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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 12, 1987

NOTE FOR: Jay Stephens

FROM: Bill Lytton 

The attached documents are provided
per our conversation.

Attachment

85 JUN 15 11 05 AM '87

cause Israel could not afford the replacement cost for the TOWs. The solution was to have DoD sell the Arms to the CIA under the Economy Act, an approach that CIA General Sporkin had urged on legal grounds despite the Agency's desire not to be involved. The CIA could then resell the arms, as part of a covert action operation, to a private company that in turn would sell them to Iran and (for the 508 TOWs) Israel. A small change in the January 6 Finding, adding the words "and third parties," sufficed to authorize this new approach. (SSIC 1/29/87)

- The January 7 meeting [of the NSC] had earmarks of a meeting held after a decision had already been made. Indeed, a draft Covert Action Finding authorizing the initiative had been signed by the President, though perhaps inadvertently, the previous day. (Tower)

- Reagan, citing "irrefutable" evidence of Khaddafi's complicity in the Rome and Vienna airport bombings, announces economic sanctions against Libya, including a ban on direct import and export trade. According to a White House aide, the NSC staff, particularly Donald Fortier, support the policy because they want "to get economic sanctions out of the way so the next time they could do more." Reagan may have been unaware of his staff's plans, the aide notes, saying "We were making an end run on the president." (NYT 2/22/87)

- An undercover U.S. Customs agent attends meetings with Veillot, Hashemi, Bihn, Schneider, Kourentis, and Thanos. Hashemi phones Delaroque, described as Veillot's partner, and agrees to give Delaroque more time to obtain official approval from the U.S. The Customs agent tells the group of the need for viable documents on the deal. (Court papers, U.S. District Court, New York)

JAN 8 - Cyrus Hashemi is told by a suspect in the U.S. Customs Service sting operation that documents which will provide official U.S. approval for the private sale of arms to Iran "are on the desk of the . . . vice president." (MH 11/30/86)

- A press report quoting Pentagon and NSC sources notes a \$10-12 million arms transfer to Iran through Israel. The story is denied by the White House and receives little attention elsewhere. (John Wallach, Hearst Newspapers, USA Today 12/11/86)

- Spitz Channell's National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty pays \$400,000 to International Business Communications. IBC passes on \$360,000 to I.C. Inc. on Jan. 13; and on Jan. 21, the Lake Resources bank account in Switzerland receives \$360,000. (WP 3/7/87)

JAN 9 - Reagan signs a finding authorizing the CIA to provide intelligence advice, training and communications equipment to the contras. Under the order, the Agency spends \$13 million during 1986 (\$10 million on stepped-up intelligence gathering, \$3 million for communications equipment and training), and as a result succeeds in keeping the guerrilla effort alive until congressional military funding resumes in the fall. Although the finding is reported to the intelligence panels, committee members reportedly disagree over the legality of the activities the CIA conducts under the order. (WP 1/14/87)

JAN 10 - Delaroque indicates to Hashemi that it would be better to get official approval and do the arms deal to Iran legally, since to do it illegally would be much more expensive. (Court papers, U.S. District Court, New York)

- \$450,000 of the \$27 million provided by Congress for Nicaraguan humanitarian assistance is paid "to the commander in chief" or high command of a Central American country's armed forces. A GAO report on contra wrongdoings which later discloses this information does not identify the country, but Rep. Michael D. Barnes (D-MD), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Latin America, says it is Honduras. News accounts suggest later that this and additional payments to the Honduran armed forces are the result of the military's control of the primary stores and warehouses provisioning the contras, and amount to payoffs for allowing the rebels to operate in Honduras. (NBC News 6/11/86; MH 6/12/86; LAT 6/12/86; NYT 6/12/86)

- NHAO awards a contract to Vortex, an aircraft and leasing firm in Miami owned by Alberto Herreros, to ferry humanitarian supplies to the contras. (NHAO program summary; MH 3/22/87)

JAN 11 - Veillot tells his colleagues that if he cannot obtain authority from the U.S. for the sale to Iran, he has contacts in South America who might be able to provide end-user

military equipment to agents of Iran. French businessman Bernard Veillot makes a specific offer during this week to Iranian arms merchant Cyrus Hashemi, a cousin of the speaker of the Iranian parliament (Hashemi Rafsanjani). Unknown to Evans, Veillot and the other businessmen involved, Hashemi has become a U.S. Customs Service informant and begins a "sting" operation that culminates in April 1986 with the arrests in Bermuda and New York of more than a dozen participants in the deal. Details of the chronology of the sting through April 22, 1986 are listed below. During this week in December 1985, Hashemi claims to be the buying agent for Iran; and Veillot distributes to the group pro forma invoices for 10 new Bell helicopters, 10 reconditioned Bell helicopters, 39 F-4E aircraft, 50 F-104 aircraft, and 10,000 BGM 71A TOW missiles. Also in attendance this week are Bihn, Schneider, Kourentis, Thanos and Kopka. (Court papers, U.S. District Court, New York; WP 1/6/87)

DEC 4 - Reagan announces McFarlane's resignation and names Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter as his successor, effective January. North, the NSC staff member dealing with terrorism, is designated to replace McFarlane on the Iran initiative. It is later disclosed that McFarlane keeps a computer link-up to the NSC at his home for ten months after resigning. (WP 12/7/86 & 1/14/87; NYT 12/25/86 & 2/14/87)

- That same day, LtCol North raised with VADM Poindexter a new proposal for an arms-for-hostages deal. It involved the transfer of 3,300 Israeli TOWs and 50 Israeli HAWKs in exchange for release of all the hostages. The arms were to be delivered in five installments, spread over a 24-hour period. Each installment was to result in the release of one or two hostages, so that in the end all five U.S. citizens held in Beirut and a French hostage would be freed (Footnote: In October, 1985, the United States obtained reliable evidence that William Buckley had died the preceding June.). If any installment did not result in a hostage release, all deliveries would stop. (Tower)

- In an electronic message of December 4, North provided Poindexter with a status report on the [Iran arms] situation. North's message stated that it was based on discussions held in Geneva between Kimche, Secord, Ghorbanifar and the

Iranian contact. The message recounted Iranian unhappiness with the HAWK shipment in late November. It indicated that release of the hostages is tied to a series of arms shipments beginning later in December and that North, Secord, Kimche and Schwimmer were to meet in London on December 7 to go over arrangements for the next shipments. It stated that North had gone over all the plans with the CIA official who had assisted in the November 25 flight. He indicated that the only officials fully informed about the long term goals are McFarlane, Poindexter and North. (SSIC 1/29/87)

- "Given the relatively low level of competence on the part of the Iranians in Europe, and the fact that any supplies delivered will undoubtedly have to be examined by an Army or Air Force officer, it is very doubtful that a 'single transaction' arrangement can be worked out with the parties in Tehran, no matter what is agreed to in Europe. In short, they have been 'scammed' so many times in the past that the attitude of distrust is very high on their part. At the same time, in all discussions (including today's phone calls) they are desperate to conclude some kind of arrangement in the next 10 days and have even asked that the meeting scheduled for Saturday in London be advanced. Based on what we can conclude from intelligence in Beirut, we believe that they are very concerned that the hostages (the only Iranian leverage point besides the Jews in Iran) may be killed or captured/released by the Syrians, Druze, Phalange or Amal in the near future. Waite's contacts with the captors seems [sic] to corroborate this assessment. In short, time is very short for all parties concerned.

"—The total 'package' from the Israelis wd consist of 50 HAWKs w/ PIP (product improvement package) and 3300 basic TOWs.

"—Deliveries wd commence on or about 12 December as follows:

"H-hr: 1 707 w/300 TOWs = 1 AMCIT

"H + 10hrs: 1 707 (same A/C) w/300 TOWs = 1 AMCIT

"H + 16hrs: 1 747 w/50 HAWKs & 400 TOWs = 2 AMCITs

"H + 20hrs: 1 707 w/300 TOWs = 1 AMCIT

"H + 24hrs: 1 747 w/2000 TOWs = French Hostage

"OpSEC concerns are threefold: communications, deliveries enroute to Iran and replenishment of Israeli stocks. To

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AUTHOR NAME James H. Michel

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165848	MEMO JAMES MICHEL TO MR. SCHNEIDER, RE: FY 87 FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ALLOCATION PROCESS	1	ND	B1

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SOURCE OF DOCUMENT _____

DOCUMENT DATE 880409

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AUTHOR NAME Wessell

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April 9, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: P - Michael D. Schneider
FROM: P/R - Nils H. Wessell
SUBJECT: Foreign Media on Recent Terrorist Attacks

We have found minimal foreign editorial comment labelling Libya as the culprit in the bombings of the TWA airliner and the La Belle discotheque. In particular, there were no calls for direct action by third countries.

The foreign press worldwide has given extensive news coverage to these terrorist attacks. The papers have reported U.S. statements in detail, and there has been only some speculation of Libyan involvement. However, no editorials under review have specifically blamed Qaddafi for either incident.

The papers that have speculated on Libyan involvement have not called for direct action against Libya. From available evidence, it appears unlikely that the media, with the possible exception of some of the West European conservative press, will call for military action.

In fact, some West European papers tend to view Europe as impotent. The few editorials with specific opinions about responding to terrorist attacks said that Europeans are appeasers. Switzerland's centrist Le Matin said that the "governments condemn the act. Then it will all be forgotten. It is a confession of impotence." The liberal Sueddeutsche Zeitung added typically that in "the face of terror, European allies have never managed to speak with one voice, let alone find a joint strategy...."

We believe that the U.S. would have a sizeable public diplomacy problem if it takes retaliatory action against Libya. Based on the media commentary so far and our reading of public opinion polls, there would be limited media and general public support in Western Europe for a U.S. military action (not that such reaction should be controlling). The Middle East press would undoubtedly again brand the U.S. as the "aggressor" and call for a united Arab response.

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April 9, 1986

BRITISH AND GERMANS SEE LIBYA AS PUBLIC ENEMY NUMBER ONE
BUT BALK ON MILITARY RESPONSE TO TERRORISM

Initial results from USIA-commissioned general public telephone surveys in Britain and West Germany conducted last weekend (both before and after the West Berlin bombing) indicate that a forceful U.S. response to Libyan terrorism will require a major public diplomacy effort (and perhaps rapid success) to avoid widespread public criticism:

- o Libya is the country most frequently named as supporting terrorism in Western Europe.
- o Very few in both countries (less than 10%) champion the use of preventive or retaliatory military force against countries that harbor or support terrorists. People most often say their country and the U.S. should instead use diplomatic pressure and/or economic sanctions (21%-42%).
- o Half or more would not approve of military action against terrorist targets in other countries even if economic and diplomatic efforts failed.
- o More importantly, half or more would disapprove of a U.S. military action against Libya even if there was reasonably good evidence that Libya was responsible for a terrorist attack.
- o An overwhelming majority (85% plus) feel terrorism is never justified, but about two-thirds are not very hopeful that it can be fought successfully. In fact, defeatist sentiment has almost doubled in the last year.

Prepared by:
Steven K. Smith, Analyst

Approved by:
Nils H. Wessell, Director
Office of Research 485-2965

COPY (NCA)

March 26, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: P - Mr. Michael Schneider
FROM: P/R - Nils H. Wessell^{new}
SUBJECT: Soviet Media Coverage of Libyan Events

Even before the shooting started Soviet media painted U.S. naval maneuvers off Libya in the most lurid colors: Moscow radio claimed (March 21) that Washington felt it had a "right to blackmail sovereign states;" Krasnaia zvezda (March 22) voiced the usual charge that the U.S. pursues a policy of "state terrorism;" and Pravda (March 20) said that the Pentagon was staging "an armed provocation on an unprecedented scale against Libya." All of this, to repeat, occurred before the events of March 24.

After the exchange of fire, Soviet media have kept up the same flow of accusations but even more vehemently. TASS (March 25) has carried an account of a press conference at which a foreign ministry spokesman proclaimed the USSR's solidarity with Libya and condemnation of the U.S. actions. The spokesman carefully avoided answering questions about the exact nature of Soviet support or whether new aid for Libya was forthcoming.

Mikhail Gorbachev used the occasion of a state dinner for visiting Algerian President Bendjedid to condemn the U.S. in harsh terms, calling the Libyan events an example of U.S. "neoglobalism" and the maneuvers a "punitive operation" (TASS March 26). While excoriating the U.S., Gorbachev too said nothing concrete about Soviet aid to Libya.

In sum, Soviet spokesmen have denounced the entire sequence of events off Libya as a premeditated U.S. threat to peace and an American ploy to take revenge against Libya and its leader. The Soviet media and leaders have, however, been noticeably silent concerning Libyan claims to sovereignty over the Gulf of Sidra. This might indicate their desire, at least tacitly, to preserve for themselves the right of passage through international waters that the U.S. is asserting.

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ANALYST PJS MEDIA L CLASSIF CODE S

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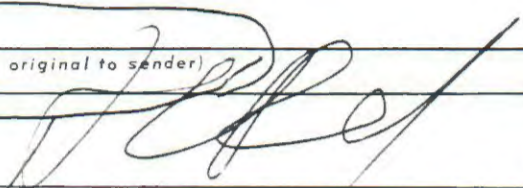
COMMENTS William Schneider's ltr to Comptroller, CIA re release of
BSM to fund covert actions in Central America

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165849 MEMO

1 5/26/1982 B1

WILLIAM SCHNEIDER TO COMPTROLLER,
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165850	MEMO KEITH HALL TO BILL SCHNEIDER, RE: RESERVE RELEASE	2	ND	B1

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165851 FORM

1 5/25/1982 B1

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165852 LETTER

1 5/25/1982 B1

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165853 MEMO

2 5/26/1982 B1

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	<i>Document Description</i>	<i>pages</i>		<i>tions</i>

165854 LETTER

1 5/25/1982 B1

DUPLICATE OF #165852

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

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B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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165855 MEMO

1 4/8/1982 B1

KEITH HALL TO BILL SCHNEIDER, RE: RESERVE
RELEASE

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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165856 LETTER

1 3/31/1982 B1

COMPTROLLER TO WILLIAM SCHNEIDER

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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COPY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
ROUTE SLIP

TO Bob Howard

- Take necessary action
- Approval or signature
- Comment
- Prepare reply
- Discuss with me
- For your information
- See remarks below

FROM Keith Hall

DATE 8 Apr 82

REMARKS

I prepared the attached memo for when Bill returns next week. The Agency called today and asked if they could get quick turn around as they are out of money. I suggested my bringing it to you and Lipton had no problem. You may wish to mention it to Bill if you plan on talking to him. There is nothing controversial in the request.

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	<i>Document Description</i>	<i>pages</i>		<i>tions</i>

165857 LETTER

1

4/8/1982

B1

ROBERT HOWARD TO COMPTROLLER

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

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165858 FORM

1 3/31/1982 B1

APPORTIONEMENT AND REAPPORTIONMENT
SCHEDULE

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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165859	NOTES RE: BUDGET	2	ND	B1

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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165860 LETTER

1 1/21/1982 B1

WILLIAM SCHNEIDER TO COMPTROLLER

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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165861 FORM

1 1/15/1982 B1

APPORIONMENT AND REAPPORIONMENT

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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165862 PAPER

1

ND

B1

TEXT FROM PRESIDENTIAL FINDING, 1 DEC 81

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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165863 LETTER

1 1/15/1982 B1

COMPTROLLER TO WILLIAM SCHNEIDER

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165864 MEMO

2 1/18/1982 B1

KEITH HALL TO BILL SCHNEIDER, RE: RESERVE
RELEASE

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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165865 PAPER

1 ND B1

DUPLICATE OF #165862

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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165866 LETTER

1 1/18/1982 B1

DUPLICATE OF #165863

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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165867	NOTES HANDWRITTEN NOTES ON FINDING AND RESERVE	5	ND	B1

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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I-TS/87-185e

JUL 28 1983

Dr. Keel

NSD/Intel (Donahue) /S

NSPG Meeting on July 29, 1983

Subjects to be discussed at the NSPG on Friday, July 29
include the following three items:

I/R-83/S-486

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DERIVATIVE CL BY OMB/NSD/Intel
 DECL REVW ON OADR
DERIVED FROM NSC/ICS-400544
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165868	PAPER REVISED CENTRAL AMERICA FINDING (TAB II)	2	7/28/1983	B1

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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165869 FINDING

2 7/13/1982 B1

SCOPE FOR NICARAGUA FINDING

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

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REQUESTING AGENCY (RECEIVING)	DATE, TF RECEIVED REQUEST	COMMENTS	ACTION ON REQUEST	DATE TF COMPLETED

COMMENTS

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165870 MEMO

1 7/18/1984 B1

RUSSELL NEELEY TO AL KEEL, THRU ARNOLD DONAHUE, RE: STATUS REPORT

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.