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Last Updated: 11/14/2023

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ID # 483531 CU

WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

00071

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

Peter

Name of Correspondent: Pick Griffith

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Requests information re Iran

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>Cur Hall</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>87103111</u>			<u>87104114</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>for JBS</u>			
<u>Cur AT 31-</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>87103112</u>			<u>87104114</u>
	Referral Note:				
<u>Cur AT 29</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>87104114</u>	<u>JS</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>87104114</u>
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ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comment/Recommendation
- D - Draft Response
- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure
- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: _____

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: L Individual Codes: 4000 _____

Prime Subject Code: CD 071 Secondary Subject Codes: CD 114
FD 003.02 _____

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P- _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

SIGNATURE CODES:

- CPn - Presidential Correspondence**
- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
- n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
- n - 3 - Ron
- n - 4 - Dutch
- n - 5 - Ron Reagan
- n - 6 - Ronald
- n - 7 - Ronnie

- CLn - First Lady's Correspondence**
- n - 0 - Unknown
- n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Nancy
- n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan

- CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence**
- n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
- n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

MEDIA CODES:

- B - Box/package
- C - Copy
- D - Official document
- G - Message
- H - Handcarried
- L - Letter
- M - Mailgram
- O - Memo
- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

JBS/PDK:jck
JBStephens
PDKeisler
Chron.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
APR 14 1987

Dear Mr. Griffith:

Thank you for your recent letter, in which you requested a copy of the United States Constitution and information pertaining to the work done by the President's Special Review Board (the "Tower Commission"). We have enclosed a copy of the Constitution. With respect to the Report of the President's Special Review Board, copies may be ordered from the Government Printing Office. Its address and phone number are:

Government Printing Office
710 North Capitol Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20401
(202) 275-3648

We hope this proves helpful to you.

Sincerely,

ORIGINAL SIGNED BY J.B.S.

Jay B. Stephens
Deputy Counsel to the President

Mr. Rick Griffith
428 South Broadway
Apt. E
Tyler, Texas 75702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 14, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR JAY B. STEPHENS

FROM: PETER D. KEISLER *PK*
SUBJECT: Correspondence from Mr. Rick Griffith

Mr. Rick Griffith writes to request:

- (1) "copies of the hearings on the Tower Commission;"
- (2) "White House Historical Sheets of Iran-Contra Affair;"
and
- (3) the Constitution.

He has not framed his letter as a Freedom of Information Act request.

Attached for your review and signature is a draft letter in response. With respect to requests (1) and (2), the response explains how Mr. Griffith may order a copy of the Report of the President's Special Review Board from the Government Printing Office. With respect to request (3), a copy of the Constitution is enclosed.

Attachments

DEAR, Hon. Counsel Wambon:

I AM WRITING TO REQUEST INFORMATION PERTINENT TO THE TRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR. ALL ASSISTANCE WILL BE APPRECIATED VERY MUCH. NEEDED PLEASE:

- (I) PLEASE ADD MY NAME TO THE LIST TO RECEIVE COPIES OF THE HEARINGS ON THE TOWER COMMISSION.
- (II) PLEASE SEND THE WHITE HOUSE HISTORICAL SHEETS OF TRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR. (NSC)
- (III) PLEASE SEND THE SEND THE LOCATION IN WHICH POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT AND ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS.

THANKS VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND ASSISTANCE, THIS WILL BE A GREAT ASSET TO MY STUDY AND PRINT LIBRARY.

SINCERELY

RICK GRIFFITH

428 SO. BROADWAY, APT. E

TYLER, TEXAS 75702

AGAIN THANKS —

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—1787¹

WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of

the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

²Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall be Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Dela-

¹In May, 1785, a committee of Congress made a report recommending an alteration in the Articles of Confederation, but no action was taken on it, and it was left to the State Legislatures to proceed in the matter. In January, 1786, the Legislature of Virginia passed a resolution providing for the appointment of five commissioners, who, or any three of them, should meet such commissioners as might be appointed in the other States of the Union, at a time and place to be agreed upon, to take into consideration the trade of the United States; to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interest and their permanent harmony; and to report to the several States such an act, relative to this great object, as, when ratified by them, will enable the United States in Congress effectually to provide for the same. The Virginia commissioners, after some correspondence, fixed the first Monday in September as the time, and the city of Annapolis as the place for the meeting, but only four other States were represented, viz: Delaware, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; the commissioners appointed by Massachusetts, New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Rhode Island failed to attend. Under the circumstances of so partial a representation, the commissioners present agreed upon a report, (drawn by Mr. Hamilton, of New York,) expressing their unanimous conviction that it might essentially tend to advance the interests of the Union if the States by which they were respectively delegated would concur, and use their endeavors to procure the concurrence of the other States, in the appointment of commissioners to meet at Philadelphia on the Second Monday of May following, to take into consideration the situation of the United States; to devise such further provisions as should appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union; and to report such an act for that purpose to the United States in Congress assembled as, when agreed to by them and afterwards confirmed by the Legislatures of every State, would effectually provide for the same.

Congress, on the 21st of February, 1787, adopted a

resolution in favor of a convention, and the Legislatures of those States which had not already done so (with the exception of Rhode Island) promptly appointed delegates. On the 25th of May, seven States having convened, George Washington, of Virginia, was unanimously elected President, and the consideration of the proposed constitution was commenced. On the 17th of September, 1787, the Constitution as engrossed and agreed upon was signed by all the members present, except Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts, and Messrs. Mason and Randolph, of Virginia. The president of the convention transmitted it to Congress, with a resolution stating how the proposed Federal Government should be put in operation, and an explanatory letter. Congress, on the 28th of September, 1787, directed the Constitution so framed, with the resolutions and letter concerning the same, to "be transmitted to the several Legislatures in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each State by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention."

On the 4th of March, 1789, the day which had been fixed for commencing the operations of Government under the new Constitution, it had been ratified by the conventions chosen in each State to consider it, as follows: Delaware, December 7, 1787; Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787; New Jersey, December 18, 1787; Georgia, January 2, 1788; Connecticut, January 9, 1788; Massachusetts, February 6, 1788; Maryland, April 28, 1788; South Carolina, May 23, 1788; New Hampshire, June 21, 1788; Virginia, June 25, 1788; and New York, July 26, 1788.

The President informed Congress, on the 28th of January, 1790, that North Carolina had ratified the Constitution November 21, 1789; and he informed Congress on the 1st of June, 1790, that Rhode Island had ratified the Constitution May 29, 1790. Vermont, in convention, ratified the Constitution January 10, 1791, and was, by an act of Congress approved February 18, 1791, "received and admitted into this Union as a new and entire member of the United States."

²This clause has been affected by the 14th and 16th amendments, pp. LII, LIII.

ware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

SECTION 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States; but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SECTION 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

³This section has been affected by the 17th amendment, p. LIII.

⁴This section has been affected by the 20th amendment, p. LIV.

SECTION 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approves he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their

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Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case
it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which
the Concurrence of the Senate and House of
Representatives may be necessary (except on a
question of Adjournment) shall be presented to
the President of the United States; and before
the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved
by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be
repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House
of Representatives, according to the Rules and
Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have Power To
lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Ex-
cises, to pay the Debts and provide for the
common Defence and general Welfare of the
United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Ex-
cises shall be uniform throughout the United
States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United
States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations,
and among the several States, and with the
Indian Tribes;

To establish a uniform Rule of Naturaliza-
tion, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bank-
ruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof,
and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of
Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counter-
feiting the Securities and current Coin of the
United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and
useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to
Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to
their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the su-
preme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies
committed on the high Seas, and Offences
against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and
Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures
on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appro-
priation of Money to that Use shall be for a
longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Reg-
ulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to ex-
ecute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrec-
tions and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disci-
plining, the Militia, and for governing such
Part of them as may be employed in the Service
of the United States, reserving to the States re-
spectively, the Appointment of the Officers,
and the Authority of training the Militia ac-
cording to the discipline prescribed by Con-
gress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases
whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding
ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particu-
lar States, and the Acceptance of Congress,
become the Seat of the Government of the
United States, and to exercise like Authority
over all Places purchased by the Consent of the
Legislature of the State in which the Same
shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines,

Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Build-
ings:—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary
and proper for carrying into Execution the
foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested
by this Constitution in the Government of the
United States, or in any Department or Officer
thereof.

SECTION 9. The Migration or Importation of
such Persons as any of the States now existing
shall think proper to admit, shall not be pro-
hibited by the Congress prior to the Year one
thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or
duty may be imposed on such Importation, not
exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus
shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of
Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may re-
quire it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law
shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be
laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enu-
meration herein before directed to be taken.*

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles ex-
ported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regula-
tion of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of
one State over those of another: nor shall Ves-
sels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to
enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury,
but in Consequence of Appropriations made by
Law; and a regular Statement and Account of
the Receipts and Expenditures of all public
Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the
United States: And no Person holding any
Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall,
without the Consent of the Congress, accept of
any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of
any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or
foreign State.

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any
Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Let-
ters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit
Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and
silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass
any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law
impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant
any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the
Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports
or Exports, except what may be absolutely nec-
essary for executing it's inspection Laws: and
the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid
by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be
for the Use of the Treasury of the United
States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the
Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Con-
gress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or
Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any
Agreement or Compact with another State, or
with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless
actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger
as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The executive Power shall be

*This clause has been affected by the 16th amend-
ment, p. LIII.

vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the Same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

"The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

*This clause has been affected by the 12th amendment, p. LI.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation: which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

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SECTION 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on

*This section has been affected by the 11th amendment, p. LI.

Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.*

SECTION 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

*This clause was affected by the 13th amendment, p. LI.

ARTICLE VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. IN WITNESS whereof we have hereunto subscribed our Names,

Go. WASHINGTON—*Presid'*
and deputy from Virginia

Attest WILLIAM JACKSON *Secretary*

New Hampshire

JOHN LANGDON NICHOLAS GILMAN

Massachusetts

NATHANIEL GORHAM RUFUS KING

Connecticut

WM. SAML. JOHNSON ROGER SHERMAN

New York

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

New Jersey

WIL. LIVINGSTON WM. PATERSON.
DAVID BREARLEY. JONA. DAYTON

Pennsylvania

B. FRANKLIN THOS. FITZSIMONS
THOMAS MIFFLIN JARED INGERSOLL
ROBT. MORRIS JAMES WILSON.
GEO. CLYMER GOUV. MORRIS

Delaware

GEO. READ RICHARD BASSETT
GUNNING BEDFORD jun JACO. BROOM
JOHN DICKINSON

Maryland

JAMES MCHENRY DANL. CARROLL.
DAN OF ST. THOS.
JENIFER

Virginia

JOHN BLAIR— JAMES MADISON Jr.

North Carolina

WM. BLOUNT HU. WILLIAMSON
RICHD. DOBBS SPAIGHT.

South Carolina

J. RUTLEDGE CHARLES PINCKNEY
CHARLES COTESWORTH PIERCE BUTLER.
PINCKNEY

Georgia

WILLIAM FEW ABR. BALDWIN

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVER-

AL STATES, PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE [I.]*

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE [II.]

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE [III.]

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE [IV.]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE [V.]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE [VI.]

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his

*The first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States were proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the First Congress, on the 25th of September, 1789. They were ratified by the following States, and the notifications of ratification by the governors thereof were successively communicated by the President to Congress: New Jersey, November 20, 1789; Maryland, December 19, 1789; North Carolina, December 22, 1789; South Carolina, January 19, 1790; New Hampshire, January 25, 1790; Delaware, January 28, 1790; New York, February 24, 1790; Pennsylvania, March 10, 1790; Rhode Island, June 7, 1790; Vermont, November 3, 1791, and Virginia, December 15, 1791. The amendments were subsequently ratified by the legislatures of Massachusetts, March 2, 1939; Georgia, March 18, 1939; and Connecticut, April 19, 1939.

favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE [VII.]

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE [VIII.]

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE [IX.]

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE [X.]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

[ARTICLE XI.]

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

The eleventh amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Third Congress, on the 4th of March 1794; and was declared in a message from the President to Congress, dated the 8th of January, 1798, to have been ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States. The dates of ratification were: New York, March 27, 1794; Rhode Island, March 31, 1794; Connecticut, May 8, 1794; New Hampshire, June 16, 1794; Massachusetts, June 26, 1794; Vermont, between October 9, 1794 and November 9, 1794; Virginia, November 18, 1794; Georgia, November 29, 1794; Kentucky, December 7, 1794; Maryland, December 26, 1794; Delaware, January 23, 1795; North Carolina, February 7, 1795.

Ratification was completed on February 7, 1795.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by South Carolina on December 4, 1797. New Jersey and Pennsylvania did not take action on the amendment.

[ARTICLE XII.]¹⁰

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—

¹⁰This amendment was affected by the 20th amendment, § 3, p. LIII.

The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

The twelfth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Eighth Congress, on the 9th of December, 1803, in lieu of the original third paragraph of the first section of the second article; and was declared in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 25th of September, 1804, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 13 of the 17 States. The dates of ratification were: North Carolina, December 21, 1803; Maryland, December 24, 1803; Kentucky, December 27, 1803; Ohio, December 30, 1803; Pennsylvania, January 5, 1804; Vermont, January 30, 1804; Virginia, February 3, 1804; New York, February 10, 1804; New Jersey, February 22, 1804; Rhode Island, March 12, 1804; South Carolina, May 15, 1804; Georgia, May 19, 1804; New Hampshire, June 15, 1804.

Ratification was completed on June 15, 1804.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Tennessee, July 27, 1804.

The amendment was rejected by Delaware, January 18, 1804; Massachusetts, February 3, 1804; Connecticut, at its session begun May 10, 1804.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Thirty-eighth Congress, on the 31st day of January, 1865, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 18th of December, 1865, to have been ratified by the legislatures of twenty-seven of the thirty-six States. The

dates of ratification were: Illinois, February 1, 1865; Rhode Island, February 2, 1865; Michigan, February 2, 1865; Maryland, February 3, 1865; New York, February 3, 1865; Pennsylvania, February 3, 1865; West Virginia, February 3, 1865; Missouri, February 6, 1865; Maine, February 7, 1865; Kansas, February 7, 1865; Massachusetts, February 7, 1865; Virginia, February 9, 1865; Ohio, February 10, 1865; Indiana, February 13, 1865; Nevada, February 16, 1865; Louisiana, February 17, 1865; Minnesota, February 23, 1865; Wisconsin, February 24, 1865; Vermont, March 9, 1865; Tennessee, April 7, 1865; Arkansas, April 14, 1865; Connecticut, May 4, 1865; New Hampshire, July 1, 1865; South Carolina, November 13, 1865; Alabama, December 2, 1865; North Carolina, December 4, 1865; Georgia, December 6, 1865.

Ratification was completed on December 6, 1865.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Oregon, December 8, 1865; California, December 19, 1865; Florida, December 28, 1865 (Florida again ratified on June 9, 1868, upon its adoption of a new constitution); Iowa, January 15, 1866; New Jersey, January 23, 1866 (after having rejected the amendment on March 16, 1865); Texas, February 18, 1870; Delaware, February 12, 1901 (after having rejected the amendment on February 8, 1865); Kentucky, March 18, 1876 (after having rejected it on February 24, 1865).

The amendment was rejected (and not subsequently ratified) by Mississippi, December 4, 1865.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including

debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Thirty-ninth Congress, on the 13th of June, 1866. It was declared, in a certificate of the Secretary of State dated July 28, 1868 to have been ratified by the legislatures of 28 of the 37 States. The dates of ratification were: Connecticut, June 25, 1866; New Hampshire, July 6, 1866; Tennessee, July 19, 1866; New Jersey, September 11, 1866 (subsequently the legislature rescinded its ratification, and on March 5, 1868, readopted its resolution of rescission over the Governor's veto); Oregon, September 19, 1866 (and rescinded its ratification on October 15, 1868); Vermont, October 30, 1866; Ohio, January 4, 1867 (and rescinded its ratification on January 15, 1868); New York, January 10, 1867; Kansas, January 11, 1867; Illinois, January 15, 1867; West Virginia, January 16, 1867; Michigan, January 16, 1867; Minnesota, January 16, 1867; Maine, January 19, 1867; Nevada, January 22, 1867; Indiana, January 23, 1867; Missouri, January 25, 1867; Rhode Island, February 7, 1867; Wisconsin, February 7, 1867; Pennsylvania, February 12, 1867; Massachusetts, March 20, 1867; Nebraska, June 15, 1867; Iowa, March 16, 1868; Arkansas, April 6, 1868; Florida, June 9, 1868; North Carolina, July 4, 1868 (after having rejected it on December 14, 1866); Louisiana, July 9, 1868 (after having rejected it on February 6, 1867); South Carolina, July 9, 1868 (after having rejected it on December 20, 1866).

Ratification was completed on July 9, 1868.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Alabama, July 13, 1868; Georgia, July 21, 1868 (after having rejected it on November 9, 1866); Virginia, October 8, 1869 (after having rejected it on January 9, 1867); Mississippi, January 17, 1870; Texas, February 18, 1870 (after having rejected it on October 27, 1866); Delaware, February 12, 1901 (after having rejected it on February 8, 1867); Maryland, April 4, 1959 (after having rejected it on March 23, 1867); California, May 6, 1959; Kentucky, March 18, 1876 (after having rejected it on January 8, 1867).

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Fortieth Congress, on the 26th of February, 1869, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated March 30, 1870, to have been ratified by the legislatures of twenty-nine of the thirty-seven States. The dates of ratification were: Nevada, March 1, 1869; West Virginia, March 3, 1869; Illinois, March 5, 1869; Louisiana, March 5, 1869; North Carolina, March 5, 1869; Michigan, March 8, 1869; Wisconsin, March 9, 1869; Maine, March 11,

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Ratification was completed on February 3, 1870, unless the withdrawal of ratification by New York was effective; in which event ratification was completed on February 17, 1870, when Nebraska ratified.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Texas, February 18, 1870; New Jersey, February 15, 1871 (after having rejected it on February 7, 1870); Delaware, February 12, 1901 (after having rejected it on March 18, 1869); Oregon, February 24, 1959; California, April 3, 1962 (after having rejected it on January 28, 1870); Kentucky, March 18, 1976 (after having rejected it on March 12, 1869).

The amendment was approved by the Governor of Maryland, May 7, 1973; Maryland having previously rejected it on February 26, 1870.

The amendment was rejected (and not subsequently ratified) by Tennessee, November 16, 1869.

ARTICLE XVI.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

The sixteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-first Congress on the 12th of July, 1909, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 25th of February, 1913, to have been ratified by 36 of the 48 States. The dates of ratification were: Alabama, August 10, 1909; Kentucky, February 8, 1910; South Carolina, February 19, 1910; Illinois, March 1, 1910; Mississippi, March 7, 1910; Oklahoma, March 10, 1910; Maryland, April 8, 1910; Georgia, August 3, 1910; Texas, August 16, 1910; Ohio, January 19, 1911; Idaho, January 20, 1911; Oregon, January 23, 1911; Washington, January 26, 1911; Montana, January 30, 1911; Indiana, January 30, 1911; California, January 31, 1911; Nevada, January 31, 1911; South Dakota, February 3, 1911; Nebraska, February 9, 1911; North Carolina, February 11, 1911; Colorado, February 15, 1911; North Dakota, February 17, 1911; Kansas, February 18, 1911; Michigan, February 23, 1911; Iowa, February 24, 1911; Missouri, March 16, 1911; Maine, March 31, 1911; Tennessee, April 7, 1911; Arkansas, April 22, 1911 (after having rejected it earlier); Wisconsin, May 26, 1911; New York, July 12, 1911; Arizona, April 6, 1912; Minnesota, June 11, 1912; Louisiana, June 28, 1912; West Virginia, January 31, 1913; New Mexico, February 3, 1913.

Ratification was completed on February 3, 1913. The amendment was subsequently ratified by Massachusetts, March 4, 1913; New Hampshire, March 7, 1913 (after having rejected it on March 2, 1911).

The amendment was rejected (and not subsequently ratified) by Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Utah.

ARTICLE [XVII.]

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requi-

site for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

The seventeenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-second Congress on the 13th of May, 1912, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 31st of May, 1913, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 36 of the 48 States. The dates of ratification were: Massachusetts, May 22, 1912; Arizona, June 3, 1912; Minnesota, June 10, 1912; New York, January 15, 1913; Kansas, January 17, 1913; Oregon, January 23, 1913; North Carolina, January 25, 1913; California, January 28, 1913; Michigan, January 28, 1913; Iowa, January 30, 1913; Montana, January 30, 1913; Idaho, January 31, 1913; West Virginia, February 4, 1913; Colorado, February 5, 1913; Nevada, February 6, 1913; Texas, February 7, 1913; Washington, February 7, 1913; Wyoming, February 8, 1913; Arkansas, February 11, 1913; Maine, February 11, 1913; Illinois, February 13, 1913; North Dakota, February 14, 1913; Wisconsin, February 18, 1913; Indiana, February 19, 1913; New Hampshire, February 19, 1913; Vermont, February 19, 1913; South Dakota, February 19, 1913; Oklahoma, February 24, 1913; Ohio, February 25, 1913; Missouri, March 7, 1913; New Mexico, March 13, 1913; Nebraska, March 14, 1913; New Jersey, March 17, 1913; Tennessee, April 1, 1913; Pennsylvania, April 2, 1913; Connecticut, April 8, 1913.

Ratification was completed on April 8, 1913. The amendment was subsequently ratified by Louisiana, June 11, 1914.

The amendment was rejected by Utah (and not subsequently ratified) on February 26, 1913.

ARTICLE [XVIII.]¹

SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SEC. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SEC. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

The eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-fifth Congress, on the 18th of December, 1917, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 29th of January, 1919, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 36 of the 48 States. The dates of ratification were: Mississippi, January 8, 1918; Virginia, January 11, 1918; Kentucky, January 14, 1918; North Dakota, Jan-

¹ Repealed. See Article [XXI.]

uary 25, 1918; South Carolina, January 29, 1918; Maryland, February 13, 1918; Montana, February 19, 1918; Texas, March 4, 1918; Delaware, March 18, 1918; South Dakota, March 20, 1918; Massachusetts, April 2, 1918; Arizona, May 24, 1918; Georgia, June 26, 1918; Louisiana, August 3, 1918; Florida, December 3, 1918; Michigan, January 2, 1919; Ohio, January 7, 1919; Oklahoma, January 7, 1919; Idaho, January 8, 1919; Maine, January 8, 1919; West Virginia, January 9, 1919; California, January 13, 1919; Tennessee, January 13, 1919; Washington, January 13, 1919; Arkansas, January 14, 1919; Kansas, January 14, 1919; Alabama, January 15, 1919; Colorado, January 15, 1919; Iowa, January 15, 1919; New Hampshire, January 15, 1919; Oregon, January 15, 1919; Nebraska, January 16, 1919; North Carolina, January 16, 1919; Utah, January 16, 1919; Missouri, January 16, 1919; Wyoming, January 16, 1919.

Ratification was completed on January 16, 1919.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Minnesota on January 17, 1917; Wisconsin, January 17, 1919; New Mexico, January 20, 1919; Nevada, January 21, 1919; New York, January 29, 1919; Vermont, January 29, 1919; Pennsylvania, February 25, 1919; Connecticut, May 6, 1919; and New Jersey, March 9, 1922.

The amendment was rejected (and not subsequently ratified) by Rhode Island.

ARTICLE [XIX.]

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

The nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Sixty-sixth Congress, on the 4th of June, 1919, and was declared, in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 26th of August, 1920, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 36 of the 48 States. The dates of ratification were: Illinois, June 10, 1919 (and that State readopted its resolution of ratification June 17, 1919); Michigan, June 10, 1919; Wisconsin, June 10, 1919; Kansas, June 16, 1919; New York, June 16, 1919; Ohio, June 16, 1919; Pennsylvania, June 24, 1919; Massachusetts, June 25, 1919; Texas, June 28, 1919; Iowa, July 2, 1919; Missouri, July 3, 1919; Arkansas, July 28, 1919; Montana, August 2, 1919; Nebraska, August 2, 1919; Minnesota, September 8, 1919; New Hampshire, September 10, 1919; Utah, October 2, 1919; California, November 1, 1919; Maine, November 5, 1919; North Dakota, December 1, 1919; South Dakota, December 4, 1919; Colorado, December 15, 1919; Kentucky, January 6, 1920; Rhode Island, January 6, 1920; Oregon, January 13, 1920; Indiana, January 16, 1920; Wyoming, January 27, 1920; Nevada, February 7, 1920; New Jersey, February 9, 1920; Idaho, February 11, 1920; Arizona, February 12, 1920; New Mexico, February 21, 1920; Oklahoma, February 28, 1920; West Virginia, March 10, 1920; Washington, March 22, 1920; Tennessee, August 18, 1920.

Ratification was completed on August 18, 1920.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Connecticut on September 14, 1920 (and that State reaffirmed on September 21, 1920); Vermont, February 8, 1921; Maryland, March 29, 1941 (after having rejected it on February 24, 1920; ratification certified on February 25, 1958); Virginia, February 21, 1952 (after rejecting it on February 12, 1920); Alabama, September 8, 1953 (after rejecting it on September 22, 1919); Florida, May 13, 1969; South Carolina, July 1, 1969 (after rejecting it on January 28, 1920; ratification certified on August 22, 1973); Georgia, February 20, 1970 (after rejecting it on July 24, 1919); Louisiana, June 11, 1970 (after rejecting it on July 1, 1920); North Carolina, May 6, 1971.

The amendment was rejected (and not subsequently ratified) by Mississippi, March 29, 1920; Delaware, June 2, 1920.

ARTICLE [XX.]

SECTION 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

SEC. 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the rights of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

SEC. 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

SEC. 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

The twentieth amendment to the Constitution was proposed to the legislatures of the several states by the Seventy-Second Congress, on the 2d day of March, 1932, and was declared, in a proclamation by the Secretary of State, dated on the 6th day of February, 1933, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 36 of the 48 States. The dates of ratification were: Virginia, March 4, 1932; New York, March 11, 1932; Mississippi, March 16, 1932; Arkansas, March 17, 1932; Kentucky, March 17, 1932; New Jersey, March 21, 1932; South Carolina, March 25, 1932; Michigan, March 31, 1932; Maine, April 1, 1932; Rhode Island, April 14, 1932; Illinois, April 21, 1932; Louisiana, June 22, 1932; West Virginia, July 30, 1932; Pennsylvania, August 11, 1932; Indiana, August 15, 1932; Texas, September 7, 1932; Alabama, September 13, 1932; California, January 4, 1933; North Carolina, January 5, 1933; North Dakota, January 9, 1933; Minnesota, January 12, 1933; Arizona, January 13, 1933; Montana, January 13, 1933; Nebraska, January 13, 1933; Oklahoma, January 13, 1933; Kansas, January 16, 1933; Oregon, January 16, 1933; Delaware, January 19, 1933; Washington, January 19, 1933; Wyoming, January 19, 1933; Iowa, January 20,

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uary 20, 1933; Idaho, January 21, 1933; New Mexico,
January 21, 1933; Georgia, January 23, 1933; Missouri,
January 23, 1933; Ohio, January 23, 1933; Utah, Janu-
ary 23, 1933.

Ratification was completed on January 23, 1933.
The amendment was subsequently ratified by Massa-
chusetts on January 24, 1933; Wisconsin, January 24,
1933; Colorado, January 24, 1933; Nevada, January 26,
1933; Connecticut, January 27, 1933; New Hampshire,
January 31, 1933; Vermont, February 2, 1933; Mary-
land, March 24, 1933; Florida, April 26, 1933.

ARTICLE [XXI.]

SECTION 1. The eighteenth article of amend-
ment to the Constitution of the United States
is hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. The transportation or importation into
any State, Territory, or possession of the
United States for delivery or use therein of in-
toxicating liquors, in violation of the laws
thereof, is hereby prohibited.

SEC. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless
it shall have been ratified as an amendment to
the Constitution by conventions in the several
States, as provided in the Constitution, within
seven years from the date of the submission
hereof to the States by the Congress.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

The twenty-first amendment to the Constitution
was proposed to the several states by the Seventy-
Second Congress, on the 20th day of February, 1933,
and was declared, in a proclamation by the Secretary
of State, dated on the 5th day of December, 1933, to
have been ratified by 36 of the 48 States. The dates of
ratification were: Michigan, April 10, 1933; Wisconsin,
April 25, 1933; Rhode Island, May 8, 1933; Wyoming,
May 25, 1933; New Jersey, June 1, 1933; Delaware,
June 24, 1933; Indiana, June 26, 1933; Massachusetts,
June 26, 1933; New York, June 27, 1933; Illinois, July
10, 1933; Iowa, July 10, 1933; Connecticut, July 11,
1933; New Hampshire, July 11, 1933; California, July
24, 1933; West Virginia, July 25, 1933; Arkansas,
August 1, 1933; Oregon, August 7, 1933; Alabama,
August 8, 1933; Tennessee, August 11, 1933; Missouri,
August 29, 1933; Arizona, September 5, 1933; Nevada,
September 5, 1933; Vermont, September 23, 1933;
Colorado, September 26, 1933; Washington, October 3,
1933; Minnesota, October 10, 1933; Idaho, October 17,
1933; Maryland, October 18, 1933; Virginia, October 25,
1933; New Mexico, November 2, 1933; Florida, Novem-
ber 14, 1933; Texas, November 24, 1933; Kentucky, No-
vember 27, 1933; Ohio, December 5, 1933; Pennsylva-
nia, December 5, 1933; Utah, December 5, 1933.

Ratification was completed on December 5, 1933.
The amendment was subsequently ratified by Maine,
on December 6, 1933, and by Montana, on August 6,
1934.

The amendment was rejected (and not subsequently
ratified) by South Carolina, on December 4, 1933.

ARTICLE [XXII.]

SECTION 1. No person shall be elected to the
office of the President more than twice, and no
person who has held the office of President, or
acted as President, for more than two years of a
term to which some other person was elected
President shall be elected to the office of the
President more than once. But this Article
shall not apply to any person holding the office
of President when this Article was proposed by
the Congress, and shall not prevent any person
who may be holding the office of President, or
acting as President, during the term within
which this Article becomes operative from

holding the office of President or acting as
President during the remainder of such term.

SEC. 2. This article shall be inoperative unless
it shall have been ratified as an amendment to
the Constitution by the legislatures of three-
fourths of the several States within seven years
from the date of its submission to the States by
the Congress.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

This amendment was proposed to the legislatures of
the several States by the Eightieth Congress on Mar.
21, 1947 by House Joint Res. No. 27, and was declared
by the Administrator of General Services, on Mar. 1,
1951, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 36 of
the 48 States. The dates of ratification were: Maine,
March 31, 1947; Michigan, March 31, 1947; Iowa, April
1, 1947; Kansas, April 1, 1947; New Hampshire, April 1,
1947; Delaware, April 2, 1947; Illinois, April 3, 1947;
Oregon, April 3, 1947; Colorado, April 12, 1947; Califor-
nia, April 15, 1947; New Jersey, April 15, 1947; Ver-
mont, April 15, 1947; Ohio, April 16, 1947; Wisconsin,
April 16, 1947; Pennsylvania, April 29, 1947; Connecti-
cut, May 21, 1947; Missouri, May 22, 1947; Nebraska,
May 23, 1947; Virginia, January 28, 1948; Mississippi,
February 12, 1948; New York, March 9, 1948; South
Dakota, January 21, 1949; North Dakota, February 25,
1949; Louisiana, May 17, 1950; Montana, January 25,
1951; Indiana, January 29, 1951; Idaho, January 30,
1951; New Mexico, February 12, 1951; Wyoming, Feb-
ruary 12, 1951; Arkansas, February 15, 1951; Georgia,
February 17, 1951; Tennessee, February 20, 1951;
Texas, February 22, 1951; Nevada, February 26, 1951;
Utah, February 26, 1951; Minnesota, February 27,
1951.

Ratification was completed on February 27, 1951.
The amendment was subsequently ratified by North
Carolina on February 28, 1951; South Carolina, March
13, 1951; Maryland, March 14, 1951; Florida, April 16,
1951; Alabama, May 4, 1951.

The amendment was rejected (and not subsequently
ratified) by Oklahoma in June 1947, and Massachu-
setts on June 9, 1949.

CERTIFICATION OF VALIDITY

Publication of the certifying statement of the Ad-
ministrator of General Services that the Amendment
had become valid was made on Mar. 1, 1951, F.R. Doc.
51-2940, 16 F.R. 2019.

ARTICLE [XXIII.]

SECTION 1. The District constituting the seat
of Government of the United States shall ap-
point in such manner as the Congress may
direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice
President equal to the whole number of Sena-
tors and Representatives in Congress to which
the District would be entitled if it were a State,
but in no event more than the least populous
State; they shall be in addition to those ap-
pointed by the States, but they shall be consid-
ered, for the purposes of the election of Presi-
dent and Vice President, to be electors appoint-
ed by a State; and they shall meet in the Dis-
trict and perform such duties as provided by
the twelfth article of amendment.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to en-
force this article by appropriate legislation.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

This amendment was proposed by the Eighty-sixth
Congress on June 17, 1960 and was declared by the Ad-
ministrator of General Services on Apr. 3, 1961, to
have been ratified by 38 of the 50 States. The dates of
ratification were: Hawaii, June 23, 1960 (and that
State made a technical correction to its resolution on

June 30, 1960; Massachusetts, August 22, 1960; New Jersey, December 19, 1960; New York, January 17, 1961; California, January 19, 1961; Oregon, January 27, 1961; Maryland, January 30, 1961; Idaho, January 31, 1961; Maine, January 31, 1961; Minnesota, January 31, 1961; New Mexico, February 1, 1961; Nevada, February 2, 1961; Montana, February 6, 1961; South Dakota, February 6, 1961; Colorado, February 8, 1961; Washington, February 9, 1961; West Virginia, February 9, 1961; Alaska, February 10, 1961; Wyoming, February 13, 1961; Delaware, February 20, 1961; Utah, February 21, 1961; Wisconsin, February 21, 1961; Pennsylvania, February 28, 1961; Indiana, March 3, 1961; North Dakota, March 3, 1961; Tennessee, March 6, 1961; Michigan, March 8, 1961; Connecticut, March 9, 1961; Arizona, March 10, 1961; Illinois, March 14, 1961; Nebraska, March 15, 1961; Vermont, March 15, 1961; Iowa, March 16, 1961; Missouri, March 20, 1961; Oklahoma, March 21, 1961; Rhode Island, March 22, 1961; Kansas, March 29, 1961; Ohio, March 29, 1961.

Ratification was completed on March 29, 1961.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by New Hampshire on March 30, 1961 (when that State annulled and then repeated its ratification of March 29, 1961).

The amendment was rejected (and not subsequently ratified) by Arkansas on January 24, 1961.

CERTIFICATION OF VALIDITY

Publication of the certifying statement of the Administrator of General Services that the Amendment had become valid was made on Apr. 3, 1961, F.R. Doc. 61-3017, 26 F.R. 2808.

ARTICLE [XXIV.]

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

This amendment was proposed by the Eighty-seventh Congress by Senate Joint Resolution No. 29, which was approved by the Senate on Mar. 27, 1962, and by the House of Representatives on Aug. 27, 1962. It was declared by the Administrator of General Services on Feb. 4, 1964, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 38 of the 50 States.

This amendment was ratified by the following States:

Illinois, Nov. 14, 1962; New Jersey, Dec. 3, 1962; Oregon, Jan. 25, 1963; Montana, Jan. 28, 1963; West Virginia, Feb. 1, 1963; New York, Feb. 4, 1963; Maryland, Feb. 6, 1963; California, Feb. 7, 1963; Alaska, Feb. 11, 1963; Rhode Island, Feb. 14, 1963; Indiana, Feb. 19, 1963; Utah, Feb. 20, 1963; Michigan, Feb. 20, 1963; Colorado, Feb. 21, 1963; Ohio, Feb. 27, 1963; Minnesota, Feb. 27, 1963; New Mexico, Mar. 5, 1963; Hawaii, Mar. 6, 1963; North Dakota, Mar. 7, 1963; Idaho, Mar. 8, 1963; Washington, Mar. 14, 1963; Vermont, Mar. 15, 1963; Nevada, Mar. 19, 1963; Connecticut, Mar. 20, 1963; Tennessee, Mar. 21, 1963; Pennsylvania, Mar. 25, 1963; Wisconsin, Mar. 26, 1963; Kansas, Mar. 28, 1963; Massachusetts, Mar. 28, 1963; Nebraska, Apr. 4, 1963; Florida, Apr. 18, 1963; Iowa, Apr. 24, 1963; Delaware, May 1, 1963; Missouri, May 13, 1963; New Hampshire, June 12, 1963; Kentucky, June 27, 1963; Maine, Jan. 16, 1964; South Dakota, Jan. 23, 1964; Virginia, Feb. 25, 1977.

Ratification was completed on January 23, 1964.

The amendment was rejected by Mississippi (and not subsequently ratified) on December 20, 1962.

CERTIFICATION OF VALIDITY

Publication of the certifying statement of the Administrator of General Services that the Amendment had become valid was made on Feb. 5, 1964, F.R. Doc. 64-1229, 29 F.R. 1715.

ARTICLE [XXV.]

SECTION 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

SEC. 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

SEC. 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

SEC. 4. Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

This amendment was proposed by the Eighty-ninth Congress by Senate Joint Resolution No. 1, which was approved by the Senate on Feb. 19, 1965, and by the House of Representatives, in amended form, on Apr. 13, 1965. The House of Representatives agreed to a Conference Report on June 30, 1965, and the Senate agreed to the Conference Report on July 6, 1965. It was declared by the Administrator of General Services, on Feb. 23, 1967, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 39 of the 50 States.

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This amendment was ratified by the following States:

Nebraska, July 12, 1965; Wisconsin, July 13, 1965; Oklahoma, July 16, 1965; Massachusetts, Aug. 9, 1965; Pennsylvania, Aug. 18, 1965; Kentucky, Sept. 15, 1965; Arizona, Sept. 22, 1965; Michigan, Oct. 5, 1965; Indiana, Oct. 20, 1965; California, Oct. 21, 1965; Arkansas, Nov. 4, 1965; New Jersey, Nov. 29, 1965; Delaware, Dec. 7, 1965; Utah, Jan. 17, 1966; West Virginia, Jan. 20, 1966; Maine, Jan. 24, 1966; Rhode Island, Jan. 28, 1966; Colorado, Feb. 3, 1966; New Mexico, Feb. 3, 1966; Kansas, Feb. 8, 1966; Vermont, Feb. 10, 1966; Alaska, Feb. 18, 1966; Idaho, Mar. 2, 1966; Hawaii, Mar. 3, 1966; Virginia, Mar. 8, 1966; Mississippi, Mar. 10, 1966; New York, Mar. 14, 1966; Maryland, Mar. 23, 1966; Missouri, Mar. 30, 1966; New Hampshire, June 13, 1966; Louisiana, July 5, 1966; Tennessee, Jan. 12, 1967; Wyoming, Jan. 25, 1967; Washington, Jan. 26, 1967; Iowa, Jan. 26, 1967; Oregon, Feb. 2, 1967; Minnesota, Feb. 10, 1967; Nevada, Feb. 10, 1967.

Ratification was completed on Feb. 10, 1967.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Connecticut, Feb. 14, 1967; Montana, Feb. 15, 1967; South Dakota, Mar. 6, 1967; Ohio, Mar. 7, 1967; Alabama, Mar. 14, 1967; North Carolina, Mar. 22, 1967; Illinois, Mar. 22, 1967; Texas, April 25, 1967; Florida, May 25, 1967.

CERTIFICATION OF VALIDITY

Publication of the certifying statement of the Administrator of General Services that the Amendment had become valid was made on Feb. 25, 1967, F.R. Doc. 67-2208, 32 F.R. 3287.

ARTICLE [XXVI.]

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION

This amendment was proposed by the Ninety-second Congress by Senate Joint Resolution No. 7, which was approved by the Senate on Mar. 10, 1971, and by the House of Representatives on Mar. 23, 1971. It was declared by the Administrator of General Services on July 5, 1971, to have been ratified by the legislatures of 39 of the 50 States.

This amendment was ratified by the following States: Connecticut, March 23, 1971; Delaware, March 23, 1971; Minnesota, March 23, 1971; Tennessee, March 23, 1971; Washington, March 23, 1971; Hawaii, March 24, 1971; Massachusetts, March 24, 1971; Montana, March 29, 1971; Arkansas, March 30, 1971; Idaho, March 30, 1971; Iowa, March 30, 1971; Nebraska, April 2, 1971; New Jersey, April 3, 1971; Kansas, April 7, 1971; Michigan, April 7, 1971; Alaska, April 8, 1971; Maryland, April 8, 1971; Indiana, April 8, 1971; Maine, April 9, 1971; Vermont, April 16, 1971; Louisiana, April 17, 1971; California, April 19, 1971; Colorado, April 27, 1971; Pennsylvania, April 27, 1971; Texas, April 27, 1971; South Carolina, April 28, 1971; West Virginia, April 28, 1971; New Hampshire, May 13, 1971; Arizona, May 14, 1971; Rhode Island, May 27, 1971; New York, June 2, 1971; Oregon, June 4, 1971; Missouri, June 14, 1971; Wisconsin, June 22, 1971; Illinois, June 29, 1971; Alabama, June 30, 1971; Ohio, June 30, 1971; North Carolina, July 1, 1971; Oklahoma, July 1, 1971.

Ratification was completed on July 1, 1971.

The amendment was subsequently ratified by Virginia, July 8, 1971; Wyoming, July 8, 1971; Georgia, October 4, 1971.

CERTIFICATION OF VALIDITY

Publication of the certifying statement of the Administrator of General Services that the Amendment had become valid was made on July 7, 1971, F.R. Doc. 71-9691, 36 F.R. 12725.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

[EQUAL RIGHTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN]

"ARTICLE—

"SECTION 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

"SEC. 3. This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification."

Passed by Congress on March 22, 1972 and submitted to the Legislatures of the States for ratification under Const. art. 5.

This article shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution of the United States when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress.

RATIFICATION BY THE STATES

Table listing ratification dates for various states: Hawaii (Mar. 22, 1972), Delaware (Mar. 23, 1972), New Hampshire (Mar. 23, 1972), Idaho (Mar. 24, 1972), Iowa (Mar. 24, 1972), Kansas (Mar. 28, 1972), Nebraska (Mar. 29, 1972), Texas (Mar. 30, 1972), Tennessee (Apr. 4, 1972), Alaska (Apr. 5, 1972), Rhode Island (Apr. 14, 1972), New Jersey (Apr. 17, 1972), Colorado (Apr. 21, 1972), West Virginia (Apr. 22, 1972), Wisconsin (Apr. 26, 1972), New York (May 18, 1972), Michigan (May 22, 1972), Maryland (May 26, 1972), Massachusetts (June 21, 1972), Kentucky (June 27, 1972), Pennsylvania (Sept. 26, 1972), California (Nov. 13, 1972), Wyoming (Jan. 26, 1973), South Dakota (Feb. 5, 1973), Oregon (Feb. 8, 1973), Minnesota (Feb. 8, 1973), New Mexico (Feb. 28, 1973), Vermont (Mar. 1, 1973), Connecticut (Mar. 15, 1973), Washington (Mar. 22, 1973), Maine (Jan. 18, 1974), Montana (Jan. 25, 1974), Ohio (Feb. 7, 1974), North Dakota (Mar. 19, 1975), Indiana (Jan. 24, 1977).

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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CJ

November 26, 1986

Dear Mr. Regan,

The fact we broke yesterday's story is very important. As a member of the news fraternity for 6 years and one whose job it was to cause problems of this sort, I can't stress enough how deeply such openness impresses the inquisitors. It takes a while to sink in; but both the reporters and the American people get the message: there is no cover-up; there will be no cover-up.

I once asked the Dean of Investigative Reporters in America what he looked for in his reporters and he said, rather unexpectedly, "a sense of right and wrong." He meant simply what boxing coaches mean when they say the best fighter is a hungry fighter: that investigative stories require a great deal of digging and work, the kind of extra effort that can only be found in people fueled by indignation. Such people are usually not born troublemakers; they are just ordinary folk trying to do their job who grow angry when they are stonewalled or lied to. (I am sure you saw the type in the service -- even-tempered types who are fierce only when bloodied.) These sorts of people in the newsworld tend to be fair -- everybody, after all, makes mistakes. Newspaperpeople know this better than anyone because they put out a daily product with loads of information. But to their mind, the only time a mistake is a fiasco and a good story develops into a longrunning scandal is when public officials thwart the truth.

Because we're not doing that, we have laid the groundwork for a rapid recovery. I can't tell you how many times reporters just shake their heads about stonewalling officials and ask themselves why don't they just admit what happened and go on from there -- we can't do them any permanent damage. Koch, for example, has for the most part been in the forefront of urging that N.Y.'s corruption scandal be uncovered -- he is surviving because of that.

The people know mistakes get made -- most of them looked at Lebanon that way, but they did not hold it against RR. Somebody(s) abused their authority -- it's the oldest story in Government -- the American people can be relied upon to understand that. They elected a President; God has never made himself available for the job.

So, that's where we are.

I hope you'll let me say Peter Wallison has been superb throughout this. By the way, as I mentioned, investigations and scandals were my way of life for 6 years -- I know the patterns that develop, the reporter's mind -- the intuitions and instincts -- so if I can be any help during all this, even if it's just as a sounding board, I'm next to the phone.

This is being well-handled; if you have moments of discouragement, please remember that.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Toy Oak". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed word "Sincerely,".

Handwritten mark or signature

483857

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 19, 1986

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12/21/86

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN

FROM: DENNIS THOMAS

SUBJECT: Iran/What Next?

I spoke with Harold Burson again today to see what additional suggestions he had. They are as follows:

- President needs to continue initiatives to demonstrate leadership and desire to get to bottom of the matter.
- A visit next week between the President and the Chairmen and Ranking Members of the House and Senate Select Committees would be good. The President could invite them to the White House now, preemptively, thus showing his willingness to see their Committees getting the facts. It would also reinforce the President's bipartisan approach in solving the problem.
- When in California arrange for a meeting with the Tower Board. This would serve to reinforce the President "fixing" what ever was wrong with the system/even if nothing more than their reporting on their work to date.
- Be careful not to make a martyr of Ollie North. He comes across as credible and thinks there is a risk if the White House is seen as beating up on him.
- Reduce the partisan rhetoric generally -- on things Iran and other -- be statesman right now.
- On another subject -- have the President undertake an initiative demonstrating concern for the small farmers. Would be very popular and respond to a real problem.

Observation

The Planning Group discussed a Tower Board Meeting for next week
1) if Peter determines they are willing and 2 if you concur. I think such a meeting would be good to do now, otherwise it will be a month before it could be arranged.

The meeting with the Chairmen and Ranking Members of the Select Committees and is a novel idea. It would show the President yet again seeking the facts and urging the process to proceed quickly. It would take little effort and put the President ahead of the process.

What is your reaction?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

NOTED BY DTR

December 23, 1986

483858

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN

FROM: DENNIS THOMAS

SUBJECT: Iran

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There are many people suggesting the President should give yet another TV speech or devote another radio address to the subject of Iran, and do so before the end of the year. The thinking is that there will be little ability to get out ahead of events after the Congress returns in January, and the Christmas holidays offer the President a unique opportunity for a warm and responsive audience.

The schedule is such that his taking the time for a major address is unlikely. Given our planned message to the Soviets which will be picked up here, a second TV appearance would be questionable even if possible.

A radio address could be done, but I wonder if it will make that much difference. Nonetheless, the idea of communicating with the American public during this period is appealing. Toward that end, what if we were to do a personal -- but open -- letter to the American people. The message would be a reiteration of all that has been done to get out the facts, assume responsibility, acknowledge mistakes, and now its "time to deal with Iran and new issues."

(or next week)

We could release the letter on Friday, December 26th -- a slow news day. It would certainly have broad coverage by the media and would be picked up both as a news event and followed as an "open letter" carried by many local newspapers. Wirthlin keeps preaching repetition. This would be one more way, and in fact could provide three shots in one -- TV coverage, national daily newspapers, and local papers.

It seems to me we are fast approaching a point when our focus should be on next year's agenda -- arms control, etc. A final complete statement on Iran could serve as a good bridge to cross, allowing us to go from defense to offense.

As we take time out to reflect and enjoy the warmth of the Christmas Season, I wanted to share with you my thoughts regarding the Iran controversy. I have taken this unusual means of an "open letter" to give you a chance to read, first hand, why I undertook a new initiative toward Iran, to relate all of the actions I have taken to get at the facts since learning of the possible misuse of funds from the sale of arms to Iran, and finally, where I think we should go from here.

When historians look back on the 1980's, they may well conclude it ushered in a new and violent form of warfare -- terrorism. We have witnessed a major increase in bombings, murders, hijackings, and kidnappings, of innocent and defenseless individuals.

We have taken very firm and strong action against those who have been found to be responsible for terrorist activities. We were able to capture the perpetrators of the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship and the murder of one of its passengers, and we took military action against Lybia when they were found to be directly involved in the bombing that resulted in the death of American servicemen.

But for all of our actions, we were continually responding to terrorists acts. It was and is my view that responding alone is not enough. We must get at the root causes of terrorism. Thus, I undertook a secret effort to renew contact with individuals in Iran who we hoped could steer that country away from the violence of terrorist activities.

I felt the risks of that initiative were outweighed by the potential gain. The gain of not only freeing hostages already taken, but preventing the taking of yet more individuals. The gain of ending a terrible war in the Middle East, and finally, the gain of checking the spread of communism.

Regrettably, that initiative did not result in the outcome we sought. We learned that money may have been diverted. Immediately upon learning of this from the Attorney General, I advised the American people, met with Congressional leaders, established an independent board chaired by former Senator Tower, urged the appointment of an independent counsel and called on Congress to undertake a coordinated inquiry, and to grant limited immunity to key witnesses so that the full story could be told. All of these steps were taken to learn what happened, and share it fully with the American people.

It quickly became obvious the implementation of our policy was terribly flawed, and serious mistakes had been made. I take full responsibility and apologize for the controversy it has created. But I also take full responsibility for setting things right. And if we are to move forward, it will take two things: the certainty that we are getting all the facts and that the system be allowed to work.

The Congress has held and will continue to hold hearings. The Tower Board is conducting its review and I expect to act on their recommendations upon the completion of their work. And the independent counsel has been named and has started to look into what happened and who is responsible. The process is working.

I pledge to you I will continue to get all the facts relating to the Iran controversy and to take action to correct what happened.

If I am able to leave you, the reader, with one thought -- it is this. I am confident when this new year of 1987 ends, we will be proud of a government that openly and honestly dealt with its problems and took positive steps to put us back on track. And we will be proud, too, that we were able to move on, beyond Iran, and deal with the many pressing issues -- arms reduction, creating new jobs, reducing the deficit, and in short, improving the quality of life. We will grow, and prosper, and advance the cause of peace. Of that I am certain.

Nancy and I wish you a safe and wonderful New Year.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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HART, GARY

TO: MR. REGAN

FROM: BROOKE VOSBURGH
Office of the Chief of Staff

Roy Brewer has a call in to you. He also wanted to mention Rita Lavelle.

FEB 24. 87 copy letter from Roy Brewer to the President & Feb 24. 87 David Chew memo for Donald Regan attached.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 24, 1987

DONALD T. REGAN:

FYI, a copy of the latest Roy Brewer letter to the President. Since you are mentioned and Brewer indicated you are supposed to see it, here it is. In addition to this two-pager, there is a ton of not particularly relevant background material that is also going to the President.


David Chew

NOTED BY DTR

ROY M. BREWER
4230 Jubilo Drive
Tarzana, Calif.
91356

Feb. 24, 1987.

DETERMINED TO BE
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, as amended
BY NARA PWD DATE 11/17/20

~~STRICTLY PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Ron:

As you no doubt know I spent a short time on Friday with Don Regan and gave him some material that I thought might be of help to him. I am deeply concerned about the situation in which we find ourselves and as usual we are reacting to the pressures applied by our enemies which has completely disorganized our side and is preventing any intelligent program to expose and defeat the program of the enemy. I personally think that Don has done a good job for you and that removing him at this point will make it more difficult for you. No one you bring in at this point can do the job as well as he can do it if they would leave him alone. The man who really triggered the situation was Shultz when he openly criticized the Iran policy. This gave the press the opening they needed and has brought the situation to the same basic position that has destroyed the Presidency of the last three Presidents. Shultz is now defiantly setting his own foreign policy and I think he should go and Regan should stay to show who is running the operation. Any thing less that this will seriously weaken your ability to deal with the situation. If Shultz were replaced with Jean Kirkpatrick who has displayed a tremendous, practical knowledge of the world situation I think your hand would be materially strengthened.

Of course the basic problem is our failure to openly and decisively deal with the problem of internal subversion. The communists have never been so strong within our society as they are today. They are openly getting bolder and bolder in their tactics. There is much evidence of this which cannot be fully recited here but I will mention a couple of them. A long time American communist, Henry Winston, recently died. They took him to Moscow and gave him a State funeral. Enclosed is a copy of the incident taken from the Peoples World. In San Francisco, just before Sulka Burton died she named a successor for her seat in the House. After her death Mayor Fienstein indicated that she might seek the post. Two days later she announced that she had decided against it, leaving the Burton heir to the job, unopposed. This was about the time that a memorial service was held for Sulka at which she was eulogized for the great things she had done when as a matter of fact she was never heard of until her husband died and she was elected to take his place. It is significant, I think, that 72 members of the Congress, including the Speaker, traveled to San Francisco for that memorial service.

The evidence is clear that the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, they have chosen is Gary Hart. The withdrawal of Como who was the only contender of any substance would indicate his assessment that the issue was closed. As a result of the problems encountered in the last campaign I do not think you will find labor trying to take control as they did last time. There will be less defection in labor ranks than last time and with the discontent in the areas of the farm, the aged and the medical field, particularly the hospitals, you will find a formidable solidarity in the Democratic Party that will be difficult if not impossible to beat. If you have read the "Inside Gorbachev" article I sent you sometime ago, which I think rings true, you will see that the plan is to bring about a confrontation in, or

near, 1990 that would, in effect, neutralize the United States as a world power. The exact words quoted in the article were, "we will then dictate to the United States."

One of the things that I mentioned to Don was the possibility of a meeting of the important conservative leaders, possibility called by Jesse Helms, to face the reality of this situation. I had talked to Tom Farr, who is a Partner of Tom Ellis, and he said he could assure me that if such a meeting were to be called, Ellis and Helms would attend.

The situation as it now exists is certainly untenable. Here is a situation where the Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs which deals with Central and South America is a loyal follower of the Party Line. As Chairman he is entitled to all secret information of activities in that area. How can we fight a war, and we are in a war, when the enemy sits on our side of the table.

I think the time has come when we must go to the people with the realities of the situation. I think anything less can only bring disaster. We must have a unified, offensive approach on our side. I don't say one meeting will get it but it will be a start.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be the name 'Tom', written in a cursive style.

(I have not sent Don a copy of this but I think he should see it.)

...the United States as a ... we will ...

...the responsibility of ... the ...

...is certainly ... the ...

...the ... we ...

SECRET

(I have not read this but I think it should be read)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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February 18, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR THOMAS GIBSON

FROM: AMBASSADOR DAVID M. ABSHIRE, SPECIAL COUNSELLOR
TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS ON IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR FOR USE BY CABINET MEMBERS

Attached are talking points that grew out of a request we recently received from DOD for use by Secretary Weinberger in his meeting this week with the Italian Defense Minister. It occurred to us that such points, which we have expanded to include more general background information, could also be of use to other Cabinet members.

I understand that your office is responsible for communication with Cabinet members, and request that you consider sending out the attached talking points for their reference. Please let me know if any additional approvals are required.

Thank you.

Talking Points: Current Status of Iran-Contra Investigation

- o President has implemented two-track procedure to deal with investigation of Iran-Contra controversy.
 - President's prime concern is to ensure that "first track" -- the on-going business of formulating and implementing domestic and foreign policy -- can proceed unimpeded while investigations are underway.
 - President, therefore, appointed Ambassador David Abshire as Special Counsellor to establish a so-called "second track" to fulfill his stated commitment to openness in getting to the bottom of the issue.
 - Ambassador is independently coordinating White House responses to requests for information by duly established investigative bodies -- House and Senate Select Committees, Independent Counsel, and Tower Review Board.

Additional Background (for use at your discretion)

- o Other steps taken by President after learning of extent of problems:
 - Requested Attorney General Meese to launch immediate investigation, publicly announced this decision, and said that he wanted to get to the bottom of the matter.
 - Established the Tower Review Board to look at National Security Council staff and procedures.
 - Tower Board report is due February 26. Expect President will examine recommendations carefully and rapidly implement changes where appropriate.
 - Encouraged Congress to establish procedures for its anticipated investigations. Senate and House responded by establishing Select Committees designated for this purpose.
- o Administration also requested appointment of Independent Counsel Lawrence Walsh to look into possible violations of the law.

- o Congressional Select Committees will conduct thorough investigations, which should culminate this summer. Independent Counsel, Judge Walsh is also proceeding deliberately.
- o Predominant Congressional sentiment is to deal with the controversy in a bipartisan manner which emphasizes adherence to due process.
- o Ambassador Abshire is playing role of White House facilitator and coordinator to respond to requests for information and to make it available to duly designated investigative bodies. He rejected role of judge and juror on the matter for the administration because this would not be credible to the public.
- o The Ambassador has already made available about 3,000 relevant documents, and has met with leaders of the Congressional committees from both parties.
- o It appears that many are not satisfied with this deliberate and comprehensive approach, because answers are not quick in coming. Some press reporting over the next months, then, can be expected to be misleading or distorted as a result of leaks or partial release of relevant information.
- o Most important thing to remember is that process of investigation is well underway, that the White House is fulfilling the President's expressed commitment to openness, and that all information requested by duly appointed investigative bodies will be provided to them. Congressional investigations are already underway; hearings expected to open in April.