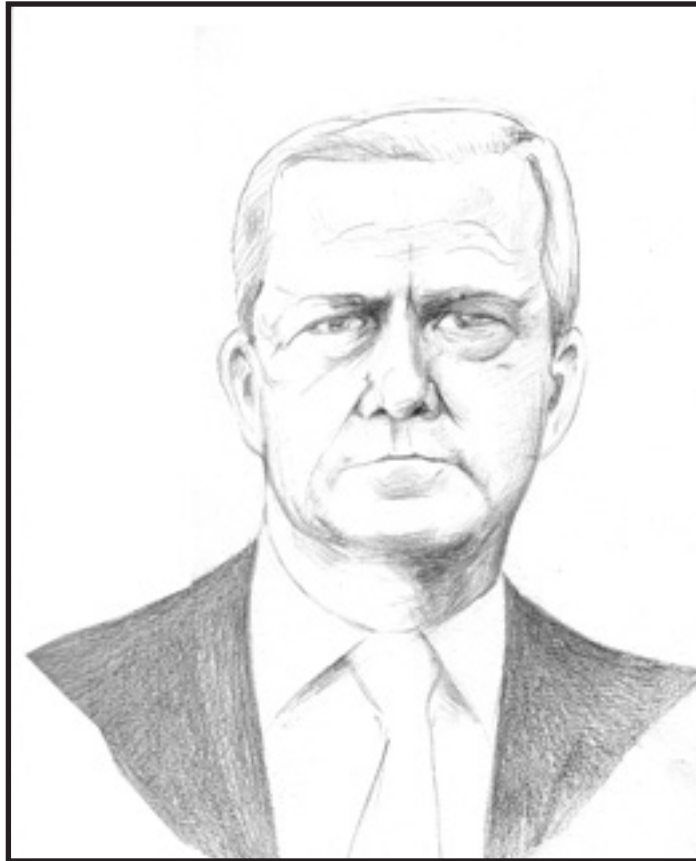
(CIA Director, William Casey, liked “Off-the-shelf, stand-alone, self-sustaining” entities like The Enterprise. They were often formed from personnel who had left the agency during the reform period under President Carter. The covert ops uncovered by the Church Commission didn’t die, they metastasized.)

At Casey’s insistence, two people, Manuchur Ghorbanifar and Secord, were placed in key roles, although Agency leaders considered them to be unreliable.

Casey died of brain cancer just as the investigation began.

Ghobanifar’s fallacious intelligence would later tempt the U.S. into the 2003 Iraq war.

## Robert McFarlane



National Security Advisor under Reagan.

Iran, in the midst of war with Iraq, made a secret request to buy U.S. TOW missiles. McFarlane thought he would be dealing with, and strengthen, moderates in Iran. Reagan thought the deal would spring 3 hostages. Both were disappointed. And, technically, they were illegally trading with an enemy and violating an embargo. McFarlane had doubts, and resigned December 1985. But, he was replaced by Poindexter, and the affair got deeper, involving Nicaragua. In all, 1,500 missiles were sold to Iran.

He survived a suicide attempt.  
He was later charged, but then pardoned by the elder President Bush.

## Gaston Sigur



In 1986, became Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. At that moment, Oliver North, in charge of aid to the counterrevolutionaries (the Contras) in Nicaragua, was hard put to do this because of the Boland Amendment passed by Congress in 1982 (later amended twice) forbidding this.

North obtained Sigur's help in finding some funds from the Sultan of Brunei through his Asian connections. Due to Fawn Hall mistyping Oliver North's Swiss bank account number, the transaction did not go through.

## Robert Owen



Robert Owen testified that, as a courier between Colonel North and contra leaders, he carried envelopes full of cash from a White House safe, CIA maps and Colonel North's tactical advice about military strikes.

It was he who introduced Oliver North to John Hull, an American rancher in northern Costa Rica, who would allow Contra airplanes to make his airstrip a major transshipment point for military supplies and drugs.

## John K. Singlaub



According to [Wikipedia](#), he was a founding member of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). A WW II hero, he headed CIA operations in postwar Manchuria during the Chinese Communist revolution, led troops in the Korean War, managed the secret war along the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Vietnam, and worked with the Contras in Nicaragua.

Singlaub was President Reagan's administrative chief liaison in the so-called 'private' Contra supply effort. Through his chairmanship of the world Anti-Communist League (WACL) and its U.S. chapter, the U.S. Council for World Freedom (USCWF), he enlisted paramilitary groups, foreign governments, and American conservatives in the Contra cause.

(He struck the artist as an anti-communist fanatic.)

## Adolfo Calero



Leader of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, one of three groups trying to overthrow the left-wing Sandinista government in Nicaragua. He managed the bank accounts that received deposits by Oliver North and others.

## Robert Dutton



Retired Air Force colonel. He ran a private group that airdropped weapons and medical supplies to the Contras.

On October 5, 1986, Nicaragua shot down one of its airplanes and captured Eugene Hassenfus, whose capture exposed the Contra supply operation to the American public.



## Felix Rodriguez



A CIA employee, born in Cuba, participant in The Bay of Pigs. During Vietnam, he was involved in moving heroin supplies from Laos to the US. Selling drugs financed covert CIA operations. During the Contra operation in Nicaragua, he managed the shipments of cocaine to the U.S., again, to raise money.

(Whenever the televised testimony veered toward this subject, Chairman Inouye would call a closed session for national security reasons. The report of the Kerry Committee Hearings in 1986, which uncovered the drug operation, would not be published until 1989.

Politically, it would have been explosive, for the crack cocaine epidemic that followed did tremendous harm to low income neighborhoods in our cities. It might have implicated George H.W. Bush, who claimed he was "out of the loop". What a shame Americans didn't know!)

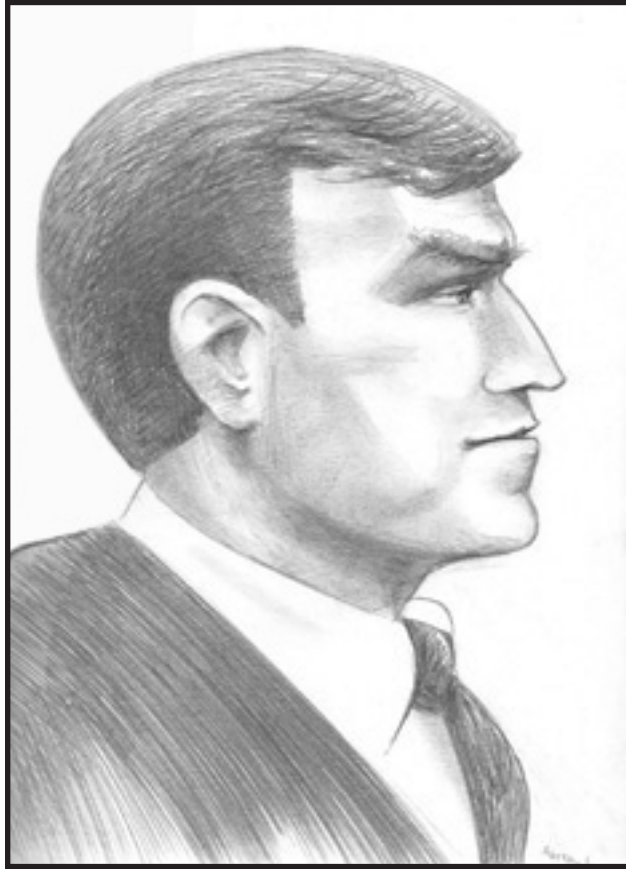
## Lewis Tambs



In July, 1985, as Lewis A. Tambs moved into his new job as U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica, he told colleagues: "I really have only one mission: to open a southern front for the contras."

—Los Angeles Times, June 9, 1987

## Elliot Abrams



The Boland amendment, 1984, explicitly enjoined Reagan from supporting those seeking to overthrow the Nicaragua government. Abrams was Reagan's advocate to get congress to modify this. One month after his appointment in August 1985, it was amended to allow humanitarian aid to the Contras. Abrams also sought aid from Brunei for weapons. Oliver North had an operation to use profits from the price gouging on the TOW missiles sold to Iran for weapons to the Contras as well, working with Felix Rodriguez. Rodriguez shipped both humanitarian and lethal aid. Abrams was well aware of this.

On October 7, 1991, Abrams pleaded guilty to withholding from congressional committees in October 1986 his knowledge of North's contra-assistance activities. Later he was pardoned by the elder President Bush.

## Albert Hakim



Co-conspirator in The Enterprise with Richard Secord. He was an Iranian-born American citizen, he described himself as a businessman with a clear profit motive in The Enterprise. He also arranged illegal gratuities given to North in order to use North's Government office to serve his own money-making interests.

Like Secord, he was charged with concealing the size of his personal profits for tax purposes. Later he was pardoned by the elder President Bush.

## Bretton Sciaroni



Drafter of the legal opinion saying that a ban on aid to the Nicaraguan rebels did not apply to the National Security Council, one often cited by President Reagan. He was a novice lawyer who acknowledged failing the bar exam four times.

Mr. Sciaroni said he had exonerated his friend, Colonel North, after asking him in a five-minute interview whether he was engaged in any illegal activities.

## Fawn Hall



The scandal was compounded when Oliver North destroyed or hid pertinent documents between November 21 and November 25, 1986. During North's trial in 1989, his secretary, Fawn Hall, testified extensively about helping North alter, shred, and remove official United States National Security Council (NSC) documents from the White House.

According to the New York Times, enough documents were put into a government shredder to jam it.

## Oliver North



North portrayed himself as a victim of the Committee and gained enormous public support. Nevertheless, Chief Counsel Liman's gifted questioning exposed high crimes. As Liman wrote in his memoirs, North testified "that Casey had been proud to get the Ayatollah Khomeini's money to support American interests in Nicaragua, that North had written the five memoranda to Poindexter [about this], and that they were intended for the president. He also repeated his testimony about lying to Congress and shredding documents, and he blamed Congress for creating Iran-Contra by passing laws against aid to the contras, not the administration for evading those laws. His testimony... was a stark rejection of basic constitutional principles."

## John Poindexter



Served as assistant to National Security Adviser Robert “Bud” McFarlane. In 1986, he became NSA himself. Counsel Liman wrote: “He had briefed the president every morning on matters affecting national security. Among the topics were the missile sales to Iran and the secret support of the contras. Continuing, from Liman’s memoirs: “[Pondexter testified regarding papers that he destroyed:] ‘ I think that it’s always the responsibility of the staff to protect their leader, and certainly in this case, where the leader is the commander in chief, I feel very strongly ‘. . .The implications were obvious. If Poindexter saw it as his duty to destroy an official record to protect the president from political embarrassment, where did that sense of duty stop? How could we believe anything he’d told us [especially with respect to shielding Reagan from Iran–Contra knowledge]?”



## Edward Meece



As Attorney General, Meece was asked in January 1986 to write a legal opinion that the secret arms sales to Iran were legal, in spite of the embargo. On November 3, 1986 Lebanese newspaper, Al-Shiraa, reported the U.S. sold arms to Iran. On November 25, Meece press conference revealed the diversion of funds from Iran arms sales to the Contras, speaking carefully to cover up the extent of the plot. On the same day, Poindexter resigned and North was fired.

## Don Regan



Donald T. Regan became White House chief of staff in February 1985. President Reagan delegated authority more than most presidents, giving Don Regan more power than most chiefs of staff.

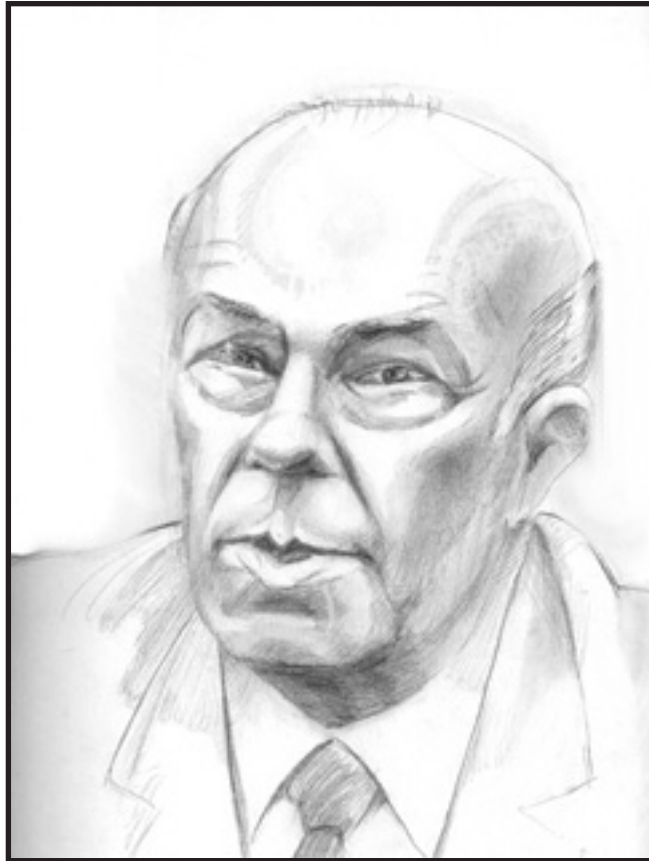
CIA Director William Casey went to him, behind Secretary of State George Shultz's back, to persuade the President to let the CIA handle any policy toward Iran. Regan controlled access to the President, oversaw his schedule, attended daily national security briefings and meetings of the top officials to plan how to deal with the Iran Contra scandal and the public. Ultimately, this was a public relations disaster, and Regan resigned in November 1987.

## Casper Weinberger



Reagan's Secretary of Defense.  
Together with Secretary George Shultz, he vehemently opposed the arms-for-hostages deal with Iran.

## George Shultz



High-level meetings were held at the White House first on December 7, 1985, then on January 7, 1986, where the arms-for-hostages deal was laid out. Weinberger and Schultz thought their strenuous opposition had squelched it, not realizing that the covert operation had already begun. Schultz recalled later, "It almost seemed unreal," he recalled. "I couldn't believe that people would want to do this... I went away puzzled and distressed" you look at the structure of this deal—it's pathetic that anybody would agree to anything like that. It's so lopsided. It's crazy." A principled public servant, he was very offended by the lies and secrecy surrounding it.



Sen. Warren Rudman (R)

*Rudman  
not a trial - try up  
to find out  
what happened*



Broomfield



Sen. James McClure (R)



*Hyde*  
Rep. Henry Hyde (R)



Rep. Tom Foley (D) ?

**Senate and Congressional Members of  
Iran-Contra Hearings Committee  
(except where noted)**

Television cameras showed fleeting  
glimpses of them, too brief for  
a detailed sketch.

What follows are eight pages of cameo  
sketches to document their presence.



Sen. Orrin Hatch (R)

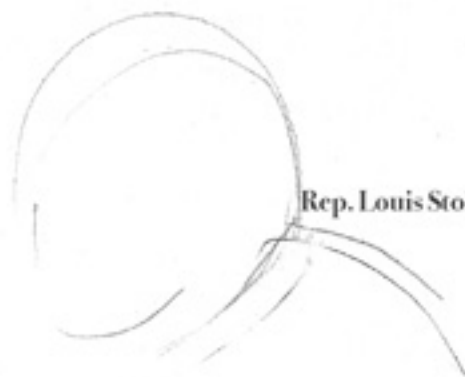


Sen. George Mitchell (D)



*Hamilton*

Rep. Lee Hamilton (D)



Rep. Louis Stokes (D)



*Stokes*



Sen. Sam Nunn (D)

*Nunn*



Sen. William Cohen (R)

*Cohen*



Rep. Lois Stokes (D)

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Sen. Howell Heflin (D)

*Heflin*



Sen. Bill McCollum (R)

*McCollum*



Joseph Coors testifying that  
he donated \$65,000 for a small  
cargo plane at the behest of  
CIA Director William Casey  
and Col. Oliver North.

Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D)

*Sarbanes*



*Rudman*

Sen. Warren Rudman (R)



*Nunn*

Sen. Sam Nunn (D)



*Coors*







*Cheney*

Rep. Dick Cheney (R)  
arguing for the primacy  
of executive privilege.



*Sarbanes*

Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D)



Sen. Daniel Inouye (D)



*Inouye*

Sen. Alan Simpson (R)



*Cohen*

Sen. William Cohen (R)



*Heflin*

Sen. Howell Heflin (D)



Sen. Jim Courter (R)



Senator George Mitchell (D) *mittell*



Sen. James McClure (R)

*McClure*



Rep. Edward Boland  
whose ammendment to the  
Appropriations bill forbad  
funding any aid to the Contras.

Elliot Abrams testifying  
about his role in the scandal:  
"I learned there was such a  
thing as being too clever."



elliott abrams

I learned that  
was such a thing  
as "being too  
clever"

Sen. Les Aspin (D)

aspin



Foley

Rep. Tom Foley (D)



Rudman

Sen. Warren Rudman (R)  
asks "Did you also learn that  
zealots cannot be trusted?"

Did you also  
learn  
that  
zealots  
cannot be  
trusted?  
"yes"



Sen. Daniel Inouye (D)

Daniel Schoor  
observed:  
"Hell hath no fury  
like a compass scorned"

Rodino



**Rep. Peter Rodino (D)**, who was also chairman of the impeachment hearings in 1974 that resulted in Nixon's resignation.

Sarbanes



**Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D)**

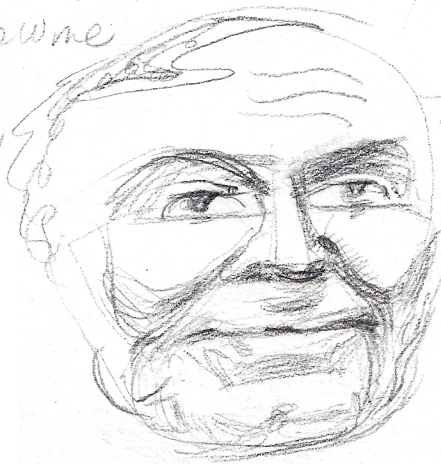
McClure

**Sen. James McClure (R)**

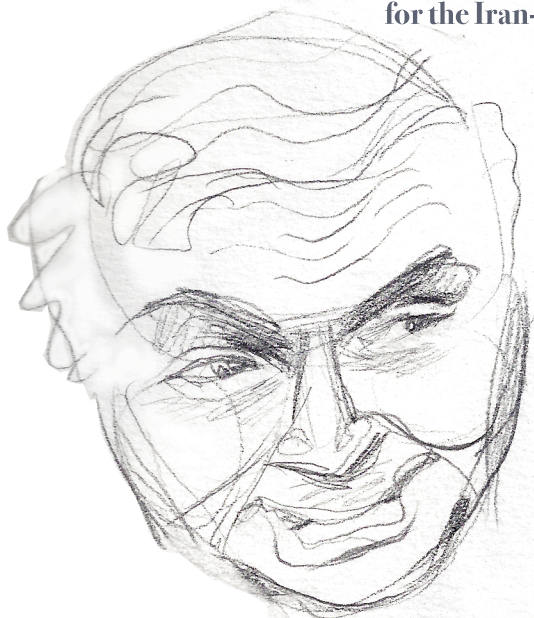
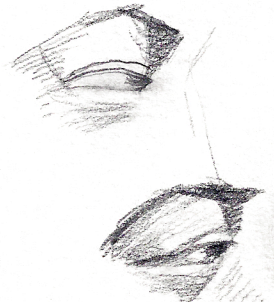


**Rep. Mike DeWine**

DeWine



**Arthur Liman, Chief Counsel  
for the Iran-Contra Committee**



## Conclusion

Rep. Jack Brooks (D, TX), ending his questioning of Oliver North, declared, "We have been supplying lethal weapons to terrorist nations, trading arms for hostages, involving the U. S. Government in military activities in direct contravention of the law, diverting public funds into private pockets and secret unofficial activities, selling access to the president for thousands of dollars, dispensing cash and foreign money orders out of a White House safe, accepting gifts and falsifying papers to cover it up, altering and shredding national security documents, and lying to Congress. Now I believe that the American people understand that democracy cannot survive that kind of abuse."

To these, Peter Kornbluh added on November 11, 2011:

"White House bribes to various generals in Honduras, illegal propaganda and psychological operations directed by the CIA against the U.S. press and public, collaboration with drug kingpins such as Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega, and violating the checks and balances of the constitution."

Theodore Draper wrote at the time,

"If ever the constitutional democracy of the United States is overthrown, we now have a better idea of how this is likely to be done."





“Ollie North”

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