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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Senator Jesse Helms to the President [with handwritten annotations] (3 pages)	04/16/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
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FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia/Iran Arms - Hill Requests, April 1996

2008-0994-F

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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

04/11/96 THU 15:40 FAX 202 226 3581

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One Hundred Fourth Congress
Congress of the United States
Committee on International Relations

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

April 11, 1996

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Democratic Chief of Staff

The Honorable Warren Christopher
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary,

I write concerning recent press stories regarding United States policy on covert arms deliveries to Bosnia and Croatia by third countries during 1994 and 1995.

I would like to know the following:

- After the unanimous adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 713 on September 25, 1991, what was the precise legal obligation of the United States with respect to the United Nations arms embargo on the former Yugoslavia?
- What did the United States do between 1991 and the 1995 Dayton Accord to enforce that arms embargo?
- Did the United States seek at all times to enforce the embargo fully?
- How is the President's statement that the United States did "nothing improper" consistent with our obligations under UN Security Council Resolution 713?
- Did the United States during 1994 make a decision to change policy on enforcing the embargo and on the delivery of arms to Bosnia by third parties through Croatia?
- If there was a change of policy, what was it? Was the decision to change policy on such deliveries to Bosnia a decision to not object to such deliveries, to acquiesce in the deliveries, to simply take no action either to discourage or prevent the deliveries, or to support the deliveries?
 - o Was such a policy change consistent with U.S. policy since September, 1991 to enforce the arms embargo?

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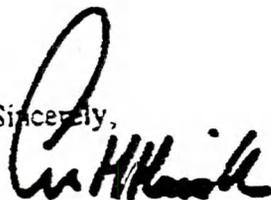
The Hon. Warren Christopher
Page 2
April 11, 1996

- o How did the Administration assess the implications of such a policy change on:
 - international adherence to UN Security Council Resolution 713; and
 - U.S. efforts to get friends and allies to stop trade, economic dealings and investment ties with Iran?
- o Did the United States have discussions regarding these deliveries only with Croatian and Bosnian authorities or did the United States also have discussions directly with third countries supplying or financing these arms deliveries?
- o What countries besides Iran were involved in the financing and delivery of arms to Bosnia? Were Malaysia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, or Egypt involved?
- If there was a change of policy, why was there a change of policy, and who was informed of it?
 - o Was Congress informed, were allies informed, and were all appropriate officials of the United States informed about a change in policy that affected stated, public policy? If not, why not?
- How did the passage in October, 1994 of the National Defense Authorization Act (PL 103-337), Section 1404, (which prohibits the use of funds for the purpose of participation in, support for, or assistance to the enforcement of the Bosnia arms embargo, other than as required of all United Nations member states under UN Security Council Resolution 713) impact U.S. policy on enforcement of the embargo on former Yugoslavia?

I appreciate your prompt consideration of this letter and look forward to an early reply.

With best regards,

Sincerely,



Lee H. Hamilton
Ranking Democratic Member



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 24, 1996

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

Thank you for your letter of April 11 to Secretary Christopher concerning third-country arms deliveries to Bosnia and Croatia during 1994 and 1995. You pose a number of detailed questions which will take us some time to research. Meanwhile, we welcome this opportunity to provide you with an interim reply to some of the points you raise.

In the spring of 1994, the Administration had a difficult decision to make when approached by Croatia on the question of allowing third-country weapons to pass through Croatia to the Bosnian Muslims. If we had objected to potential arms shipments from Iran, the Muslim-Croat Federation might have been destroyed in its infancy and a bad situation for the Bosnians might have worsened. The approach we took -- of neither objecting to nor supporting the arms transfers -- sought to balance our concern about the spread of Iranian influence against the adverse military situation facing the Federation. In the process, we did our best to serve the cause of peace in Bosnia. The arms deliveries helped sustain the Muslim-Croat Federation and reduced the military imbalance without the certain risks and pitfalls of the alternative courses of action.

Many in the Congress urged at the time that the United States lift the arms embargo unilaterally. The Administration opposed this policy on a number of grounds. We would have been put in the position of arming the Bosnians in the face of direct opposition from our own allies, triggering the biggest rift in NATO since its founding. In addition, UNPROFOR would almost certainly have collapsed, in all likelihood requiring U.S. troops to be called in to protect withdrawing UNPROFOR soldiers. And if the Serbs had gone on the offensive before the Bosnians were armed, a very real possibility, the United States would have come under pressure to intervene to prevent a Bosnian military defeat.

Unilateral lift would also have required the United States to violate binding UNSC resolutions. UN Security Council

The Honorable
Lee H. Hamilton,
House of Representatives.

Resolution 713, adopted in 1991 with the previous Administration's firm support, required each member state to cease deliveries of arms and military equipment originating from its territory, and the United States met this important international obligation. Resolution 713 did not require the United States to stop third-country arms shipments to Bosnia. An enforcement mechanism was authorized in November 1992 via UNSC Resolution 787, which called on member states acting individually or through regional arrangements to halt all inward and outward maritime shipping in order to inspect cargos and certify destinations. Under these resolutions, the United States placed a ban on U.S. arms sales to the states of the former Yugoslavia and participated in multilateral enforcement efforts both on sea (via NATO's operation SHARP GUARD) and on land (via multilateral monitoring under the auspices of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia).

After the Nunn-Mitchell legislation went into effect in November 1994 prohibiting the use of appropriated funds for the purpose of participation in, support for, or assistance to the enforcement of the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina, the United States modified the rule under which its forces in SHARP GUARD operated. For example, U.S. ships with SHARP GUARD no longer diverted or delayed vessels that contained arms or other cargo for the purpose of enforcing the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The enactment of Nunn-Mitchell had little impact on the enforcement of other aspects of the arms and economic embargo on other parts of the former Yugoslavia. U.S. ships with SHARP GUARD continued enforcing other UN Security Council Resolutions, such as the economic embargo on Serbia and Montenegro, and tracked vessels containing arms for Bosnia even after maritime inspections had been concluded in order to ensure that destination and cargo dispensation claims had been met. The overall efficiency of the SHARP GUARD operation may have decreased somewhat after Nunn-Mitchell, however, because of limitations on the sharing of information by U.S. ships with other SHARP GUARD participants on whether cargos had been cleared because they were free of prohibited items or because they contained weapons bound only for Bosnia.

Some in Congress have raised the question of whether Ambassador Galbraith's response to President Tudjman in 1994 that he had "no instructions" on whether the Croatian government should allow an arms shipment to pass through its territory to Bosnia constituted U.S. covert action. The answer is that it did not. Under the law, covert action is defined as

"an activity or activities of the United States Government to influence political, economic, or military conditions abroad, while it is intended that the role of the United States Government will not be apparent or acknowledged publicly." The definition does not include, among other things, traditional diplomatic activities.

The legislative history makes clear that the U.S. will not be deemed to be carrying out a covert action through third parties unless the third parties are receiving direction and assistance from U.S. personnel directly involved in carrying out an activity that otherwise meets the definition of covert action. The legislative history also makes clear that the statutory definition of covert action does not include within its scope requests to third countries to conduct covert action. In 1991, President Bush vetoed legislation that would have included such requests within the definition of covert action. The legislation was subsequently enacted without this language.

Thank you again for writing. We hope this information is helpful to you. We are working to gather the other information you have requested and will provide it via a separate letter shortly. Meanwhile, please do not hesitate to contact me directly if we can be of other assistance.

Sincerely,



Barbara Larkin
Acting Assistant Secretary
Legislative Affairs

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04/15/96 13:02

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One Hundred Fourth Congress
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House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

April 11, 1996

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The Hon. Warren Christopher
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Ranking Democratic Member

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U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE
ON INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6415

PRESS RELEASE

LARRY COMBEST, CHAIRMAN

HOUSE PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

APPROVES INVESTIGATION INTO IRANIAN ARMS

TRANSFERS TO BOSNIA,

April 23, 1996

Today, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence approved a formal investigation into the transfer of Iranian arms into Bosnia. The Committee took this action after being denied a copy of a report on the legality of the U.S. role in Iranian arms transfers prepared by the Chairman of the President's Intelligence Oversight Board, Mr. Anthony Harrington. Mr. Harrington will be briefing the Committee later this week. The Committee will seek to interview, under oath, all individuals who were involved in this matter. A full report will be issued upon the conclusion of the investigation.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

APR 12 1996

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The Secretary has asked me to respond to your letter of April 9, 1996 regarding the Los Angeles Times report concerning Iranian arms shipments into Bosnia in 1994 and requesting certain materials on Iranian arms flows into Bosnia from January 1, 1994 to the present.

The Department is committed to being responsive to your committee's oversight responsibilities. To that end, the Department has initiated a document search for this material and we will try to complete the committee's request as soon as possible. However, we do not expect that it will be possible to meet the committee's request for responses by April 12 and April 15.

A similar letter is being sent to the Chairman of the committee.

Should you have any questions regarding this matter, please do not hesitate to contact us. We look forward to providing the committee a more complete response as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Barbara Larkin".

Barbara Larkin
Acting Assistant Secretary
Legislative Affairs

The Honorable
J. Robert Kerrey, Vice Chairman,
Select Committee on Intelligence,
United States Senate.

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9630100
RECEIVED: 11 APR 96 15

TO: LAKE

FROM: SPECTER, ARLEN
KERREY, J ROBERT

DOC DATE: 09 APR 96
SOURCE REF: 96-1392B

KEYWORDS: BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA
NCO

IRAN

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: SSCI INQUIRY INTO ALLEGED US SUPPORT FOR IRANIAN ARMS SHIPMENTS TO
BOSNIA

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 15 APR 96 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: KRECZKO

LOGREF:

FILES: INT

NSCP:

CODES: BOS IRA

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FOR ACTION
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United States Senate

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April 9, 1996

SSCI# 96-1392-B

Mr. Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
National Security Council
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20503

Dear Mr. Lake:

On April 5, 1996, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that "President Clinton secretly gave a green light to covert Iranian arms shipments into Bosnia in 1994 despite a United Nations arms embargo that the United States was pledged to uphold and the administration's own policy of isolating Tehran globally as a supporter of terrorism." This letter is to inform you that at the request of the Senate Majority Leader, Senator Robert Dole, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is commencing today an inquiry into alleged U.S. support for Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia. A list of questions of particular interest to the committee is attached for your information.

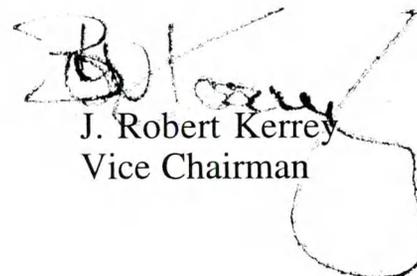
In connection with its inquiry, the committee would appreciate receiving access to material bearing on this subject in the possession of the NSC or other White House offices. We also request your cooperation in making personnel available for such interviews and testimony as the committee may require. The committee has requested under separate cover to Mr. Anthony S. Harrington a copy of the Intelligence Oversight Board's report on its investigation into these matters.

Any questions regarding the committee's inquiry may be addressed to the committee's Staff Directors, its General Counsel or Mr. Edward Levine of the committee staff, who is leading the staff group handling this inquiry.



Arlen Specter
Chairman

Sincerely,



J. Robert Kerrey
Vice Chairman

Attachment

TAB A

Senate Select Committee on Intelligence
Questions Regarding Alleged U.S. Government Support for
Iranian Arms Shipments to Bosnia

The Senate Majority Leader has asked this committee to look into the following questions:

“(1) Was your committee notified of a covert operation to provide Bosnian forces with arms from Iran?”

“(2) Was the Central Intelligence Agency aware of Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia and/or involved in making them happen? If so, how and when?”

“(3) What other agencies or individuals in the executive branch was [sic] involved in this decision and in carrying out this policy?”

“(4) Did any U.S. officials have contact with Iranian officials on the matter of providing arms to the Bosnians?”

“(5) What answers, if any, were given to your committee in response to any and all questions regarding Iranian arms shipments to the Bosnians?”

“(6) What were the findings and conclusions of the Intelligence Oversight Board which reportedly conducted an investigation into this matter?”

Additional questions that the committee will address include the following:

(a) Did any element of the Executive branch engage in activity in support of arms shipments to Bosnia? If so, what was done, and by whom?

(b) What information did any element of the U.S. intelligence community have regarding arms shipments to Bosnia? What was done with that information?

(c) What information did elements of the U.S. intelligence community provide to the U.S. Senate regarding arms shipments to Bosnia and any U.S. Government role in support of such shipments? Did any U.S. official knowingly provide incorrect, incomplete or misleading information to Congress, or encourage another official to do so?

(d) What are the legal obligations of Executive branch agencies regarding covert actions and the reporting to Congress of such actions or of other intelligence activities? How did those obligations apply in this case, or why did they not apply, and what legal advice or opinions were obtained? Did the Executive branch violate any applicable laws, Executive orders or regulations in this matter?

TAB B

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United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6475

April 9, 1996

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CHRISTOPHER C. STRAUB, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR
KATHLEEN P. MCGHEE, CHIEF CLERK

SSCI# 96-1392 -A

The Honorable William J. Perry
Secretary of Defense
Department of Defense
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

On April 5, 1996, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that "President Clinton secretly gave a green light to covert Iranian arms shipments into Bosnia in 1994 despite a United Nations arms embargo that the United States was pledged to uphold and the administration's own policy of isolating Tehran globally as a supporter of terrorism." This letter is to inform you that the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is commencing today an inquiry into alleged U.S. support for Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia. A list of questions of particular interest to the committee is attached for your information.

The committee would appreciate receiving, by April 12, 1996, copies of all published intelligence since January 1, 1994, dealing with arms flows into Bosnia and of all other statements on this matter that have been provided by an element of the U.S. intelligence community under your jurisdiction to any member or committee of the United States Senate. We also request that each element of the U.S. intelligence community provide -- by April 15, 1996, to the extent possible -- any unpublished material bearing on this subject, such as cables, electronic correspondence, internal memoranda, minutes of meetings, letters, and memoranda to other agencies or talking points for briefings that did not constitute published intelligence. Finally, we request your cooperation in making personnel available for such interviews, depositions and testimony as the committee may require.

Any questions regarding the committee's inquiry may be addressed to the committee's Staff Directors, its General Counsel or Mr. Edward Levine of the committee staff, who is leading the staff group handling this inquiry.

Sincerely,



Arlen Specter
Chairman



J. Robert Kerrey
Vice Chairman

Attachment

ARLEN SPECTER, PENNSYLVANIA, CHAIRMAN
J. ROBERT KERREY, NEBRASKA, VICE CHAIRMAN
RICHARD G. LUGAR, INDIANA
RICHARD C. SHELBY, ALABAMA
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JOHN KYL, ARIZONA
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KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON, TEXAS
CONNIE MACK, FLORIDA
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JOHN F. KERRY, MASSACHUSETTS
MAX BAUCUS, MONTANA
J. BENNETT JOHNSTON, LOUISIANA
CHARLES S. ROBB, VIRGINIA

United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-8475

ROBERT DOLE, KANSAS, EX OFFICIO
THOMAS A. DASCHLE, SOUTH DAKOTA, EX OFFICIO

CHARLES BATTAGLIA, STAFF DIRECTOR
CHRISTOPHER C. STRAUB, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR
KATHLEEN P. MCGHEE, CHIEF CLERK

April 9, 1996

SSCI# 96-1392-C

The Honorable Warren M. Christopher
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

On April 5, 1996, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that "President Clinton secretly gave a green light to covert Iranian arms shipments into Bosnia in 1994 despite a United Nations arms embargo that the United States was pledged to uphold and the administration's own policy of isolating Tehran globally as a supporter of terrorism." This letter is to inform you that the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is commencing today an inquiry into alleged U.S. support for Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia. A list of questions of particular interest to the committee is attached for your information.

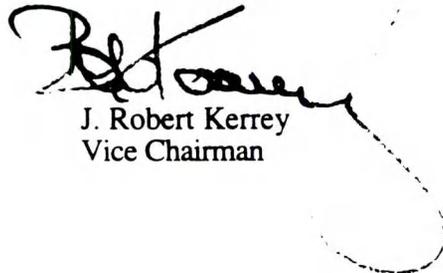
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Chairman



J. Robert Kerrey
Vice Chairman

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CHARLES S. ROBB, VIRGINIA

United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6475

April 9, 1996

ROBERT DOLE, KANSAS, EX OFFICIO
THOMAS A. DASCHLE, SOUTH DAKOTA, EX OFFICIO

CHARLES BATTAGLIA, STAFF DIRECTOR
CHRISTOPHER C. STRAUB, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR
KATHLEEN P. MCGHEE, CHIEF CLERK

SSCI# 96-1392-D

The Honorable John M. Deutch
Director of Central Intelligence
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Director Deutch:

On April 5, 1996, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that "President Clinton secretly gave a green light to covert Iranian arms shipments into Bosnia in 1994 despite a United Nations arms embargo that the United States was pledged to uphold and the administration's own policy of isolating Tehran globally as a supporter of terrorism." This letter is to inform you that the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is commencing today an inquiry into alleged U.S. support for Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia. A list of questions of particular interest to the committee is attached for your information.

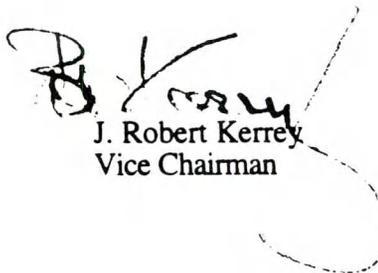
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Chairman



J. Robert Kerrey
Vice Chairman

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CHARLES BATTAGLIA, STAFF DIRECTOR
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KATHLEEN P. MCGHEE, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6475

April 9, 1996

SSCI# 96-1392-E

Mr. Anthony S. Harrington
Chairman
Intelligence Oversight Board
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Harrington:

On April 5, 1996, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that "President Clinton secretly gave a green light to covert Iranian arms shipments into Bosnia in 1994 despite a United Nations arms embargo that the United States was pledged to uphold and the administration's own policy of isolating Tehran globally as a supporter of terrorism." This letter is to inform you that at the request of the Senate Majority Leader, Senator Robert Dole, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is commencing today an inquiry into alleged U.S. support for Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia. A list of questions of particular interest to the committee is attached for your information.

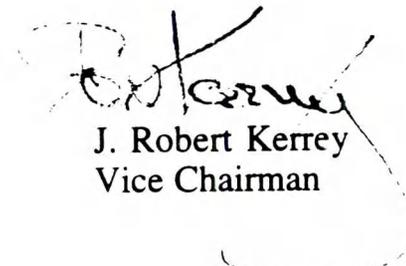
In connection with its inquiry, the committee would appreciate receiving a copy of the Intelligence Oversight Board's report on its investigation into these matters. We also request access to other material bearing on this subject in the possession of the IOB, as well as your cooperation in making personnel available for such interviews and testimony as the committee may require.

Any questions regarding the committee's inquiry may be addressed to the committee's Staff Directors, its General Counsel or Mr. Edward Levine of the committee staff, who is leading the staff group handling this inquiry.

Sincerely,



Arlen Specter
Chairman



J. Robert Kerrey
Vice Chairman

Attachment

Kessinger, Jodi

From: Danvers, William C.
To: Soderberg, Nancy E.
Cc: /R, Record at A1; @LEGISLAT-Legislative Affairs
Subject: Bosnia list ~~(SECRET)~~
Date: Thursday, April 11, 1996 5:45PM
Priority: High

Nancy:

I have attached a suggested approach to Hill meetings. I try to keep it narrowly focused but offer various suggestions as to how we might want to increase the size of the group in a number of different ways. Hopefully, this at least gives people something to think about over the next 24 hours.

<< File Attachment: DOLARMS2.DOC >>

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VC NARA, Date 1/30/23
2008-0994-F-2

Suggested Meeting List on Iran-Bosnia Issue

The general recommendation is that we continue to keep the Hill investigation and interest as narrowly focused as possible. That would mean setting up a meeting with a narrowly targeted group.

The most narrowly targeted group would be the four leaders and the two intelligence committees.

If we need to broaden that a bit, we could include the chairs and ranking members of committees that have been asked to look into this: SFRC, SASC, HIRC and HCONS.

The next gradation could be the foreign policy leadership group, which consists of the chairs and ranking members of the foreign affairs committees, armed services committees, foreign operations appropriators, defense appropriators and CJS appropriators.

We could also ask the leadership to put together its own group. The one advantage to this is that we could get members like Richardson and Dodd included as part of such a meeting. Whereas they would not be a part of the normal foreign policy leadership team.

Finally, I have included a list of members we may want to talk to one on one over the coming weeks and days as this story plays out:

Daschle	Gephardt
Kerrey	Hoyer
Nunn	Bonior
Biden	Hamilton
Lieberman	Spratt
Levin	Berman
Dodd	Dellums
Kerry	Dicks
Sarbanes	Richardson
Glenn	Murtha
Graham	
Exon	Hyde
Byrd	Bereuter
	Goss
McCain	Houghton
Cohen	King
Lugar	

Kasich

Bob Dole



NEWS

U.S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

FROM:

SENATE MAJORITY LEADER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Friday, April 5, 1996

Contact: Clarkson Hine
(202) 224-5358

**CLINTON ON BOSNIA: WHAT IS RHETORIC -- WHAT IS REALITY?
DOLE TASKS COMMITTEES WITH INVESTIGATION INTO PRESIDENT'S
APPROVAL OF IRANIAN ARMS SHIPMENTS TO BOSNIA**

BAL HARBOUR, FL -- Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole today requested the Chairmen of the Senate Committees on Armed Services, Foreign Relations, Judiciary, and Intelligence immediately to begin investigations into this serious matter. Senator Dole's statement follows:

"The fact that Iran provided arms to the Bosnians is not news. However, the reports that President Clinton secretly approved Iran's shipments is news -- very disturbing news. Not only are there questions raised about whether administration officials were intentionally duplicitous in their dealings with the Congress, but also whether laws were broken and a covert operation was conducted.

"Therefore, I have written to the Chairmen of the Intelligence, Judiciary, Foreign Relations, and Armed Services Committees to request that they immediately begin investigations into this serious matter. Upon the Senate's return, I will meet with them to discuss the possibility of establishing a joint committee to investigate these reports.

"Since 1993 until the Dayton Accords were signed -- in contrast to candidate Clinton's position -- the Clinton administration policy as publicly stated and presented to the U.S. Congress, was adamantly opposed to lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia. If the LA Times reports are true, the Clinton administration refused to assert the leadership necessary to reverse a bad policy of denying the Bosnians the means to defend themselves, and preferred to allow the Iranians to do so. Now, ironically, administration officials are wringing their hands about Iranians who remain in Bosnia.

"The American people are entitled to have the facts and certainly Congress has the right to know. These investigations will be a top priority."

###

BOB DOLE
KANSAS

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7010

April 5, 1996

The Honorable Strom Thurmond
Chairman
Committee on Armed Services
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

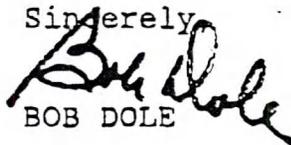
Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing to request that you immediately begin hearings on and an investigation into the Los Angeles Times reports that the President made a secret decision in 1994 to approve Iran providing arms to Bosnian military forces. These reports, if true, would mean that the Clinton administration was pursuing a policy in direct contradiction to the policy it was presenting publicly to the United States Congress.

As you are aware, at that time, the Clinton administration strenuously opposed Congressional efforts to lift the U.S. arms embargo on Bosnia, arguing that it was U.S. policy to abide by the international arms embargo imposed by the U.N. Security Council on the former Yugoslavia. Indeed, U.S. forces were engaged with other NATO forces in Operation Sharp Guard to enforce this embargo. This operation involved considerable U.S. resources.

I have also written to the Chairmen of the Intelligence, Foreign Relations, and Judiciary Committees to request that they conduct their own investigations and hearings into these reports. Upon our return, I will have a meeting with you and Senators Specter, Helms and Hatch to discuss the possibility of establishing a joint committee to investigate this urgent matter.

Sincerely,


BOB DOLE

047007/05
BOB DOLE
KANSAS

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7010

April 5, 1996

The Honorable Jesse Helms
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing to request that you immediately begin hearings on and an investigation into the Los Angeles Times reports that the President made a secret decision in 1994 to approve Iran providing arms to Bosnian military forces. These reports, if true, would mean that the Clinton administration was pursuing a policy in direct contradiction to the policy it was presenting publicly to the United States Congress.

As you are aware, since 1993, the Clinton administration had strenuously opposed Congressional efforts to lift the U.S. arms embargo, arguing that it was U.S. policy to abide the international arms embargo imposed by the U.N. Security Council on the former Yugoslavia. On numerous occasions, privately and publicly, administration officials stated that providing arms to the Bosnians would only "fuel the fire" and that the United States had an international legal obligation to abide by the U.N. embargo. Indeed as early as last summer, the President vetoed the Dole-Lieberman bill -- passed overwhelmingly by the Senate and the House -- which would have terminated the U.S. arms embargo.

This is clearly a matter requiring an urgent and thorough investigation. Please be aware that I have also contacted the Chairmen of the Intelligence, Judiciary and Armed Services Committee to request that they conduct their own investigations. Upon our return, I will have a meeting with you and Senators Specter, Hatch and Thurmond to discuss the possibility of establishing a joint committee to investigate this urgent matter.

Sincerely



BOB DOLE

BOB DOLE
KANSAS

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7010

April 5, 1996

The Honorable Orrin Hatch
Chairman
Committee on Judiciary
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing to request that you begin an immediate investigation into reports by the Los Angeles Times that President Clinton made a secret decision in 1994 to approve Iran providing arms to Bosnian military forces. In particular, I would ask that you investigate whether or not any U.S. laws were broken by this policy. This article raises serious questions about whether the administration had been engaged in illegal covert action.

As you may recall, at that time, the Clinton administration strenuously opposed Congressional efforts to lift the arms embargo, arguing that it was U.S. policy to abide by the international arms embargo imposed by the U.N. Security Council on the former Yugoslavia. If the LA Times article is accurate, the Clinton administration secretly pursued a policy in direct contradiction to its publicly stated policy -- without notifying the Congress.

I have also written to the Chairmen of the Intelligence, Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees to conduct their own investigations and hearings into these reports. Upon our return, I will have a meeting with you and Senators Specter, Helms and Thurmond to discuss the possibility of establishing a joint committee to investigate this urgent matter.

Sincerely,


BOB DOLE

BOB DOLE
KANSAS

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7010

April 5, 1996

The Honorable Arlen Specter
Chairman
Select Committee on Intelligence
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing to request that your committee immediately begin an investigation into the reports by the Los Angeles Times that President Clinton made a secret decision in 1994 to approve Iran providing arms to Bosnian military forces. These reports, if true, would mean that the Clinton administration was pursuing a secret policy in direct contradiction to the policy it was presenting publicly to the United States Congress.

There are a number of questions that must be answered, including:

- (1) Was your committee notified of a covert operation to provide Bosnian forces with arms from Iran?
- (2) Was the Central Intelligence Agency aware of Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia and/or involved in making them happen? If so, how and when?
- (3) What other agencies or individuals in the executive branch was involved in this decision and in carrying out this policy?
- (4) Did any U.S. officials have contact with Iranian officials on the matter of providing arms to the Bosnians?
- (5) What answers, if any, were given to your committee in response to any and all questions regarding Iranian arms shipments to the Bosnians?
- (6) What were the findings and conclusions of the Intelligence Oversight Board which reportedly conducted an investigation into this matter?

This is an urgent matter. Please be aware that I have also written to the Chairmen of the Foreign Relations, Judiciary and Armed Services Committees requesting them to conduct their own investigations and hearings into these reports. Upon our return, I will have a meeting with you and Senators Hatch, Helms, and Thurmond to discuss the possibility of establishing a joint committee to investigate this urgent and serious matter.

Sincerely,


BOB DOLE

ARLEN SPECTER, PENNSYLVANIA, CHAIRMAN
 J. ROBERT KERREY, NEBRASKA, VICE CHAIRMAN

RICHARD G. LUGAR, INDIANA	JOHN GLENN, OHIO
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CONNIE MACK, FLORIDA	CHARLES S. ROSS, VIRGINIA
WILLIAM S. COHEN, MAINE	

United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6475

April 9, 1996

ROBERT DOLE, KANSAS, EX OFFICIO
THOMAS A. DASCHLE, SOUTH DAKOTA, EX OFFICIO

CHARLES BATTAGLIA, STAFF DIRECTOR
CHRISTOPHER C. STRAUSS, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR
KATHLEEN P. MCGHEE, CHIEF CLERK

SSCI# 96-1392-E

Mr. Anthony S. Harrington
Chairman
Intelligence Oversight Board
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Harrington:

On April 5, 1996, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that "President Clinton secretly gave a green light to covert Iranian arms shipments into Bosnia in 1994 despite a United Nations arms embargo that the United States was pledged to uphold and the administration's own policy of isolating Tehran globally as a supporter of terrorism." This letter is to inform you that at the request of the Senate Majority Leader, Senator Robert Dole, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is commencing today an inquiry into alleged U.S. support for Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia. A list of questions of particular interest to the committee is attached for your information.

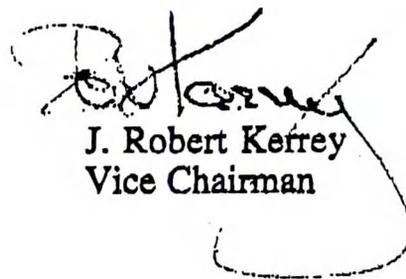
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Arlen Specter
Chairman



J. Robert Kerrey
Vice Chairman

Attachment

**Senate Select Committee on Intelligence
Questions Regarding Alleged U.S. Government Support for
Iranian Arms Shipments to Bosnia**

The Senate Majority Leader has asked this committee to look into the following questions:

“(1) Was your committee notified of a covert operation to provide Bosnian forces with arms from Iran?”

“(2) Was the Central Intelligence Agency aware of Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia and/or involved in making them happen? If so, how and when?”

“(3) What other agencies or individuals in the executive branch was [sic] involved in this decision and in carrying out this policy?”

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“(5) What answers, if any, were given to your committee in response to any and all questions regarding Iranian arms shipments to the Bosnians?”

“(6) What were the findings and conclusions of the Intelligence Oversight Board which reportedly conducted an investigation into this matter?”

Additional questions that the committee will address include the following:

(a) Did any element of the Executive branch engage in activity in support of arms shipments to Bosnia? If so, what was done, and by whom?

(b) What information did any element of the U.S. intelligence community have regarding arms shipments to Bosnia? What was done with that information?

(c) What information did elements of the U.S. intelligence community provide to the U.S. Senate regarding arms shipments to Bosnia and any U.S. Government role in support of such shipments? Did any U.S. official knowingly provide incorrect, incomplete or misleading information to Congress, or encourage another official to do so?

(d) What are the legal obligations of Executive branch agencies regarding covert actions and the reporting to Congress of such actions or of other intelligence activities? How did those obligations apply in this case, or why did they not apply, and what legal advice or opinions were obtained? Did the Executive branch violate any applicable laws, Executive orders or regulations in this matter?

HTH US 100 US SENATE 1011

46

ARLEN SPECTER, PENNSYLVANIA, CHAIRMAN
 J. ROBERT KERREY, NEBRASKA, VICE CHAIRMAN

RICHARD G. LUGAR, INDIANA	JOHN GLERN, OHIO
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CORNELIUS WACK, FLORIDA	CHARLES E. ROSS, VIRGINIA
WILLIAM S. COHEN, MAINE	

United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6476

April 9, 1996

ROBERT DOLE, KANSAS, EX OFFICIO
 THOMAS A. DASCHLE, SOUTH DAKOTA, EX OFFICIO

CHARLES BATTAGLIA, STAFF DIRECTOR
 CHRISTOPHER C. STRAUSS, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR
 KATHLEEN P. McOMRE, CHIEF CLERK

SSCI# 96-1392-C

The Honorable Warren M. Christopher
 Secretary of State
 Department of State
 Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

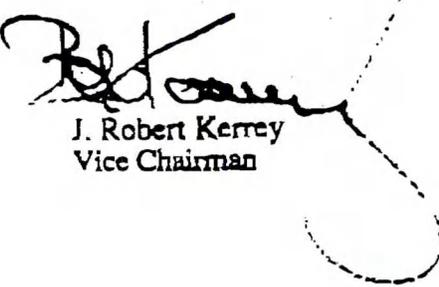
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Sincerely,


 Arlen Specter
 Chairman


 J. Robert Kerrey
 Vice Chairman

Attachment

2/6

Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Questions Regarding Alleged U.S. Government Support for Iranian Arms Shipments to Bosnia

The Senate Majority Leader has asked this committee to look into the following questions:

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- “(2) Was the Central Intelligence Agency aware of Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia and/or involved in making them happen? If so, how and when?”
- “(3) What other agencies or individuals in the executive branch was [sic] involved in this decision and in carrying out this policy?”
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- (c) What information did elements of the U.S. intelligence community provide to the U.S. Senate regarding arms shipments to Bosnia and any U.S. Government role in support of such shipments? Did any U.S. official knowingly provide incorrect, incomplete or misleading information to Congress, or encourage another official to do so?
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APR 09 '96 01:16PM SSCI

P.2

ARLEN SPECTER, PENNSYLVANIA, CHAIRMAN	
J. ROBERT KERREY, NEBRASKA, VICE CHAIRMAN	
RICHARD L. LUGAR, INDIANA	JOHN GLENN, OHIO
RICHARD C. SHELBY, ALABAMA	RICHARD H. BRYAN, NEVADA
MIKE DEWINE, OHIO	BOB GRAMM, FLORIDA
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United States Senate

3/6

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-8476

April 9, 1996

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THOMAS A. DARDEN, SOUTH DAKOTA, EX OFFICIO

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CHRISTOPHER C. STRAUSS, SENIORITY STAFF DIRECTOR
KATHLEEN P. MCGHEE, CHIEF CLERK

SSCI# 96-1392 -A

The Honorable William J. Perry
Secretary of Defense
Department of Defense
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

On April 5, 1996, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that "President Clinton secretly gave a green light to covert Iranian arms shipments into Bosnia in 1994 despite a United Nations arms embargo that the United States was pledged to uphold and the administration's own policy of isolating Tehran globally as a supporter of terrorism." This letter is to inform you that the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is commencing today an inquiry into alleged U.S. support for Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia. A list of questions of particular interest to the committee is attached for your information.

The committee would appreciate receiving, by April 12, 1996, copies of all published intelligence since January 1, 1994, dealing with arms flows into Bosnia and of all other statements on this matter that have been provided by an element of the U.S. intelligence community under your jurisdiction to any member or committee of the United States Senate. We also request that each element of the U.S. intelligence community provide -- by April 15, 1996, to the extent possible -- any unpublished material bearing on this subject, such as cables, electronic correspondence, internal memoranda, minutes of meetings, letters, and memoranda to other agencies or talking points for briefings that did not constitute published intelligence. Finally, we request your cooperation in making personnel available for such interviews, depositions and testimony as the committee may require.

Any questions regarding the committee's inquiry may be addressed to the committee's Staff Directors, its General Counsel or Mr. Edward Levine of the committee staff, who is leading the staff group handling this inquiry.

Sincerely:

Arlen Specter
Chairman

J. Robert Kerrey
Vice Chairman

Attachment

04/09/96 15:30 2024569170
04/09/96 14:42 2026472504
APR 09 '96 01:18PM SSCI

NSC LEGISLATIVE
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005/007

005/007

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4/6

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6476

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KATHLEEN P. MCKEE, CHIEF CLERK

April 9, 1996

SSCI# 96-1392-B

Mr. Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
National Security Council
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20503

Dear Mr. Lake:

On April 5, 1996, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that "President Clinton secretly gave a green light to covert Iranian arms shipments into Bosnia in 1994 despite a United Nations arms embargo that the United States was pledged to uphold and the administration's own policy of isolating Tehran globally as a supporter of terrorism." This letter is to inform you that at the request of the Senate Majority Leader, Senator Robert Dole, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is commencing today an inquiry into alleged U.S. support for Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia. A list of questions of particular interest to the committee is attached for your information.

In connection with its inquiry, the committee would appreciate receiving access to material bearing on this subject in the possession of the NSC or other White House offices. We also request your cooperation in making personnel available for such interviews and testimony as the committee may require. The committee has requested under separate cover to Mr. Anthony S. Harrington a copy of the Intelligence Oversight Board's report on its investigation into these matters.

Any questions regarding the committee's inquiry may be addressed to the committee's Staff Directors, its General Counsel or Mr. Edward Levine of the committee staff, who is leading the staff group handling this inquiry.

Sincerely,

Arlen Specter
Chairman

J. Robert Kerrey
Vice Chairman

Attachment

04/09/96 15:30 2024569170
04/09/96 14:42 2026472504
APP 03 '96 01:20PM SSCI

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006/007

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5/6

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0074

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THOMAS A. DASCHLE, SOUTH DAKOTA, EX OFFICIO

April 9, 1996

CHARLES BATTAGLIA, STAFF DIRECTOR
CHRISTOPHER C. STELZER, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR
KATHLEEN P. BIRCHIE, CHIEF CLERK

SSCI# 96-1392-D

The Honorable John M. Deutch
Director of Central Intelligence
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Director Deutch:

On April 5, 1996, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that "President Clinton secretly gave a green light to covert Iranian arms shipments into Bosnia in 1994 despite a United Nations arms embargo that the United States was pledged to uphold and the administration's own policy of isolating Tehran globally as a supporter of terrorism." This letter is to inform you that the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is commencing today an inquiry into alleged U.S. support for Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia. A list of questions of particular interest to the committee is attached for your information.

The committee would appreciate receiving, by April 12, 1996, copies of all published intelligence since January 1, 1994, dealing with arms flows into Bosnia and of all other statements on this matter that have been provided by an element of the U.S. intelligence community under your jurisdiction to any member or committee of the United States Senate. We also request that each element of the U.S. intelligence community provide -- by April 15, 1996, to the extent possible -- any unpublished material bearing on this subject, such as cables, electronic correspondence, internal memoranda, minutes of meetings, letters, and memoranda to other agencies or talking points for briefings that did not constitute published intelligence. Finally, we request your cooperation in making personnel available for such interviews, depositions and testimony as the committee may require.

Any questions regarding the committee's inquiry may be addressed to the committee's Staff Directors, its General Counsel or Mr. Edward Levine of the committee staff, who is leading the staff group handling this inquiry.

Sincerely,

Arlen Specter
Chairman

J. Robert Kerrey
Vice Chairman

Attachment

ARLEN SPECTER, PENNSYLVANIA, CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

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SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON, DC 20518-8476

April 9, 1996

ROBERT DOLE, KANSAS, EX OFFICIO
THOMAS A. DARCHSE, SOUTH DAKOTA, EX OFFICIO

CHARLES S. PATRICK, STAFF DIRECTOR
CHRISTOPHER C. STALAB, SECURITY STAFF DIRECTOR
KATHLEEN P. BROWN, CHIEF CLERK

SSCI# 96-1392-E

Mr. Anthony S. Harrington
Chairman
Intelligence Oversight Board
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Harrington:

On April 5, 1996, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that "President Clinton secretly gave a green light to covert Iranian arms shipments into Bosnia in 1994 despite a United Nations arms embargo that the United States was pledged to uphold and the administration's own policy of isolating Tehran globally as a supporter of terrorism." This letter is to inform you that at the request of the Senate Majority Leader, Senator Robert Dole, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is commencing today an inquiry into alleged U.S. support for Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia. A list of questions of particular interest to the committee is attached for your information.

In connection with its inquiry, the committee would appreciate receiving a copy of the Intelligence Oversight Board's report on its investigation into these matters. We also request access to other material bearing on this subject in the possession of the IOB, as well as your cooperation in making personnel available for such interviews and testimony as the committee may require.

Any questions regarding the committee's inquiry may be addressed to the committee's Staff Directors, its General Counsel or Mr. Edward Levine of the committee staff, who is leading the staff group handling this inquiry.

Sincerely,

Arlen Specter
Chairman

J. Robert Kerrey
Vice Chairman

Attachment