FOR LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS (LEG)  
TO THE PRESIDENT AND SENIOR DIRECTORS  
FROM WILLIAM DAVIES, SPECIAL ASSISTANT  
DECLASSIFIED: RESIDENT TO LEFT-APPROVED 2/26/96  
SUBMITTED: OCTOBER 24, 1996  
WITH MINORITY VIEWS  
APPROVED: OCTOBER 24, 1996  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS  
PREPARED FOR THE  
SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
INVESTIGATE  
FINAL REPORT OF THE  
SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
INVESTIGATE  
FINAL REPORT ON IRANIAN ARMS TRANSFERS  
(C) THE IRANIAN GREEN LIGHT  
CROATIA AND BOSNIA  
IN IRANIAN ARMS TRANSFERS TO  
THE UNITED STATES ROLE  
INVESTIGATE  
22ND SESSION  
104TH CONGRESS  
DECLASSIFIED REPORT  
INVESTIGATIVE REPORT  
104TH CONG.
WASHINGTON
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
COMMITTEE ON
PREPARED FOR THE
REPORT

WITH MINORITY VIEWS

THE IRANIAN GREEN LIGHT TO CROATIA AND BOSNIA
IN IRANIAN ARMS TRANSFERS: THE UNITED STATES ROLE
SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
FINAL REPORT OF THE
INVESTIGATIVE REPORT
Chapter 1

Section One: Background

ORGANS AND PURPOSES OF THE SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE
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THE PUBLIC POLICY OF THE CITATION ADMINISTRATION ON PLAN

CHAPTER 4

40
THE MAINE GREEN PARTY POLICY

THE EVOLUTION AND EXPANSION OF

CHAPTER 9

75
were demonstrably false on most of the issues critical to the investigation, and thus of little help. Nevertheless, Galbraith's own words reveal his central importance to the evolution of the pipeline.

The import of this information with Ambassador Galbraith, who admitted that he was one of the US officials who met with Omerbasic, but that the meeting was in a mosque at a public religious event and that there was no discussion with Omerbasic on the subject of arming the Bosnian Muslims. Galbraith identified the other "official" mentioned in the report as Tom Misnacht. The evidence is also clear that during the spring of 1994, as Galbraith shopped his Iranian "plug the other way" solution to the crisis of the Bosnian Muslims with the US, Omerbasic and Sufi were working with the Iranians to make that solution a reality. The Washington Accord, resulting in the Muslim-Croat Federation, by halting the fighting between Croats and Bosnian Muslims, softened Sufi's resistance to the Iranian arms proposal.

Given the Croatian desire to act in accordance with the wishes of the US, the Croats could not give the Iranians any guarantees without assuring that the US would not object.

The key to getting the favorable US response necessary for the Iranians, Croats and Bosnians to feel secure in cementing this "win-win-win" arrangement was Ambassador...

90 Hearing on Bosnia Before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, 104th Cong. 30 (May 30, 1996) (Testimony of Peter Galbraith) (hereinafter "Galbraith HPSCI testimony").

91 Select Subcommittee on Intelligence, 104th Cong. 30 (May 30, 1996) (Testimony of Peter Galbraith) (hereinafter "Galbraith HPSCI testimony").

92 Select Subcommittee Doc., Staff Stamp #000001 (Aug. 21, 1996).

93 See Pages 75-80.
In light of these facts, it is important to understand that the US government's actions in the 1950s were crucial in shaping the current world order. The arms race and the Cold War had profound socio-economic and political impacts worldwide. The superpowers, especially the US and the USSR, engaged in a constant struggle for global dominance, with their military expenditures and nuclear capabilities serving as key indicators of their power and influence.

The early 1960s marked a significant shift in the global geopolitical landscape. The Cuban Missile Crisis, a tense standoff between the US and the USSR, highlighted the dangers of nuclear brinkmanship and underscored the importance of preventive diplomacy. This event underscored the need for international cooperation and understanding to mitigate the risks of nuclear proliferation and disarmament.

As the Cold War progressed, countries were increasingly forced to choose sides, either aligning with the US or the USSR, leading to the division of Europe and the establishment of two opposing blocks. This division underscored the complexity of international relations and the challenges of maintaining stability in a world defined by superpower rivalries.

In conclusion, the historical events of the 1950s and 1960s, including the arms race, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the partitioning of Europe, have had long-lasting implications for global politics. The strategies and decisions made during this period continue to influence international relations and shape the world as we know it today.
CHAPTER 10 

TREYNOR OVERLAND AND COVER ACTION

Introduction
CHAPTER 12

PART I: COUNCIL

THE GREEK LIGHT AND THE NAZI PHOTON IN EUROPE

SECTION THREE: POLICY RAMIFICATIONS
green light that Iran was able to develop a massive, multi-faceted program that would, on a public level, burnish its image as Bosnia's savior and, on a hidden level, give it political influence and the reach to build a formidable, well-entrenched clandestine capability to carry out its anti-Western designs.

Deputy Secretary Talbott observed in a statement cited at the beginning of the previous chapter that the green light did not open the door to Bosnia for Iran. He is technically correct; what the green light did was to throw the door wider open and put out a welcome mat.

After the Green Light

Although the weapons provided after the green light via the Iranian pipeline did not turn the war around and probably did little more than help the Muslims better defend themselves, there is no denying the magnitude of Iran's effort in comparison with its marginal involvement in the war before April 1994.

Within months the Iranian influence in the military was pervasive. Iranians were training, advising, and indoctrinating Muslim fighters in facilities throughout Bosnia. By 1996 thousands of Bosnian military personnel, not including police and security forces, had

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7 DCI's Balkan Task Force (BTF)

8 Select Subcommittee Deposition of LTC John E. Gray, Aug. 29, 1996, at 63
(Hereinafter "Gray Dep.").

15 Gray Dep. at 8.
16 Gray Dep. at 9.
The detailed information is not readable due to the image quality.
APPENDICES
A Budget, Operations, and Acknowledgements
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221

Ambassador Peter Galbraith Memo
October 25, 1996

Limit Arms Transfers to Croatia and Bosnia

Select Subcommittee to Investigate

Minority Views
The English Premier League (EPL) is the top-flight professional football league in England. It is considered one of the most prestigious and competitive leagues in the world. The EPL consists of 20 teams, with each team playing 38 matches per season. The team with the most points at the end of the season is declared the champion, and the top four teams qualify for the UEFA Champions League.

One of the key features of the EPL is its strong bottom-up structure. The league is divided into three divisions, with each team playing matches against teams from the same division. This ensures a competitive environment throughout the season, with teams facing challenging opponents in their respective divisions.

The EPL is known for its high-quality football, with teams competing at the highest level. The league attracts some of the best players and managers in the world, and it is a popular destination for football clubs looking to attract top talent. The EPL also generates significant revenue through its strong television rights and sponsorship deals, which help to support the league's ongoing growth and development.

In recent years, the EPL has faced challenges such as financial pressures and increasing costs associated with player salaries and transfer fees. However, the league continues to attract significant attention and investment, and it remains a key player in the global football landscape.
The Federation of South America (Federación de la Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbol) was founded in September 1916 by a group of South American countries led by Uruguay. The purpose of the federation was to organize and promote football (soccer) in the region. The first Continental Championship, the Copa América, was held in 1925. Since then, the Copa América has become one of the most prestigious football tournaments in the world, with Brazil and Argentina being the most successful teams. The federation has played a significant role in the development of football in South America, and its member associations are among the strongest in the world.
From April-May 1964 and September 1974. On July 6, 1964, in the presence of

Communication between the other countries of the Organization of American States and the

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Page 6

Page 8

270
23.

In 1994, the Federal Reserve Board adopted new regulations to implement the banking law, which included a provision that banks must provide enhanced disclosures of their collections and payments transactions. The regulations required banks to disclose the specific terms of their services, including the fees charged, and to provide customers with a summary of their accounts. The regulations also required banks to maintain records of all transactions and to provide customers with periodic statements of their accounts. The regulations took effect on April 1, 1994.

24.

In 1995, the Federal Reserve Board issued new regulations to implement the Banking Act of 1994. The regulations required banks to provide customers with a summary of their accounts and to maintain records of all transactions. The regulations also required banks to provide customers with periodic statements of their accounts. The regulations took effect on April 1, 1995.
of the Committee.

between the EC and the Member States on the one hand and the Commission on the other hand, as provided for in the Commission Regulation (EC) No 1292/2008 of 16 December 2008 establishing the Community's response to the current economic and financial crisis.

A call to action in Europe.

Vorwort

Mit der Europäischen Union als ausführende Instanz für die Mitwirkung der Mitgliedstaaten gilt es, in die Zukunft zu blicken und die Herausforderungen zu bewältigen, die uns bevorstehen. Die Europäische Union muss sich in einem neuen Zeitalter der globalen Verschmelzung der Wirtschaft und des Menschen und der Herausforderungen der Umwelt zu einer stärkeren und effizienteren Institution machen, die in der Lage ist, die Ziele der Agenda 2030 für nachhaltige Entwicklung zu erreichen.

Die Europäische Union muss in der Lage sein, in einer Zukunft, in der die Grenzen zwischen den Ländern immer mehr verschwinden, die Interessen der Bürgerinnen und Bürger der Mitgliedstaaten zu vertreten und die Herausforderungen der globalen Wirtschaft in einem effektiven und nachhaltigen Rahmen zu bewältigen.

Zukunftsinvestitionen sind notwendig, um sicherzustellen, dass die Europäische Union in der Lage ist, die Herausforderungen der Zukunft zu meistern. Die Zukunft der Europäischen Union hängt von der Zusammenarbeit der Mitgliedstaaten ab. Nur gemeinsam können wir die Herausforderungen der Zukunft meistern.

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The information of the Front-Page Summary was received from the source.

NVIDIA GeForce

The NVIDIA GeForce is a line of graphics processing units (GPUs) produced by NVIDIA. The GeForce series is known for its high performance and is widely used in desktop computers and other devices that require powerful graphics processing capabilities.

The NVIDIA GeForce series includes various models, each designed to meet the needs of different users and applications. The higher-end models are typically used for gaming, 3D modeling, and other demanding tasks, while the more affordable models are suitable for basic graphics tasks and general-purpose computing.

The NVIDIA GeForce series has evolved over the years, with each new generation introducing improvements in performance, power efficiency, and features. The latest models in the series continue to push the boundaries of graphics technology, offering users unprecedented levels of realism and performance in their applications.

The NVIDIA GeForce series is not only popular among consumers but also among professionals in fields such as design, engineering, and entertainment, where high-quality graphics are essential.

In conclusion, the NVIDIA GeForce series is a testament to NVIDIA's commitment to delivering state-of-the-art graphics solutions. Its evolution over the years has kept pace with the demands of modern technology and continues to redefine what is possible in the world of graphics.
The Caracas declaration did not lead to a resolution of the conflict. The Council of Europe was not consulted, and the European Union took no action.

\[\text{Equation}\]

In the summer of 1995, the Council of Europe was again active in the region, but the conflict remained unresolved. The European Union continued to provide financial assistance to the countries affected by the conflict.

\[\text{Equation}\]

The European Union's role in the exercise was to provide financial assistance to the countries affected by the conflict. The exercise was funded by the European Union and the Council of Europe.

\[\text{Equation}\]
The annexure of the order thereof may be drafted to be followed by an introduction to the

Date: 12-5-1994

The undersigned hereby do declare that the Annexure herein is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

(Stamp)

[Signature]

Secretary to the Government of the State of Punjab

Punjab Secretariat, New Delhi

[Stamp]

would be made by President George H.W. Bush. The first step, according to the
administration, would be to establish a "working group" to assess the
situation and make recommendations. The group would include
representatives from various federal agencies and would be
chaired by Assistant Secretary of State Robert Zoellick. The group
would then make a report to the president, who would decide on the
next steps.

The administration's plan is based on the assumption that
the crisis in Chechnya is likely to continue for some time. The
administration does not believe that a military operation is a
solution to the problem, and it is concerned about the possible
consequences of such an action. The administration is also
aware of the potential for civilian casualties and the risk of a
prolonged war.

The administration's plan is intended to be a non-military solution
to the Chechen crisis. It is based on the assumption that the
Chechen conflict is a result of economic and social factors, and that
a military solution is unlikely to be successful. The administration
is therefore focusing on economic and social development as a
means to stabilize the region.

The administration's plan includes a number of proposed
measures, including:

- Providing economic assistance to Chechnya to help
  stabilize the region
- Developing a regional economic strategy to help
  Chechnya's economy
- Providing humanitarian assistance to help
  alleviate the suffering of the civilian population
- Developing a regional security strategy to help
  stabilize the region
- Developing a regional development strategy to help
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- Providing technical assistance to help
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The administration's plan is intended to be a long-term solution
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...
La présente déclaration est faite sous la responsabilité des parties suivantes:

[Signatures]

[Date]

[Adresse]

[Nom et Prénom]

[Compagnie]

[Adresse]
1992

Article XVII of the License Agreement requires the Licensor to pay royalty fees to the Licensee. The royalty fees are calculated based on the Net Sales of the products manufactured under the License Agreement. The royalty rate is 6% of Net Sales for the first three years, then increases to 8% for the subsequent years.

The failure of the Licensor to pay royalty fees as required by the License Agreement may result in the termination of the License Agreement by the Licensee. In such an event, the Licensee may seek legal remedies to enforce the payment of royalties and other obligations under the License Agreement.

If the Licensor fails to pay royalties for a period of six months, the Licensee may, at its discretion, terminate the License Agreement. The Licensee may also seek damages for any losses incurred due to the Licensor's breach of the License Agreement.

The License Agreement contains a clause that allows the Licensor to terminate the Agreement if the Licensee breaches any of its obligations under the Agreement. The Licensor must provide written notice to the Licensee of such breach and give the Licensee a reasonable opportunity to cure the breach.

The Licensee may terminate the Agreement if the Licensor fails to perform its obligations under the Agreement for a period of 180 days after receiving written notice of such failure. In such event, the Licensee may seek damages for any losses incurred due to the Licensor's breach of the Agreement.

The License Agreement includes a confidentiality clause that requires the Licensor and Licensee to maintain the confidentiality of all information exchanged under the Agreement. The confidentiality clause also applies to third parties with whom the Licensor or Licensee shares information under the Agreement.

The License Agreement contains provisions for the resolution of disputes arising out of the Agreement. The parties may choose to resolve disputes through arbitration or litigation, subject to the provisions of the Agreement.
217

The report of the High-level Authority of the United Nations, which includes the

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The Third Shipment and United States Involvement.

The Romans may have been concerned that if they did not inform the Croats directly about the shipments, and they learned of them subsequently, the Croats would use the shipments as an excuse to curtail the pipeline. Of course, the Croats would insist on their cut if they were informed of the

Chapter Two: Section Four

Appendix B: Amendment to the May 1994 Agreement in

The British Government's New Approach to the Province, May 1995
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Supreme Court of California

No. 49653

In re the Application of the Department of Water Resources, Petitioner,

v.

City of San Francisco, Respondent.

On Petition for Writ of Mandamus.

1. Whether the judgment of the Superior Court of San Francisco County, in Action No. 150883, is appealable to the Supreme Court of California.

2. Whether the order of the Superior Court of San Francisco County, in Action No. 150883, is appealable to the Supreme Court of California.

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34. Whether the order of the Superior Court of San Francisco County, in Action No. 150883, is appealable to the Supreme Court of California.

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## Appendix C

### DEPOSITIONS AND INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED BY SELECT COMMITTEE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Deposition or Interview</th>
<th>Relevant Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anderson, Mark</td>
<td>8/25/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former U.N. Fire and Emergency Medical Services, Sanjaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrea, Janet</td>
<td>9/20/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former Special Assistant to Former D.C. Weatherly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balk, Terri Lee</td>
<td>8/29/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Current Secretary to Ambassador Galbraith, Former Secretary to a CDA Nettoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banes, Frederick</td>
<td>8/29/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Coordinator of Inter-Agency Task Force on Serbian/Montenegrin Sanctions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartholomew, Reginald</td>
<td>9/30/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former Special Envoy to Former Yugoslavia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berger, Samuel</td>
<td>9/25/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkhard, Robert</td>
<td>3/14/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Communications Program Officer, USAID, Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byrnes, Larry</td>
<td>9/20/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former DCM, Belgrade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castelle, Robert</td>
<td>9/6/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Assistant General Counsel, CIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, General Wesley</td>
<td>9/6/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former J-5, Director of Strategic Plans and Policy on the Joint Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conkret, Peter</td>
<td>9/6/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Legal Advisor to the Central European Division, CIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'Acandace, Denis</td>
<td>10/2/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Chairman, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'Urso, Ernest</td>
<td>8/3/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Protocol Assistant, Embassy Zagreb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donskis, Thomas</td>
<td>9/12/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and Chief of Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russ, Robert</td>
<td>8/19/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>18th M. Zagreb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Deposition or Interview</th>
<th>Relevant Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foley, Thomas</td>
<td>9/13/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Speaker of the US House of Representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halbreich, Peter</td>
<td>8/10/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>U.S. Ambassador to Croatia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liebold, Philip</td>
<td>8/23/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Desk Officer for Bosnia at USAID, DC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrington, Anthony</td>
<td>1/23/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Chairman of President’s Intelligence Oversight Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrick, Colonel Richard</td>
<td>8/20/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former DATT, Embassy Zagreb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill, Christopher</td>
<td>9/14/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Deputy Director of Eastern European Affairs, Former Director of South Central European Affairs, the Balkans, USAID.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hub, Christopher</td>
<td>9/7/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former American Desk Officer in South Central European Affairs at USAID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holdowske, Richard</td>
<td>9/27/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holowapka, Richard</td>
<td>8/20/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former Political Officer, Embassy Zagreb</td>
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<td>Horn, Susan</td>
<td>8/14/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former Public Affairs Officer, Embassy Zagreb</td>
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<td>Hunt, Sorence</td>
<td>8/13/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>U.S. Ambassador to Austria</td>
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<td>Hunter, Robert</td>
<td>9/20/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>U.S. Ambassador to NATO</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jackson, Victor</td>
<td>8/20/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former U.S. Ambassador to Romania</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kloppe, Robert</td>
<td>8/5/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Chief of Political Section, Embassy Zagreb</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lake, Anthony</td>
<td>9/10/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>MacFadden, Douglas</td>
<td>9/6/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former Deputy Director for Intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel, Robert</td>
<td>9/12/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Majority Leader, US House of Representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
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<td>Relevant Position</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mehta, Thomas</td>
<td>8/14/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former Political/Economic Officer and H uscaker, Embassy Zagreb</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mansar, John</td>
<td>8/14/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Ambassador to Islamabad, Pakistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meckl, Ronald</td>
<td>9/7/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former DCM, Embassy Zagreb</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poulton, Ronald</td>
<td>8/10/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Administrative Officer, Embassy Zagreb</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peri, Raskoff</td>
<td>8/20/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former Chargé de Polygone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Place, Shane</td>
<td>8/30/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Department Commander, US Marine Guard, Embassy Zagreb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ray, Susan</td>
<td>8/13/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Secretary to the Ambassador, Vienna, Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redman, Charles</td>
<td>9/27/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former Special Envoy to Former Yugoslavia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rezow, John</td>
<td>9/8/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Senior Deputy General Counsel, CIA</td>
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<td>Rose, William</td>
<td>8/10/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>R&amp;D, Zagreb</td>
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<td>Sallier, Colonel Richard</td>
<td>8/21/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>DAVE, Embassy Zagreb</td>
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<tr>
<td>Savoy, John</td>
<td>9/23/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Intelligence officer to UNPROFOR</td>
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<td>Scuttman, Charles</td>
<td>8/10/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former Secretary to Ambassador Gallekh</td>
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<td>Swigert, James</td>
<td>9/23/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former DCM, Embassy Belgrade</td>
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<tr>
<td>Talbot, Steve</td>
<td>9/9/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Deputy Secretary of State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangney, Mildred</td>
<td>9/14/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Secretary to the Ambassador, Islamabad, Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarbell, Peter</td>
<td>9/13/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
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<th>Deposition or Interview</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verishow, Alexander</td>
<td>8/23/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verishow, Alexander</td>
<td>9/15/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director, Central and Eastern European Affairs, National Security Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker, Jennifer</td>
<td>8/2/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former St. Assistant for Europe, NSC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weston, Thomas</td>
<td>8/14/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, Philip</td>
<td>8/14/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Coordinator for Counterterrorism, USISF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolf, John</td>
<td>8/14/96</td>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Former U.S. Ambassador to Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodsby, James</td>
<td>9/13/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former Director, Central Intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yachnin, Kathryn</td>
<td>9/10/96</td>
<td>Deposition</td>
<td>Former IFY Secretary to Ambassador Gulbrath</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix D

**SELECTED CONGRESSIONAL ACTIVITY RELATING TO THE UN ARMS EMBARGO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill No.</th>
<th>Bill Title</th>
<th>Relevant Action</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HR 5368</td>
<td>Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1993</td>
<td>During consideration of this bill, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved an amendment offered by Senator Biden to transfer defense articles from DoD stocks to the Russian government, pursuant to the lifting of the arms embargo.</td>
<td>10/5/92 Signed into Law (PL 102-391)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR 2305</td>
<td>Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act of 1994</td>
<td>This legislation contained language that was enacted in the prior year’s appropriations bill authorizing the President to transfer DOD stocks to Bosnia, pursuant to a lifting of the UN arms embargo.</td>
<td>9/30/93 Signed into Law (PL 103-87)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR 2333</td>
<td>State Department, USAID, and Related Agencies Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995</td>
<td>In the House, the Foreign Affairs committee added a provision offered by Rep. Hyde that stated that the “President may terminate the US arms embargo of the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina upon receipt from that government a request for assistance in exercising its right of self-defense.”</td>
<td>Merged with S 2182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2042</td>
<td>An act to remove the United States arms embargo of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>This legislation stated that “neither the President nor any other member of the Executive Branch of the US Government shall interfere with the transfer of arms to the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.”</td>
<td>Referred to House Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5/12/94 Mitchell amendment to direct the President to seek a multilateral lift of the arms embargo passed 50-49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5/12/94 Doyle-Wieberman amendment mandating the termination of the embargo passed 50-49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Additional Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill No.</th>
<th>Bill Title</th>
<th>Relevant Action</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HR 4301</td>
<td>A bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1995 for military activities of the Department of Defense, to prescribe military personnel strengths for fiscal year 1995, and for other purposes</td>
<td>During House floor consideration, the House adopted an amendment that was introduced by Rep. McClintock, Gilman, Bonior and Hooyer.</td>
<td>Merged with S 2182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR 4426</td>
<td>FY 95 Foreign Operations Appropriations</td>
<td>This legislation contained language that DOD weapon stocks would be released to Bosnia pursuant to a multilateral or unilateral lifting of the arms embargo.</td>
<td>8/23/94 Signed into Law (PL 103-306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2182</td>
<td>An act to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1995 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense programs of the Department of Energy, to prescribe personnel strengths for each fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes</td>
<td>During the Senate debate, an amendment to propose the termination of the arms embargo, if the Bosnian Serbs do not meet certain conditions, was passed, while an amendment to unilaterally lift the arms embargo failed by a tie vote.</td>
<td>10/5/94 Signed into Law (PL 103-3370)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill No.</td>
<td>Bill Title</td>
<td>Relevant Action</td>
<td>Outcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR 4650</td>
<td>A bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1995, and for other purposes</td>
<td>The conference committee on S 2182, adopted language requiring that no US funds be used to enforce the arms embargo after 1/1/94, the so-called &quot;Nunn-Mitchell&quot; provision. 8/11/94 Senate considered Dole/Lieberman amendment requiring a unilateral lifting of the embargo which passed 58-42 8/11/94 Nunn/Mitchell amendment passed 56-44, that required that no US funds may be used for international efforts to enforce the arms embargo.</td>
<td>103-335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR 1561</td>
<td>A bill to consolidate the foreign affairs agencies of the United States; to authorize appropriations for the Department of State and related agencies for fiscal years 1996 and 1997; to responsibly reduce the authorization of appropriations for United States foreign assistance programs for fiscal years 1996 and 1997, and for other purposes</td>
<td>During House consideration of the bill, an amendment requiring the unilateral lift of the arms embargo was adopted. 6/6/95 House passed amendment requiring the President to unilaterally lift the UN arms embargo by vote of 218-99.</td>
<td>4-12-96 Vetoed by President 4-30-96 Veto Override Failed in House by vote 234 - 188 (Vote 136)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 21</td>
<td>An act to terminate the United States arms embargo applicable to the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>7/18/95 Dole offered a substitute amendment to allow the President to postpone the implementation of the lifting of the embargo beyond the deadline in the bill, if he informs Congress. 7/26/95 Passed Senate by vote of 60-29 (vote 331)</td>
<td>8/1/95 Vetoed by President.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Iran uses Russian planes to supply Bosnian Muslim, Croatian troopers

3) shipments of arms delivered despite U.N. embargo

"We are being paid by the Iranian government. We don't think there can be any objection to our supplying munitions from one government to another."

...
RESOLUTION

Passed by the House of Representatives

In the House of Representatives

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

HR. RES. 416
House Calendar No. 214

107TH CONGRESS

to control and prevent the spread of feline leukemia virus in the United States.

[Report No. 104-531]

Authorized and directed to be printed.

[Referred to the House Committee and ordered to be printed]

July 2, 1996

The Committee on Agriculture, so noted to the committee on international relations,

Establishing a select subcommittee of the committee on international relations

[Secondary_language]
neither is the express or implied authority of the Senate, the House of Representatives, or the President of the United States to make such appointments and recommendations to the Com.

16 The Senate committee is authorized and de-

15 Second in the same manner in which the original appoint-

14 in the management of the Senate committee shall be

13 Joint party members of the Senate. Any vacancy occurring

12 of the Senate committee shall be filled by the Committee

11 of the Senate committee on International Relations.

10 of the Senate committee on International Relations.

9 The Speaker of the House of Representatives shall be appointed upon

8 national elections, of which shall be members of the

7 member of the Committee on International Relations.

6 members of the Senate committee on International Relations.

5 The Senate committee shall be composed of 8

4 Whether the House is in session or not adjourned,

3 wealth or possession thereof, or in any other county,

2 possession of the House, the Senate, and the Committee

1 to sit and determine the_cases at law and in equity,

7 The Senate committee, shall be composed of 8

3 and shall be appointed by the

2 with respect to the Senate, and the Committee

1 of the Senate committee, shall be appointed by the

2 Any new acts with respect to the Senate, and the Committee

3 Any new acts with respect to the Senate, and the Committee

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5 Whether the House is in session or not adjourned,

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19 An act respecting the Senate committee and the Committee

20 the act relating to the Senate committee and the Committee

21 the act respecting the Senate committee and the Committee

22 the act respecting the Senate committee and the Committee

23 life of the Senate committee and the Committee

24 the act respecting the Senate committee and the Committee

25 the act respecting the Senate committee and the Committee
The secret subcommittee shall transmit a report to the Committee on International Relations not later than 30 days after the date on which the resolution is adopted.

The secret subcommittee shall provide access to information and documents to any other committee, the majority leader, the minority leader, the chair of the Committee on International Relations, and to any person by their recommend or, if other, at the discretion of the minority of articles of articles shall not be made public.

However, the secret subcommittee may direct that this material be transmitted to the Rules of the House of Representatives.

The secret subcommittee shall provide other committees with information and documents related to the House's decision on the matter.

Other than the authorised committee, no other committee, agency, or person may act on the material provided.

The secret subcommittee shall report to the Committee on International Relations.

The secret subcommittee may request the furnishing of information and documents related to the decision on the matter.

The secret subcommittee may keep such matters confidential and may exclude any individual from participating in the decision on the matter.

The secret subcommittee may vote on motions to keep such matters confidential and may exclude any individual from participating in the decision on the matter.

The secret subcommittee may take any action necessary to ensure the confidentiality of the decision on the matter.

The United States and its allies and for third-party communities.
findings of the select subcommittee, together with its recommendations.

(g) The select subcommittee shall cease to exist 6 months after the date on which this resolution is agreed to.
for purposes of the committees and subcommittees appointed by the Chair, the Select Committee on Intelligence, and any other committee of the House of Representatives, and the Select Committee on the Judiciary, shall be deemed to have been referred to the same committees, respectively, when said committee has no jurisdiction over the subject matter of said legislation.
XI but nothing short of rule XI. Clause X(III) of rule XI provides for no amendment or motion to report, together with the names of those voting for and against, on printed notice.

MINORITY VIEWS

This unprecedented legislative procedure proposed in H. R. 416 was awarded to the House of Representatives in a manner that is a perversion of a normal legislative process. In the minority's view, it is a political device designed to undermine the administration by creating a perceived political issue that can not be negated. The minority opposes this proposal for a number of reasons:

1. It is inconsistent with the principles of representative democracy.
2. It undermines the integrity of the legislative process.
3. It is a political ploy to score political gains.

The minority believes that this proposal should be rejected and that the normal legislative process should be restored.
ENCINNICATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

Committee on Professional Standards

March 1997

687
Chief Concern: of the assessment to the Investigators.

Through the Chief Concern, the Chief Concern shall provide timely notice to the Head of the Assessment to the Secretary, Sub-Committee Group by the Chief Concern.

1. Adequate assessment to the Secretary, Sub-Committee Group by the Chief Concern.

2. Final

Justice and the Full Court to join notice to both the Deputy and Manager of the Task

Professional law enforcement investigation assisted by the Department of Investigation (FDN).

Investigations assisted by the Director of Justice (DOJ) and the Federal Bureau

Select Sub-Committee of Justice, Sub-Committee of Directors, Sub-Committee of Sub-Committee Group, and Sub-Committee of Executive

Understand that the findings are the result of an executive order in relation to the executive order or an executive order to create and promote the need for the Executive.

The Deputy and Manager staff of the Select Sub-Committee on the thru Audit cofCare


MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

Page 688

Page 689
Chief Counsel approves the design, the changes, and the modifications the interface/with the working day.

Chief Counsel and Director of the Project, as per the terms of the agreement, and as such shall be informed of the same in writing.

2.

Chief Counsel and Director of the Project are notified of any potential requirement for information as set forth in Chief Counsel's advice and consent, as per the terms of the agreement.

Chief Counsel and Director of the Project are provided with the final document and a copy of the final documents.

(9)

The final documents are signed by the Chief Counsel and the Director of the Project.

641
Upon consideration, the Petitioner Cuey, Complainant, and the Respondent Cruz, Defendant, move the Court to enter an order

(a) Deny all of the prayer for relief set forth in the Complaint.

(b) Set aside and cancel the order of attachment previously granted in this case.

(c) Release the Respondent from any attachment performed by the Court.

(d) Award costs and disbursements to the Petitioner.
Dear Mr. Chancellor,

The White House

May 15, 1969

The President of the United States of America

I am writing in response to your recent request for

The President's statements can be found in the context of the larger document, which discusses the presidency and its role during the 1960s. The specific content of the request and the response is not fully visible in the provided image.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

DATE: 8/1969

[Handwritten notes and signatures]

The following image is not relevant to the text provided and can be disregarded for the purpose of transcription.

The document contains official communication between the White House and another entity, possibly the President and a member of the Cabinet, discussing the presidency and its responsibilities during the 1960s.
During the Congressional debates on the new set of anti-trust laws, I was employed as a congressional aide. My primary responsibility was to act as a liaison between my congressman and the various congressional committees. I was frequently asked to prepare reports on various aspects of the legislation under consideration. These reports were submitted to my congressman for review and consideration. In addition, I was responsible for organizing hearings, scheduling appointments, and coordinating the activities of the various congressional committees. I was also responsible for ensuring that all necessary information was made available to my congressman in a timely manner.

As a congressional aide, I was privy to many important legislative decisions. I was often called upon to provide advice and recommendations to my congressman on various matters. I was also responsible for ensuring that my congressman was well-prepared for all important hearings and meetings. I was frequently called upon to represent my congressman in various public appearances and to speak on his behalf.

In conclusion, my role as a congressional aide was critical to the success of the new anti-trust laws. I was able to provide valuable assistance to my congressman in his efforts to ensure that the legislation was well-received and that it was implemented effectively. My role was not without its challenges, but I was able to meet them head-on and to make a valuable contribution to the legislative process.
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Your letter is addressed to the Commissioner of Agriculture. The Department of Agriculture has received your letter and is pleased to provide you with the following information.

Responding to your request for information on the state of the agricultural industry, we have provided some general data on the current state of the industry. The Department of Agriculture is committed to supporting farmers and promoting sustainable practices. We hope this information is helpful.

Assistant Secretary
Agriculture

Yours sincerely,

The Secretary of Agriculture
Date: August 19, 1996

Mr. Anthony S. Lake, Chairman
Committee on International Relations
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Lake,

I hope this letter finds you well. I am writing to express my strong support for the Administration's decision to withdraw from the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations. In my view, this decision is in the best interests of the American people and the country's long-term economic security.

The WTO negotiations have been a source of concern for many Americans, particularly those in industries that have been negatively impacted by globalization. The Administration's decision to withdraw from these negotiations is a necessary step to protect the interests of our domestic workers and businesses.

I understand that the Administration's decision has been met with some opposition, but I believe that it is the right move for the country. The WTO negotiations have not been successful in addressing the issues faced by American workers and businesses, and it is time for a new approach.

Thank you for your consideration of this matter. I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
The text on the page is not legible due to the quality of the image. It appears to be a form or letter, but the content is not discernible from the image provided.
Dear Mr. Chairman:

This letter responds to your letters of July 26, 1996, to Mr. Lake, Mr. Harrington and me. I am also responding to a letter from members of the Select Committee Staff to me dated August 2, 1996 requesting the deposition of Mr. Leon Fuhrth, and in part to letters to Secretary Perry dated August 2 and to Secretary Christopher dated August 7. Matters raised in your letter of August 13 to Mr. Harrington will be addressed in a separate letter.

First, let me underscore that we are committed to ensuring that Congress obtains the facts it needs in order to form a complete understanding of U.S. policy in Bosnia as it relates to your inquiry. To this end, since March, numerous Administration officials have been made available to testify or brief five committees of Congress. In addition, relevant government agencies have undertaken extraordinary efforts to collect, review, and provide Congress materials responsive to numerous requests. The NSC alone has spent well over 150 staff days collecting and reviewing documents. We will, of course, also work with your committee in a good faith effort to provide you with the same information.

I am sure you agree that this should continue to be done in a manner that does not undermine the President's ability to formulate and execute foreign policy. As stated in the principle understood well by previous Republican and Democratic Administrations, that a President must be able to protect the confidentiality of certain types of communications if he is to carry out his constitutional role in this regard. If acceding to requests for disclosure would either impair the President's ability to perform his role or result in the inappropriate entanglement of other branches in the President's constitutional function, then the President must be afforded the latitude to protect the prerogatives of the Presidency. These are not new precepts; Presidents and Members of Congress from both parties have recognized these constitutional principles, as have the courts, for generations.

As a result, the Administration has sought to accommodate Congress's interest in the underlying facts in a manner consistent with the interests and constitutional roles of both branches -- in an effort to avoid invocation of privilege and a wholly unnecessary constitutional confrontation. We have thus worked successfully with other committees of the Congress to provide them the information they need for a complete understanding of U.S. policy in a manner that accommodates the legitimate institutional interests of both the legislative and executive branches of government. I am confident we can do the same here.

1. NSC Documents

With respect to your requests for access to documents identified in your letters to Mr. Lake and me, the Administration is prepared to provide your subcommittee access to the same documents, on the same basis, as were previously made available to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. In fact, your staff has already begun this process by reviewing materials at the NSC on August 5. We would be prepared to brief on, or show to, the Chairman and Ranking Democratic Member additional documents at your convenience.

2. IOB Report and Staff Depositions

In a separate letter addressed to Mr. Harrington, Chairman Hyde also requested a copy of the Intelligence Oversight Board's report on Bosnia. Mr. Hamilton is not a signatory of this letter. As you know, consistent with long-standing practice, the IOB's report for the President was not made available publicly or to the Congress. Indeed, we are aware of no precedent in this or any other Administration for providing to the Congress IOB reports to the President. As indicated in Mr. Harrington's letter of August 9 to you, the Board's report to the President on its Guatemala review has been handled in a like manner, although in this one instance, a public version was also prepared and released. Nor is the report being relied upon as justification for policy options selected at the time. The IOB undertook a factual review in its Presidential oversight role, not a policy review.

Rather, the IOB's work on behalf of the President is ordinarily conducted in confidence and shared only with the President and his immediate senior advisors. As a matter of comity, however, this Administration has sought to accommodate Congressional interest in the work of the IOB. In the case of Bosnia, for example, the Board was authorized to brief the Congress extensively on its factual review and conclusions.
Washington, D.C., 20515
House of Representatives
Select Committee on the United States Postal Service
Chairman C. Young

Respectfully,
[Signature]

Sincerely,
[Signature]

We believe this process has worked well, and we are committed to working with you to
carry forward the principles of open government.

The Department of Labor acknowledges the legislative intent,
in carrying forward the principles of open government.

In closing, the Administration is committed to ensuring that the
interests of both branches of government,
maintain a balance with the legislative intent.
Dear Mr. Chairman:

The purpose of this letter is to follow up the understanding reached between you and Deputy Secretary Talbott during your August 29 telephone discussion regarding your letter of August 24 and earlier staff request for depositions of Department principals.

As the Deputy Secretary indicated, the State Department is committed to cooperating with the Subcommittee's efforts to pursue its inquiry. In the interest of both time and getting to heart of issues of concern to your inquiry, there was agreement that the Deputy Secretary and Under Secretary Tarnoff would go up next week to meet with you, Rep. Hamilton and other interested members for an hour or so. This would be an informal interview in which the Chief and Deputy Counsels on both sides would also participate.

The Deputy Secretary has testified extensively on this issue before two other Congressional committees, and we have provided those transcripts. He is prepared to clarify any questions you might have concerning the policy the Administration pursued regarding arms transfers to Bosnia.

We suggest that the interview occur on Thursday, September 5 from 10:30-11:30 a.m., if that is convenient for you, and Thursday, September 5 from 3:30-4:30 p.m.

We look forward to working together to make the necessary arrangements for these meetings with Department principals. We have conveyed a similar letter to Representative Hamilton.

Sincerely,

Barbara Lentin
Assistant Secretary
Legislative Affairs

The Honorable
Henry J. Hyde, Chairman
Select Subcommittee on the
United States Role in Iranian Arms
Transfers to Croatia and Bosnia,
Committee on International Relations,
House of Representatives

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

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am writing to request that the State Department release documents to the Select Subcommittee it received from the US Mission to the United Nations pursuant to my staff's mid-July 1996 request in that office relating to the Subcommittee's inquiry into the role of the United States in Iranian arms transfers to Croatia and Bosnia.

At the request of Majority Staff Associate Janice E. Dobbs, these materials were prepared by Mr. David Shapiro in the Yugoslavian Section Division at the US Mission-UN. The documents requested include the minutes of all UN Security Council Committee meetings and UN Sanctions Committee meetings, and copies of correspondence received from the governments of Bosnia, Croatia, and Iran referenced in the May 25, 1994 UN Security Council Committee meeting transcript, which are currently held. It is my understanding that these documents are not classified, although the UN restricts their release to Security Council members.

I am advised that these documents were forwarded to the State Department, simply as a matter of protocol, and have been in the State Department's control since shortly after August 16, 1996. (Mr. Shapiro reported that he sent the documents to the State Department via diplomatic pouch on or about August 16, 1996).

I appreciate your prompt attention to this matter. Should you have any questions or comments regarding this request, please do not hesitate to call me in (202) 224-2284.

Sincerely,

Henry J. Hyde
Chairman
CC: The Honorable Lee Hamilton
White House, DC, 20210
Dear Chairman Rangel:

I am an American citizen and a long-time supporter of the American political system. I am writing to express my concern about the recent developments in the area of telecommunications security.

I am aware of the ongoing debates and discussions among stakeholders on the importance of ensuring the security of our telecommunications infrastructure. I believe that this issue is of utmost importance, not only for the protection of our national security but also for the preservation of our democratic values.

I would like to express my support for the efforts being made by the government and the telecommunications industry to address this critical issue. I believe that a strong and robust framework is necessary to ensure the security of our telecommunications infrastructure.

I am also encouraged by the recent initiatives taken by the government to strengthen the cybersecurity measures in the telecommunications sector. These measures are essential to protect our nation from potential threats.

I urge you to continue to support these efforts and to work towards creating a secure and resilient telecommunications system.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

September 13, 1996

WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE
701

Dear Chairman Rangel:

I am a concerned citizen and a long-time supporter of the American political system. I am writing to express my concern about the recent developments in the area of telecommunications security.

I am aware of the ongoing debates and discussions among stakeholders on the importance of ensuring the security of our telecommunications infrastructure. I believe that this issue is of utmost importance, not only for the protection of our national security but also for the preservation of our democratic values.

I would like to express my support for the efforts being made by the government and the telecommunications industry to address this critical issue. I believe that a strong and robust framework is necessary to ensure the security of our telecommunications infrastructure.

I am also encouraged by the recent initiatives taken by the government to strengthen the cybersecurity measures in the telecommunications sector. These measures are essential to protect our nation from potential threats.

I urge you to continue to support these efforts and to work towards creating a secure and resilient telecommunications system.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

[Signature]