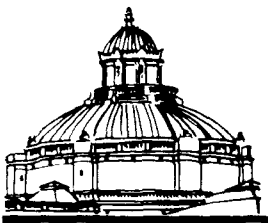

IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR:
BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILES

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ABSTRACT

This report provides biographical information on individuals who have been associated in public reports with the controversy surrounding the secret U.S. arms sales to Iran and the channeling of profits to the rebels or Contras in Nicaragua. The information has been compiled from public sources. The report will be updated periodically and complements the CRS Report 86-190 F, Iran-Contra Affair: A Chronology.

INTRODUCTION

On November 3, 1986, a Lebanese weekly magazine, Al-Shiraa, reported that Robert C. McFarlane, former National Security Adviser to the President, had secretly visited Tehran to discuss with Iranian officials a cessation of Iranian support for terrorist groups in exchange for the supply of U.S. arms and spare parts to Iran. On November 3, 1986, Attorney General Edwin Meese announced that evidence indicated that profits from arms sales to Iran had been diverted to anti-Sandinista rebels. The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Report, published on January 29, 1987, and the President's Special Review Board Tower, published on February 27, 1987, (referred to as the Tower Commission Report after the Chairman, Senator John Tower), showed that the United States had been engaged in an arms-for-hostage policy with Iran and that the proceeds of the arms sales had been diverted to fund the Nicaraguan rebels.

Scores of people were involved in the Iran arms initiative/Contra resupply action: U.S. officials at the White House, the State Department, the Department of Defense, and the Central Intelligence Agency; foreign officials from Israel, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere; and numerous private arms dealers, businessmen and financiers from third countries.

As additional names appear and new roles and relationships are revealed, it becomes increasingly difficult to keep the names and activities of the participants in mind. This report is designed to ease that burden. It provides biographical information on individuals associated with the controversy. Entries are in alphabetical order. Data are drawn from the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence's Report on Preliminary Inquiry, the Tower Commission Report, U.S. and foreign newspapers and periodicals, wire services, and television and radio reports.

This report is based on data available as of March 27, 1987. It will be updated and expanded as developments warrant. Hearings of the congressional select committees dealing with this issue are scheduled to begin on May 5, 1987. The Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition is scheduled to complete its report by August 30, 1987; the House Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran to complete its report by October 30, 1987; and Lawrence E. Walsh, special prosecutor appointed by the Justice Department, is mandated with investigating and if necessary prosecuting, criminal violations of officials involved in the Iran-Contra affair.

A conscientious effort has been made to assure the factual accuracy of data presented here, but errors are likely to be present in reports of fast-moving events such as these, especially when some participants have a vested interest in limiting and/or distorting the public record. Each biographical entry includes the individual's nationality, current and relevant recent occupations, dates the person testified before various congressional committees investigating the controversy, when available, and a brief statement regarding

the role reportedly played by each individual is also included. This list of individuals is not complete; additions and corrections will be made as more information becomes available.

An asterisk (*) appears before the names listed in the alphabetical listing which have been added since the last update.

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ABRAMS, Elliott

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, 1985

Recent Previous Occupations

Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, 1981-85;

Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, Department of State, 1981;

Attorney, Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard & McPherson, 1979-80;

Special counsel, Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, 1977-78.

Role

Assistant Secretary Abrams participated in a U.S. effort to elicit support from foreign governments for humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan rebels. Mr. Abrams acknowledged to the Tower Commission that he personally solicited \$10 million from the Sultan of Brunei in July of 1986. (New York Times, March 4, 1987: A15).

Mr. Abrams asked both Lt. Col. North and the head of the CIA's Central America Task Force, Alan Fiers, where the money should be deposited and received different bank account numbers from each of them. According to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence's report, the account number used by Mr. Abrams for the \$10 million was the same account suspected of being used by Mr. North and others to deposit proceeds from arms sales to Iran. Mr. Abrams testified to the Tower Commission that he and Charles Hill, executive secretary to the Secretary of State, decided to use Mr. North's bank account at Credit Suisse, "on the grounds that it looked, oddly enough in retrospect, kind of cleaner," than an account established by the CIA. (New York Times, March 4, 1987: A15).

Mr. Abrams worked closely with Mr. North on Contra issues during the two year congressional ban on aid to the Nicaraguan rebels. Mr. Abrams reported in testimony to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence that he "talked to Ollie every day" about the Contras, often in meetings of the Restricted Interagency Group (RIG) on Central America that convened once or twice a week

at the State Department. (Washington Post, February 27, 1987: A18). The Tower Commission Report identified the key members of the RIG as Mr. North, Mr. Abrams, and Mr. Fiers. (Washington Post, February 27, 1987: A18).

The Tower Commission questioned Mr. Abrams about his role in the construction of a secret airstrip for use by the Nicaraguan rebels at Santa Elena, in northern Costa Rica near the border with Nicaragua, and in subsequent efforts to convince Costa Rican officials not to reveal its existence. Mr. Abrams told the Commission that he could not recall when or how he learned of the airstrip's existence and said he believed the strip was never used. Mr. North, in a message on September 9, 1986, to Mr. Poindexter, said that he had held a conference call with Mr. Abrams and Mr. Tams, then U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica, and that all had agreed that he should call President Arias of Costa Rica and threaten him with a cutoff of U.S. aid unless he abandoned his plans to shut down an "illegal support operation for the contras." Mr. North has stated that he subsequently did so and that Mr. Arias had got "the same word from Elliott." This statement was denied by Mr. Abrams. (New York Times, March 4, 1987: A15).

Testified before Congress

Senate Intelligence Committee, November 25, 1986; December 8, 1986.

Testified before Tower Commission

December 19, 1986

ABSHIRE, David M.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Special Counsel to President Reagan

Recent Previous Occupations

Ambassador, US Permanent Representative, North Atlantic Council, 1983-87;

President, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS),
Georgetown University, 1982-83;

Chairman, CSIS, 1973-82;

Executive Director, CSIS, 1962-70;

Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, 1970-73;

Director National Security Group Transition, Office of President elect
Reagan, 1980-81.

Role

Mr. Abshire is charged with coordinating the White House's activities in all aspects of the Iran arms transfer and Contra funding operation. He was appointed December 26, 1986. Mr. Abshire stated in a Washington Post interview that he would not independently investigate the Iran controversy but would try to "break bottlenecks" and assist congressional and legal inquiries. (Washington Post, January 20, 1987).

ALLEN, Charles

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

CIA, National Intelligence Officer for Counterterrorism (Washington Post January 12, 1987: 1, 21)

Role

On September 12, 1985, Lt. Col. Oliver North asked Mr. Allen to increase intelligence efforts on Iran and Lebanon. Mr. North told him to limit the distribution of intelligence information to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, CIA Deputy Director John McMahon, former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane and Mr. North himself, Secretary of State George Schultz was explicitly excluded. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, IV A). On January 13, 1986, Mr. Allen conducted a five-hour interview with Manucher Ghorbanifar, the Iranian arms merchant, in Washington, D.C. The results of the interview were given to former CIA Director William Casey.

Mr. Allen testified to the Tower Commission that Mr. Casey had told him that Reverend Benjamin Weir's September 14, 1986, release was the result of the arms shipments to Iran. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, V F).

After receiving intelligence intercepts from Iran, he reportedly became aware of financial discrepancies in the arms sales operation as well as a possible diversion of funds. He reported his suspicions to Deputy Director Robert H. Gates on October 1, 1986.

Testified before Tower Commission

December 30, 1986; February 11, 1987.

ANDERSON, Terry

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Chief Middle East correspondent for Associated Press

Role

Mr. Anderson was taken hostage March 16, 1985, by the Islamic Jihad (Shi'ite extremists) loyal to Iran. (New York Times, March 23, 1985). He remained in captivity as of March 27, 1987.

ARMITAGE, Richard L.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1983-

Recent Previous Occupations

Assistant Secretary of Defense East Asia, Department of Defense, 1981-83;

Transportation Advisor, U.S. Government, 1980-81;

Foreign Policy Advisor, Reagan for Presidency Campaign, 1980;

Self-employed Counselor, 1979-80;

Administrative Assistant, Senator R. Dole, 1978-79.

Role

Mr. Armitage was informed by Lt. Col. Oliver North in the latter part of November 1985, that some White House officials had been in contact with Iranian officials. Mr. Armitage told the Tower Commission that he did not think Secretary of State George Shultz was aware of these contacts. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, V F, Footnote 27). Mr. Armitage is one of the few Pentagon officials who knew about the Iran arms deal before it became public. (Washington Post, February 23, 1987: B12). (Washington Post February 22, 1987: A1, 10).

Mr. Armitage replaced Noel Koch as the Pentagon's representative on the National Security Council's Operations sub-group on counterterrorism in May of 1986.

Testified before Congress

Senate Intelligence Committee, November 21, 1986;

Senate Intelligence Committee, December 11, 1986.

Testified before Tower Commission

December 18, 1986

BOLKIAH, Hassanal Mudah

Nationality: Brunei

Current Occupation

Sultan of Brunei

Role

In July of 1986, the Sultan of Brunei contributed \$10 million to the Nicaraguan rebels. According to the Tower Commission Report, Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams personally solicited the funds from him. The Sultan of Brunei was told by Mr. Abrams that the money was for humanitarian aid only. The money was deposited in a secret Swiss bank account controlled by Lt. Col. Oliver North. (New York Times, March 4, 1987: A15).

BUCKLEY, William (deceased)

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Beirut Station Chief and counterterrorism expert, Central Intelligence Agency (Washington Post, December 18, 1986: C1, 3)

Role

Mr. Buckley was seized March 18, 1984, in Beirut by the Islamic Jihad (Shi'ite extremists) (New York Times, October 3, 1984) or by Hizballah (New York Times, November 4, 1984).

The Tower Commission Report disclosed that the confession of Mr. Buckley, who is believed to have been tortured to death in June of 1985, while a captive in Lebanon, was an issue in the negotiations with the Iranians. In the early phases of the negotiations, Mr. Buckley's release was one of the primary goals of the arms-for-hostages deals. At some time during the negotiations with the Iranians in the latter part of 1986, the Iranians offered to turn over a 400 page purported confession of Mr. Buckley. (New York Times, February 27, 1987: A9).

BUSH, George

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Vice President, 1980-

Recent Previous Occupations

Director, Central Intelligence Agency, 1976-77;

Chief, U.S. Liaison Office, Beijing, Peoples Republic of China, 1974-75;

Chairman, Republican National Committee, 1973-74;

United States Ambassador to United Nations, 1971-72.

Role

Vice-President Bush has said he supported President Reagan's decision to establish contacts in Iran and to sell them American weapons as an incentive to improving relations, but that he knew nothing of a diversion of funds to the Nicaraguan rebels and opposed it.

As a member of the National Security Council, Mr. Bush took part in the decision to ship the arms to Iran, but for the sole stated purpose of opening a new line of communication with Tehran. (New York Times, February 27, 1987: A10). According to Mr. McFarlane's testimony to the Senate Intelligence Committee, Mr. Bush sided with former Chief of Staff Donald Regan and former CIA Director William Casey, who supported Israeli arms sales to Iran in August of 1985, and against Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, who opposed them. (Newsweek, February 23, 1987: p.25) (Washington Post, February 13, 1987: A34).

Mr. Bush attended the January 7, 1986 meeting in which the pros and cons of reviving the arms deal were discussed. The Tower Commission Report cited the January 7, 1986 meeting as a critical one because it produced the decision to ship approximately one thousand TOW anti-tank missiles directly to Iran, and not through Israel, as part of a covert plan to gain the release of American hostages in Lebanon. The Commission noted it was not clear what position Mr. Bush took, although he appeared to be siding with those in favor of the trade. (New York Times, March 5, 1987: A21).

The Report also noted that Vice President Bush was one of four people present in the Oval Office on January 17, 1986, when President Reagan was briefed on the final details of the plan to transfer arms to Iran, before signing the formal document allowing the arms transfers to proceed. The Report cited this document as the basis for "an important change" in policy in which "the United States became a direct supplier of arms to Iran." (New York Times, March 5, 1987: A21).

Mr. Bush also met with Amiram Nir, adviser on counterterrorism to then-Prime Minister Shimon Peres, at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem on July 29, 1986. According to the Tower Commission Report, Mr. Bush had agreed to the meeting at the urging of Lt. Col. Oliver North. (Washington Post, March 6, 1987: A23). Mr. Nir informed Mr. Bush that although there were problems with the Iran arms deal, negotiations with the Iranians should continue. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 33).

Testified before Tower Commission

December 18, 1986

CACERES ROJAS, Cesar Augusto

Nationality: Guatemala

Current Occupation

Army General

Role

General Caceres Rojas reportedly signed "end-user certificates" purportedly for use by the Guatemalan military to acquire arms and ammunition from the Portuguese government, but in reality intended for the Nicaraguan rebels. The certificates listed requested types and quantities of arms and stated that the material was for the exclusive use of the Guatemalan military. Guatemalan officials have denied all connections with the arms shipments. (Washington Post, January 17, 1987: A19).

CALERO, Adolfo

Nationality: Nicaragua

Current Occupation

Resistance leader, Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN)

Role

Mr. Calero, head of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), provided financial records and other documents to federal investigators investigating the Iran/Contra affair. (Washington Post, March 4, 1987: 18). Mr. Calero said the anti-Sandinista rebels received \$200,000 in October 1985 from Lake Resources, a dummy company registered in Panama with a bank account in Switzerland. The Tower Commission Report reported that Lake Resources was used by Lt. Col. Oliver North and retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord to handle proceeds from the arms sales to Iran. The book-keeping records show a \$25,000 deposit on October 23, 1985 and a \$175,000 deposit on October 25, 1985. (Washington Times, March 6, 1987: 1). Mr. Calero has denied any knowledge of funds being diverted from U.S. arms sales to Iran. (Wall Street Journal, March 5, 1987: 62).

CARLUCCI, Frank C.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

National Security Adviser to the President, National Security Council,
1987-

Recent Previous Occupations

President, Sears World Trade, Inc., 1983-86;

Deputy Secretary, Department of Defense, 1981-82;

Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency, 1978-81.

Role

Mr. Carlucci was appointed by President Reagan as National Security Adviser on December 2, 1986, after Vice Admiral John Poindexter resigned.

Testified before Tower Commission

December 19, 1986; February 20, 1987.

CASEY, William J.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

White House Counselor

Recent Previous Occupations

Director, Central Intelligence Agency, 1981-87;

Campaign Manager, Reagan-Bush, 1980;

Chairman, Task Force on Venture Capital, Small Business Administration, 1976-80.

Role

The Tower Commission Report faulted several of Mr. Casey's actions, including his failure to insist that the CIA take over control of the Iran arms initiative, to investigate some of the key intermediaries in the arms transactions and to tell Congress of the dealings. (New York Times, February 27, 1987: A9).

Mr. Casey said he became suspicious of certain discrepancies in the financing of the arms deal when New York businessman Roy Furmark told him during October and November 1986, that certain funds from the arms sales were missing and may have been given to the Nicaraguan rebels.

The Tower Commission Report concluded that Mr. Casey knew that funds from the arms sales to Iran might have been diverted to the Nicaraguan rebels "almost a month before the story broke," but did not move promptly to raise the matter with the President, yet his responsibility to do so was clear." (New York Times, March 3, 1987: A10).

According to the Tower Commission Report, the CIA helped ship arms to Iran through various channels from November 1985 to late October 1986, and that Mr. Casey, "appears to have been informed in considerable detail about the specifics of the operations." (New York Times, March 4, 1987: A14).

Mr. Casey was diagnosed as suffering from a cancerous brain tumor in late 1986. Following surgery and subsequent hospitalization, he remains in precarious health.

Testified before Congress

House Intelligence Committee, November 21; December 11, 1986;

House Foreign Affairs Committee, December 10, 1986;

Senate Intelligence Committee, November 21, 1986.

CASTILLO, Tomas/Thomas (pseudonym)

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

CIA Station Chief, Costa Rica

Role

The Washington Post reported that Lt. Col. Oliver North considered Mr. Castillo a "primary formal channel of communication with the (Contra) operation." (January 25, 1987: A24). The Tower Commission Report stated that a CIA field officer in Central America (whom it did not name but who has been identified by congressional investigators as Castillo) was given a sophisticated encoding machine by Colonel North, which Mr. North obtained from the National Security Council, to help in arranging weapons deliveries to the Nicaraguan rebels. (New York Times, February 28, 1987: A9). Mr. Castillo was also an important aide to Duane Clarridge when he was involved with training the Nicaraguan rebels.

Mr. Castillo recently retired after he was suspended for taking too active a role in supporting the Nicaraguan rebels during the period when Congress prohibited military assistance. Mr. Castillo claims he had the "tacit approval" of Clair George, CIA deputy director for clandestine operations, to actively support the Nicaraguan rebels.

CAVE, George

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

CIA Station Chief, Iran (Washington Post December 31, 1986: A1, 8)

Role

Mr. Cave was brought out of retirement by then CIA Director William Casey as a CIA contract employee in March of 1986. He played a major role as an interpreter and liason for former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane and the Iranian emissaries during a series of meetings and negotiations to discuss the arms-for-hostage deal. Mr. Cave was relied upon after former CIA Director Casey expressed doubts about Albert Hakim's trustworthiness and the veracity of Manucher Ghorbanifar's translation. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 22).

Mr. Cave accompanied Lt. Col. Oliver North and the CIA Chief of the Near East Division (C/NE) to a meeting in Paris with Manucher Ghorbanifar on March 8, 1986, to discuss Iranian weapon requirements. Mr. Cave stated that during the meeting Mr. Ghorbanifar made it clear that Iran was willing "to do something to get additional hostages released" and was willing to conduct discussions with the United States. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, VII A B).

Mr. Cave accompanied Robert C. McFarlane, National Security Council aide Howard Teicher, Lt. Col. North and Amiram Nir on an unsuccessful mission to Tehran in late May of 1986. (Washington Post, February 27, 1987: A19).

On July 25, 1986, Mr. North in a computer message to then National Security Adviser John Poindexter, stated that Mr. Cave was meeting with Tabatabai, an Iranian who was reportedly well-connected to Iranian Parliament Speaker Rafsanjani and interested in the arms-for-hostage deal.

In the fall of 1986, Mr. Cave was involved in a series of meetings with Lt. Col. North and retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord in their negotiations with "the Relative," an Iranian official who became the second channel of communication with the U.S. On October 6, 1986, during one of these meetings, "the Relative" received a Bible from the U.S. officials, inscribed with a biblical passage and bearing the signature of Ronald Reagan. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, IX C).

Clair George, CIA deputy director for clandestine operations, told the

Tower Commission that Mr. Cave "was paid by me and on paper was working for me. But I think in the heat of battle....George was working for Oliver North." (Washington Post, February 27, 1987: A19).

Testified before Tower Commission

January 5, 1987

CHANNELL, Carl (Spitz) Russell

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Founder, Channell Corporation, 1983-;

President, Western Goals Foundation.

Recent Previous Occupations

Finance Director, National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), 1979-83;

Manager, Elkins Motor Lodge, 1973-79.

Role

Mr. Channell, a highly successful fundraiser for conservative causes, is believed to have been heavily involved in Lt. Col. North's efforts to raise private funds for the Nicaraguan rebels. (Washington Post, February 21, 1987: A1, A18, A19).

The office of the special counsel appointed to investigate the Iran arms sales and Contra aid is examining the activities of Mr. Channell. It has issued subpoenas for records of the nine foundations, lobbies, corporations and political action committees associated with Mr. Channell.

The Lowell (Mass.) Sun, has charged that some of the profits of the Iran arms sales were funneled to the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty, one of Mr. Channell's largest foundations. Mr. Channell has denied all charges as "outrageous, libelous lies." (Christian Science Monitor, January 21, 1987: 36) (New York Times, January 9, 1987: A10). Cox Newspapers reported that the federally funded agency, the National Endowment for Democracy, gave \$493,773 over a three-month period to the Institute for North-South Issues, an organization with ties to Mr. Channell through the Washington public relations firm IBC, run by Francis Gomez and Richard Miller. (Village Voice, March 10, 1987: 17-20).

Documents released by the Tower Commission Report suggest links between Mr. Channell's political organizations and corporations that were secretly providing arms to the Nicaraguan rebels. One document, a flow chart found in the office of Lt. Col. North, uses dotted lines and arrows to trace corporate

connections. The flow chart shows apparent connections between organizations run by Mr. Channell and such corporations as Lake Resources. A corporation registered in Panama with a bank account in Switzerland, Lake Resources was controlled by Mr. North and retired Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord. It was set up in May 1985, two months before the first shipment of weapons to Iran, and dissolved one week after the White House confirmed the Iran arms sales. (New York Times, January 14, 1987, Section 3: 6).

ABC News reported that \$2.2 million was contributed to a Channell project code-named "Toys", and that the money was used for military aid to the rebels at a time when the Boland Amendment forbade "any assistance for the purpose of, or (having) the effect of supporting direct or indirect military or paramilitary aid in Nicaragua by any nation, group, organization, movement or individual."

CICIPPIO, Joseph J.

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Deputy Comptroller, American University of Beirut

Role

Mr. Cicippio was taken hostage on September 12, 1986, on the campus of the American University in West Beirut, by al-Baath Cells Organization (Voice of Lebanon, September 13, 1986), or Umar al-Mukkhtar Forces of the Arab Revolutionary Cells (Beirut Radio, September 14, 1986), or by the Organization of Revolutionary Justice (Agency France Press, September 2, 1986). He remains in captivity as of March 27, 1987.

CLARRIDGE, Duane

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Chief, European Division, CIA Directorate for Operations.

Recent Previous Occupations

Chief, CIA Covert Operations, Middle East, 1985;

Chief, CIA Covert Operations, Latin America, 1984;

CIA Station Chief, Italy, 1981. (New York Times January 21, 1987: 1).

Role

On November 21, 1985, Mr. Clarridge was asked by Lt. Col. Oliver North to assist in obtaining an overflight clearance for an El Al 747 flight. The flight was to deliver arms to Iran. Mr. Clarridge was informed by Charles Allen, CIA National Intelligence Officer, that the flight was part of an operation to liberate the American hostages in Lebanon. The clearance was denied. Mr. Clarridge then helped provide a CIA proprietary plane and personnel to Lt. Col. North to get a shipment of Hawk missiles from Israel to Iran on November 25, 1985. This action was authorized by Edward Juchniewicz, acting Deputy Director of Operations. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, V B). Mr. Clarridge claims he thought the shipment contained oil drilling equipment. Mr. Clarridge reportedly worked with Lt. Col. North and the FBI in a plan to free hostage Peter Kilburn and apprehend his kidnappers. (Time February 2, 1987: 22), (New York Times January 21, 1987: 1).

Testified before Tower Commission

December 18, 1986

CLINES, Thomas

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Investor and consultant

Recent Previous Occupations

CIA official, 1949-1978

Role

Mr. Clines is reportedly linked to shipments of arms and ammunition to the Nicaraguan rebels. These arms were reportedly obtained by using bogus documents of U.S. and Canadian companies. Originating in Portugal, the arms were purportedly to be sent to Guatemala but in fact were destined for the Nicaraguan rebels, after the U.S. Congress banned the U.S. government from giving military assistance to the rebels.

Documentation justifying the bulk of the arms shipments was submitted to the Portuguese government by Energy Resources International. The Washington Post reported that documents filed with Portugal's National Armaments Directorate give the address of Energy Resources International as 440 Maple Avenue, in Vienna, Virginia, the same address at that time by a company partly owned by retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord. Mr. Clines is said to have worked with Mr. Secord and Mr. Albert Hakim, Mr. Secord's business partner. Mr. Clines worked with Mr. Secord in Laos from 1967 to 1969. (Washington Post, January 18, 1987: A16).

Energy Resources International gave the Guatemalan certificates to Lisbon arms dealer, Defex-Portugal, which played a role in Nicaraguan rebel arms shipments. One of three Defex partners, Jose Garnel, has acknowledged that his company has done business with Mr. Clines. (Washington Post, January 17, 1987: A1, A9).

Mr. Clines was instrumental in acquiring a ship used in May of 1986 in an attempt to exchange American hostages for a \$2 million ransom put up by H. Ross Perot. (Washington Post, January 16, 1987: 46).

COY, Craig

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Staff Member, National Security Council

Role

Commander Coy reported to Lt. Col. Robert Earl, a National Security Council member, on October 20, 1986, that a quantity of TOW missiles were ready to be transported to Iran. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, IX D).

Commander Craig Coy assisted in the preparation of a chronology of the Iran arms initiative with Lt. Col. North, Robert C. McFarlane, Vice-Admiral Poindexter, and Lt. Col. Robert Earl. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix D, Aftermath).

Testified before Tower Commission

January 2, 1987

CROWE, William J.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

Recent Previous Occupations

Commander-in-Chief, Pacific, 1983-85;

Commander-in-Chief Allied Forces South Europe, 1980-83;

Department chief of Naval Operations, Department of the Navy, 1977-80;

Commander Middle East Force, Bahrain, 1976-77;

Director East Asia and Pacific Region, Office of Secretary of Defense.

Role

Admiral Crowe reported that the Joint Chiefs of Staff were not consulted regarding the transfer of arms to Iran but that, based on information provided by Secretary Weinberger, they had determined the "general outline" of the operation. (New York Times, January 19, 1987).

Testified before Congress

House Armed Services, November 24, 1986

CRUZ, Arturo

Nationality: Nicaragua

Recent Previous Occupations

Resistance leader, United Nicaraguan Opposition;

Ambassador (Sandinista government);

Banker.

Role

Mr. Cruz received private funds from Lt. Col. Oliver North. Mr. North arranged for Mr. Cruz to receive a \$7,000 monthly stipend from January of 1986, to November of 1986. Mr. Cruz told FBI officials that Mr. North told him that he would arrange for him to receive money from a "private foreign source." Mr. Cruz stated that he did not know who paid the money. (Washington Post, February 21, 1987: A1, A20).

De GARAY, Edward

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

President and Chairman, Corporate Air Services, Inc.

Role

As chairman of a Pennsylvania air transport company, Corporate Air Services, Inc., Mr. De Garay was involved in shipping supplies to the Nicaraguan rebels. (New York Times, February 28, 1987: A6).

Mr. De Garay was granted limited immunity on February 27, 1987 by investigatory Committees of the House and the Senate investigating the Iran arms initiative/Contra refunding issue. (Newsweek, March 9, 1987: 34). Eugene Hasenfus, an American who was on an aircraft shot down in October 1986 by the Nicaraguan government while it was dropping supplies to the rebels, has said he was hired by Mr. De Garay's company. (Wall Street Journal, February 27, 1987: 6).

DUTTON, Robert C.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Assistant to retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord;
Employee, Stanford Technologies, Inc.

Recent Previous Occupations

Pentagon Special Operations Division;
Air Force Military Assistance Advisory Group, Iran.

Role

Along with retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord and Lt. Col. Richard Gadd, Mr. Dutton reportedly handled the logistical and financial responsibilities for the delivery of supplies to the Nicaraguan rebels using Corporate Air Services, a Pennsylvania air transport company run by Edward De Garay. He is said to have supervised the contra supply operation in El Salvador by radio from his Vienna, Virginia office. According to the Senate Intelligence Committee Report, Mr. Dutton was in Tel Aviv, Israel in the fall of 1985, supervising the loading of a plane carrying TOW anti-tank missiles to Iran. (Wall Street Journal, February 27, 1987: A6) (Washington Post, January 18, 1987: A16) (New York Times November 30, 1986).

Mr. Dutton was granted limited immunity on February 27, 1987, by the Senate and the House investigative Committees.

Testified before Congress

Senate Intelligence Committee, December 10, 1986; took Fifth Amendment.

EARL, Robert

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Staff Member, National Security Council

Role

Colonel Earl was told by Commander Craig Coy, a National Security Council staffer, that a quantity of TOW missiles was ready to be transported to Iran. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, IX D).

Colonel Earl was assigned to the National Security Council's "Operations Sub-Group" (OSG), co-chaired by Lt. Col. Oliver North. The OSG was a small group that coordinated the government's counterterrorism efforts. (Washington Post, February 17, 1987: A10).

Testified before Congress

Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, December 12, 1986; took Sixth Amendment.

FAHD, Ibn Abdal-Aziz

Nationality: Saudi Arabia

Current Occupation

King of Saudi Arabia

Recent Previous Occupations

Prime Minister, 1982-;

First Deputy Prime Minister, 1975-82.

Role

King Fahd is believed to have offered to provide funds to the Nicaraguan rebels. The Tower Commission Report contains a written statement from former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane stating that "a foreign official" offered in May or June of 1984 to provide \$1 million a month in "personal funds" to the Nicaraguan rebels. The Washington Post reported that the personal funds came from King Fahd. (February 28, 1987: A13). According to testimony given by Mr. McFarlane, the amount was subsequently increased to approximately \$2 million a month, and amounted to \$25 million during 1985. During this time official U.S. aid was cut off.

The Saudi Embassy issued a statement on October 21, 1986, which said, "Saudi Arabia is not, and has not been, involved either directly or indirectly in any military or other support activity of any kind for, or in connection with, any group, or groups, concerned with Nicaragua."

FARINA, Roland

Nationality: Switzerland

Current Occupation

Accountant, Compagnie de Services Fiduciaries

Role

Mr. Farina is listed as a principal officer in Albon Values Corporation, a Panamanian corporation established in September 1985 and reportedly used in the transfer of funds from the Iran arms initiative to the Nicaraguan rebels. The Wall Street Journal (January 30, 1987: 50) reported that the money was paid by wire transfer to a second corporation controlled by Southern Air Transport, which was instrumental in buying and maintaining planes used in the Nicaraguan rebel resupply effort. Mr. Farina's name has appeared in connection with other corporations in Bermuda, Switzerland and Panama that are identified with Willard I. Zucker, a manager of Compagnie de Services Fiduciaries. These corporations and Mr. Zucker personally have been linked in the private funding effort for the Contras. (Wall Street Journal, January 30, 1987: 50).

FIERS, Alan

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

CIA, Central America task force chief

Role

Mr. Fiers informed CIA station chiefs in the fall of 1985, that restrictions had been eased allowing "intelligence sharing" between the CIA and the Nicaraguan rebels. This message was purportedly intended to allow CIA operatives to aid Lt. Col. North and his private supply network to the anti-Sandinista rebels. (Newsweek, March 2, 1987: 26).

Mr. Fiers was a key member of the Restricted Interagency Group (RIG) on Central America, which convened once or twice a week at the State Department. The other principal members of the RIG were Mr. North and Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams. (Washington Post, February 27, 1987: A18).

FORTIER , Donald R. (deceased)

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Deputy to former National Security Adviser John M. Poindexter;

Special Assistant to the President;

Senior Director for Political Military Affairs.

Role

In May of 1985, Mr. Fortier acting on instructions from then-National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane, asked the CIA to prepare an intelligence assessment on Iran. This request, following on Michael Ledeen's trip to Israel earlier that month, resulted in Graham Fuller's assessment arguing that the time was ripe for an opening to Iran.

Mr. Fortier co-authored, with National Security Council aide Howard Teicher, a June 11, 1985, National Security Decision Directive that proposed allowing friendly states to sell to Iran arms "that would not affect the strategic balance as a means of showing Iran that it had alternatives" to the Soviets. The NSDD was delivered to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State George Schultz. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B II B). Mr. Fortier was fully briefed of a "notional timeline" for the Iran arms sales program prepared by Lt. Col. North in January of 1986. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 19).

Mr. Fortier died of cancer in 1986.

FRASER, Donald

Nationality: Canada

Current Occupation

President, Triad America Corporation

Role

According to press accounts, Canadian business partners Donald Fraser and Ernest Miller provided Adnan Khashoggi between \$10 and \$40 million dollars through a Caymen Islands bank to help finance a U.S. arms shipment to Iran in 1986. When Mr. Khashoggi failed to reimburse them in full, they reportedly surmised that some of the Iranian payment may have been diverted to the the Contras. (Washington Post, December 24, 1986: A-1, A-8).

Roy Furmark, business associate of Adnan Khashoggi, informed then CIA Director William Casey on October 7, 1986, that Mr. Khashoggi had borrowed the money to finance the arms transfers from two Canadians. Furthermore, Mr. Furmark told Mr. Casey that "the Canadians were putting lots of pressure on Adnan (Khashoggi), and that they were going to sue him and he would have to bring in (sic) the U.S. into the transaction." (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, IX D). (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 36).

FULLER, Graham

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

National Intelligence Officer for the Middle East, CIA

Role

Mr. Fuller prepared a five-page memorandum for use by former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, at the request of Donald Fortier, in May of 1985, three months before Israel began shipping American weapons to Iran. Mr. Fuller's memorandum recommended the sale of arms to Iran as one way to enhance Western influence in Tehran. Mr. Fuller argued that the time was ripe for alternative policies to be pursued because the present Iranian regime was faltering and that a struggle for succession was imminent. He suggested a number of policy actions, including encouraging "friendly states" to sell arms to Iran. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, II B). (New York Times, March 4, 1987: A14).

FURMARK, Roy

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

New York lawyer and businessman, energy consultant, Furmark Corp.

Role

As a businessman, Mr. Furmark has been involved in many deals in the Middle East and has attempted to sell goods to Iran. Mr. Furmark took part in a July of 1985 meeting in Israel with Yaacov Nimrodi, Manucher Ghorbanifar, Amiram Nir, and Al Schwimmer to discuss the technicalities of the Iran arms shipments. (Tower Commission, Appendix B, III).

Acting on behalf of Adnan Khashoggi, who complained that he had not been repaid money that he spent to facilitate a U.S. shipment of arms to Iran, Mr. Furmark met three times with friend and former associate William Casey in October and November 1986, in an attempt to locate the funds. Manucher Ghorbanifar, the Iranian arms merchant, told Mr. Furmark in an August of 1986 meeting in Paris that he suspected money from the arms deal may have been funneled to the Nicaraguan Contras or the Afghanistan rebels. On November 24, at the third meeting between Mr. Furmark and Mr. Casey, Mr. Furmark told Mr. Casey that funds may have gone to the Contras. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 36, 51).

Testified before Congress

House Intelligence Committee, December 18, 1986;

Senate Intelligence Committee, December 11, 1986.

Testified before Tower Commission

January 15, 1987

GADD, Richard B.

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Lt. Col., United States Air Force;

Pentagon, Air Force Special Plans, 1980-81;

Air Commando, United States Air Force.

Role

Mr. Gadd reportedly helped manage the delivery of arms supplies to the Contras until this role was assumed by Richard Dutton. His company, American National Management Corporation, had been hired by the State Department to ship humanitarian aid to the Contras. (Washington Post, January 18, 1987: A-16). The Wall Street Journal reported though the full scope of Lt. Col. Gadd's role remains unclear, he offered a private airlift capability that the U.S. military was then unable to provide for covert U.S. operations. (Wall Street Journal, February 13, 1987: 50).

GARNEL, Jose

Nationality: Portugal

Current Occupation

Director and part-owner, Defex-Portugal

Role

Mr. Garnel reportedly played an important role in facilitating the shipment through Portugal of arms intended for the Nicaraguan rebels. Defex-Portugal, a Lisbon trading firm, reportedly facilitated many of the Nicaraguan rebel arms shipments from Europe. Expresso, a Portuguese weekly publication, estimated that Portuguese arms makers supplied more than \$8 million in weapons and ammunition to the rebels in 1984 and 1985. Mr. Garnel reportedly dealt with Thomas Clines, ex-CIA official. (Washington Post, January 16, 1987: 46).

GATES, Robert H.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency, 1986-

Recent Previous Occupations

Acting Director, Central Intelligence Agency, 1987;

Chairman, National Intelligence Council, 1983;

Deputy Director for Intelligence, 1982;

National Intelligence Office, Soviet Union, 1980-?;

Staff, National Security Council, 1966-74.

Role

Along with former Deputy Director John McMahon, Mr. Gates took part in a meeting on January 18, 1986, where he was informed by Lt. Col. Oliver North and former National Security Adviser John Poindexter that President Reagan had signed a secret finding the day before and that the CIA was requested to provide support for the arms shipments. Mr. Gates opposed the transfer of intelligence to Iran.

One of the computer messages from Mr. Poindexter that was released by the Tower Commission Report indicated that Mr. Gates knew about the private network that financed and supplied the Nicaraguan rebels. "I did tell Gates that I thought the private effort should be phased out," Mr. Poindexter told Mr. North in July of 1986, after Congress voted to resume U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan rebels. Mr. Gates testified in December of 1986, that he learned of the possible diversion of funds to the rebels from U.S. arms sales to Iran in October of 1986. (Wall Street Journal, February 18, 1987: 2). According to the Tower Commission Report, Charles Allen, CIA National Intelligence Officer for Counterterrorism, warned Mr. Gates about the diversion of money from the Iranian arms sales. "I said perhaps the money has been diverted to the contras, and I said I can't prove it," Mr. Allen told the Commission. "Gates was deeply disturbed by that and asked me to brief the Director." (Newsweek, March 9, 1987: 30).

Mr. Gates has denied all suggestions that he ignored or covered up evidence of improprieties. Mr. Gates said he had "pressed" Mr. North for information about the CIA's role in a private network supplying aid to the Nicaraguan rebels. Mr. Gates said he had been "assured" by Mr. North that the agency was "clean." Mr. Gates said he expressed "concern" about the agency's failure to notify Congress of the arms shipments to Iran in 1986. (New York Times, March 4, 1987: 14).

Mr. Gates was nominated February 2, 1987, to be Director of Central Intelligence. On March 1, 1987, he requested that his nomination be withdrawn.

Testified before Congress

Senate Foreign Relations Committee, January 21, 1987;

Senate Intelligence Committee, December 4, 1986;

House Intelligence Committee, December 10, 1986.

Testified before Tower Commission

January 12, 1987

GEORGE, Clair

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

CIA Deputy Director of Operations (New York Times, January 9, 1987)

Role

Mr. George was one of several CIA officials (see also Charles ALLEN and George CAVE), who helped Lt. Col. Oliver North carry out the arms shipments to Iran and the supply of weapons to the rebels in Nicaragua. He became particularly active after President Reagan signed a secret intelligence finding on January 17, 1986 which authorized the arms deals with Iran. (New York Times, February 28, 1987: A9).

Testified before Tower Commission

January 14, 1987

GHOORBANIFAR, Manucher

Nationality: Iran

Current Occupation

Businessman (arms dealer)

Role

Mr. Ghorbanifar played a principal role in initiating and in providing financial support for Israeli and U.S. arms sales to Iran as well as in acting as the middleman between U.S., Israeli and Iranian officials until September of 1986. Although both former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane and CIA officials had serious reservations about Mr. Ghorbanifar's trustworthiness, (Mr. Ghorbanifar had flunked a CIA-administered lie detector test in January of 1986), he continued to be relied upon as the principal middleman in the Iranian arms deals. He traveled between Washington, D.C., European capitals and Tehran until September of 1986. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 22, 23). By late August-early September of 1986, Mr. Ghorbanifar's position as the principal middleman was seriously questioned by the CIA because of financial discrepancies. On September 10, 1986, former National Security Adviser John Poindexter told Lt. Col. North to concentrate on developing a relationship with another channel of communication, known as the second channel or "the Relative," and to abandon Mr. Ghorbanifar if possible. Mr. Ghorbanifar was to be "used as a last resort." (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 33). (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, IX A). According to the Tower Commission Report, as a result of Mr. Ghorbanifar's relationship with Lt. Col. Oliver North, he became a key source of the intelligence American officials were receiving about Iran and the hostages in Beirut. (New York Times, March 1, 1987: 5).

The Tower Commission Report confirmed that American officials, through Mr. Ghorbanifar, dealt with the top leaders of the Iranian government. Mr. Ghorbanifar dealt primarily with Iran's Prime Minister, Mir Hussein Musavi, and its Oil Minister, Gholam Reza Agazadeh, who paid for the arms. Mr. Ghorbanifar said however that he was dealing with "all three factions" in the regime, though he did not identify them. He also said he met with Ahmed Khomeini, son of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the Iranian leader, and with Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Iranian Parliament. (New York Times, February 27, 1987: A9).

According to the Tower Commission Report, Iran provided Mr. Ghorbanifar with \$86.7 million while he served as the principal middleman for U.S. arms

sales to Iran. (Wall Street Journal, March 2, 1987: 2). Mr. Ghorbanifar is reported to have established a secret business arrangement unknown to the Israeli, American or Iranian governments, with Michael Ledeen, a part-time NSC consultant. (Christian Science Monitor, March 4, 1987: 1, 32).

Testified before Tower Commission

January 29, 1987

GREGG, Donald

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

National Security Advisor to Vice President George Bush, 1982-

Recent Previous Occupations

Official, CIA

Role

Vice President Bush reported that Mr. Gregg had numerous contacts with Felix Rodriguez, a former CIA operative who coordinated the supply operation to the Nicaraguan rebels. According to the Wall Street Journal, Mr. Gregg and his deputy, Lt. Col. Sam Watson III, met with US Ambassador Edwin Corr, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William Walker, Lt. Col. Robert Earl and Lt. Col. Oliver North to discuss the supply operation to the Nicaraguan rebels. (Wall Street Journal, February 5, 1987: 5).

GUELL, Linda

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Director, Western Goals Foundation

Role

Ms. Guell, former director of Western Goals Foundation, of which Carl R. Channell is President, is reported to have been linked to private funding efforts for the Nicaraguan rebels. In an April 18, 1985, letter Lt. Col. Oliver North sketched a diagram linking himself to Robert Owen, a former State Department consultant, to Andrew Messing, Jr., executive director of the National Defense Council, and to Ms. Guell. Under Mr. Owen's name is the word "weapons," under Mr. Messing's is "funds," and over Ms. Guell's is "money." (Washington Post, February 27, 1987: A19).

HAKIM, Albert

Nationality: Iran

Current Occupation

Businessman

Recent Previous Occupations

Chairman, Stanford Technology Corporation, San Jose, CA., and McLean, VA. (dissolved in 1985) (Washington Post, December 21, 1986)

Role

Albert Hakim has been named as a key figure in the Iran arms deals as well as in the military supply operation to the Contras. He worked extensively with retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord, his business partner, and Lt. Col. Oliver North. Mr. Hakim played a key role in the financial aspects of the arms sales to Iran. He was one of the joint holders of the Swiss bank account used by the three to deposit the proceeds of the arms sales. Mr. Hakim also acted as translator for Lt. Col. North and Mr. Secord in their meetings with Iranian officials until he was replaced by former CIA official George Cave. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 21, 22).

Mr. Hakim was party to the U.S. search for an alternative channel of communication with Iranian officials, known as the "second channel," in July of 1986. He introduced U.S. officials to Iranian acquaintances who knew Iranian government officials interested in taking part in the arms deals. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 33). The Tower Commission Report noted that CIA official Charles Allen in a memo to CIA Director William Casey, stated, "Ollie (Mr. North) is to continue to develop links to the Iranian Government through Albert Hakim and Dick Secord of Stanford Technology Associates. ("Hakim, as you are aware, has links to (the Relative).") (The Tower Commission Report refers to the Iranian contact used by the United States as the Relative.)

Mr. Hakim played a central role in the purchasing of a Danish flag freighter, the Erria, in April of 1986, which was used to ship arms to the Nicaraguan rebels. Reportedly the ship was bought in the name of Dolmy (a Panamanian company set up by Mr. Hakim, Mr. Secord, and Mr. North) with money transferred from a Swiss bank account. From April until October 1986, Mr. Hakim and Mr. Secord ran the Erria operation. (Los Angeles Times, March 2,

1987: 13).

Mr. Hakim has been offered limited immunity by the Senate and the House Iran/Contra investigative Committees.

HALL, Fawn

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Secretary, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration, Navy,
1986-

Recent Previous Occupations

Secretary, National Security Council, Lt. Col. Oliver L. North,
1983-1986;

Secretary, Pentagon, 1977-1983.

Role

As secretary to Lt. Col. Oliver L. North, Ms. Hall told investigators for special prosecutor, Lawrence E. Walsh, that Mr. North wanted documents relating to the Iran/Contra issue destroyed and altered. Under Mr. North's direction, Ms. Hall reportedly helped destroy memoranda, computer memos and internal White House messages from Mr. North's files on November 21, 1986. (Newsweek, March 2, 1987: 20) (Wall Street Journal, February 23, 1987: 50).

Ms. Hall has been granted limited immunity by the Senate and the House Iran/Contra investigative Committees.

HASENFUS, Eugene

Nationality: United States

Role

Mr. Hasenfus took part in an air supply operation on behalf of the anti-Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua. His plane was shot down on October 5, 1986, over Nicaragua in an episode that exposed the air supply operation. The U.S. crewed C-123 cargo plane was reported to have been financed and serviced by Southern Air Transport. (Washington Post, February 25, 1987: A1, A16). Southern Air Transport, formerly owned by the CIA, has acknowledged that it held a contract to service planes used by the operation. (New York Times, January 30, 1987: A10).

The only member of a four-man crew to survive the crash, Mr. Hasenfus was captured and returned to the U.S. in December of 1986, after receiving a pardon from the Nicaraguan government. At his Nicaraguan trial, Mr. Hasenfus confessed that he had been smuggling weapons to the anti-government forces in Nicaragua. (New York Times, February 12, 1987: A9).

INOUYE, Daniel

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

U.S. Senator, 1962-

Role

Senator Daniel Inouye is Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition. The Committee is charged with investigating the shipment of U.S. arms to Iran and the diversion of funds to the Nicaraguan rebels. (Washington Post, February 11, 1987: C1).

JACOBSEN, David

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Director, American University Hospital

Role

Mr. Jacobsen was kidnapped on May 28, 1985, by Islamic Jihad and freed November 1, 1986. As of March 27, 1987, he remained in captivity.

JENCO, Lawrence Martin

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Roman Catholic priest

Recent Previous Occupations

Director, Catholic Relief Services in Beirut

Role

Father Jenco was taken hostage by the Islamic Jihad on January 8, 1985, and released July 26, 1986. According to the Tower Commission Report, Father Jenco's release occurred two days after the Iranian government made a partial payment for missile parts received from the United States. (Washington Post, February 27, 1987: A6).

JUCHNIEWICZ , Edward

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Acting Deputy Director of Operations, CIA

Role

Mr. Juchniewicz approved Duane Clarridge's use of a proprietary aircraft, Southern Air Transport, to transport a shipment of HAWK missiles from Israel via Portugal to Iran on November 25, 1985. Mr. Juchniewicz testified to the Tower Commission that Lt. Col. Oliver North called him at home on November 22, 1985, and asked for the use of a CIA aircraft. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, V B).

KELLY, John H.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Ambassador to Lebanon

Role

Ambassador Kelly is said to have played a role in the release of the hostages by dealing secretly through CIA "privacy" channels (secret communications lines) with the staff of the National Security Council and with retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord. (U.S. News and World Report, December 22, 1986: 22).

KHASHOGGI, Adnan

Nationality: Saudi Arabia

Current Occupation

Business executive and international financier;
 Major shareholder and founder, Triad Coporation;
 Director, St. Khaterines Insurance Co., Ltd.;
 Director, Al Nasr Est. for Trade and Industry.

Role

In February of 1985, before the dealings with Iran began, Mr. Khashoggi, with the help of Manucher Ghorbanifar, an Iranian arms dealer, prepared a paper analyzing the prospects for improved U.S. relations with Iran. The report was presented on July 1, 1985, to then-National Security Adviser Robert C. McFarlane, who testified that he did not read it. (Washington Post, January 16, 1987: A1, A20).

Mr. Khashoggi acted as a financier for shipments of U.S. arms from Israel to Iran with four loans totaling \$30 million between August 1985 and May 1986. Mr. Khashoggi, according to Roy Furmark and Manucher Ghorbanifar, "provided the bridge financing for the August and September (1985) shipments." The Israeli officials would not make deliveries before Iranian payments for weapons were received, and the Iranians would not make payments before the weapons deliveries were received. Mr. Khashoggi provided the financial mechanism to facilitate the payments and weapons deliveries. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, IV B).

Mr. Khashoggi provided two loans of \$1 million and \$4 million in 1985, a third loan of \$10 million in February 1986, and a fourth of \$15 million in May 1986. The two loans in 1986 were deposited into the Swiss bank account of Lake Resources, the account controlled by Lt. Col. North and retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord. According to the Tower Commission Report, after Mr. Khashoggi advanced \$10 million for the February 1986 arms sale he was paid back twice: \$12 million from Manucher Ghorbanifar, his Iranian partner, and \$12 million from Lake Resources. Mr. Khashoggi has denied there was a payment from Lake Resources. Mr. Khashoggi brought in two Canadian financiers, Donald Fraser and Ernest Miller, as well as an Arab investor (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 27) to help finance additional arms sales. (Washington

Post, December 14, 1986: A-1, 24).

Testified before Tower Commission

January 29, 1987

KILBURN, Peter (deceased)

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Librarian, American University, Beirut

Role

Mr. Kilburn vanished December 3, 1984, and was found dead April 17, 1986. He reportedly was murdered in April 1986, in retaliation for the U.S. bombing of Libya, at the behest of Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 25). (New York Times, December 14, 1986: 4-1, 4-2).

KIMCHE, David

Nationality: Israel

Current Occupation

Arms dealer

Recent Previous Occupations

Director-General, Israeli Foreign Ministry;

Israeli intelligence officer.

Role

Mr. Kimche was an advocate of arms sales to Iran; he served as an intermediary between Iran and the United States and between Israel and the United States. Mr. Kimche reportedly is to have suggested to Lt. Col. North during a 1985 meeting that the U.S. overcharge the Iranians and use the profits to aid the Nicaraguan rebels. (Middle East International, January 9, 1987: 5).

Robert C. McFarlane testified to the Tower Commission that Mr. Kimche told him that ultimately the Iranians would need something to show for the dialogue, and this would "probably" be weapons. On July 3, 1985, Mr. Kimche came to Washington, D.C. and proposed that political discussions be conducted with Iran through an Iranian middleman, Manucher Ghorbanifar. Ten days later the Israelis suggested that their contacts in Iran could arrange the release of all seven American hostages in exchange for 100 TOW anti-tank missiles from the Israeli arsenal. (Newsweek, March 9, 1987: 26).

KOCH, Noel

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

Role

The Washington Post (February 22, 1987: A1, 10) reported that Mr. Koch represented the Pentagon in Lt. Col. North's "informal intergovernmental group on counterterrorism at the National Security Council" until May of 1986. His primary responsibility at the Department of Defense was planning for special operations. Mr. Koch was present at a White House meeting on either February 8 or 9, 1986, with Lt. Col. North and Charles Allen, CIA National Intelligence Officer, in which the timetable of arms sales was discussed. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, VI B).

LEDEEN, Michael A.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Adjunct Fellow, Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies

Recent Previous Occupations

Consultant on terrorism, National Security Council;

Founder, Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs;

Consultant (part-time), Pentagon, 1983-;

Consultant, Italian Military Intelligence, 1980.

Role

As a consultant for the National Security Council, Mr. Ledeen played a key role establishing the initial contacts with the Israeli government and the Iranian arms dealer Manucher Ghorbanifar.

Mr. Ledeen says that he talked to then-National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane in April of 1985, discussing with the government of Israel the possibility of establishing contacts with Iran. Mr. McFarlane reportedly agreed, and requested specifically that Mr. Ledeen ascertain Israel's perspective on fighting Iranian terrorism. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, p. 3). Mr. Ledeen traveled to Israel on 4/5 May 1985. He told the Tower Commission that Mr. Peres asked for U.S. consent to sell Iran a quantity of weapons. (Newsweek, March 9, 1987: 26).

Mr. Ledeen met Mr. Ghorbanifar in Israel in July 1985. In attendance were David Kimche, an Israeli official, Al Schwimmer, an independent arms dealer, and Yaacov Nimrodi, an arms dealer and former Israeli military attache in Tehran. Mr. Ghorbanifar suggested that if U.S.-Iranian relations were to improve each side would have to send the other clear signals about its seriousness, and Iran could release hostages, specifically William Buckley. During the fall of 1985, after the shipments were approved, Mr. Ledeen met several times more with Mr. Ghorbanifar and the Israelis to work out a logistical plan for a hostage release. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 10). (New York Times, February 28, 1987: A13).

Mr. Ledeen has stated that this involvement in the Iran initiative ended in November of 1985, when Vice-Admiral John Poindexter no longer relied upon him. In late 1985, U.S. and Israeli officials were considering ways of replacing the original network of middlemen (Ledeen, Schwimmer, and Nimrodi).

Mr. Ledeen is reported to have established a secret business arrangement with Mr. Ghorbanifar, unknown to the Israeli, American, or Iranian governments. Mr. Ledeen has denied these allegations. (Christian Science Monitor, March 4, 1987: 1, 32).

Testified before Tower Commission

January 9, 1987; February 12, 1987.

LILAC, Robert H.

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Vice President, American Marketing and Consulting, Inc., 1984;

Consultant, Saudi Prince Bandar bin Sultan;

Consultant, Saudi Arabian Embassy;

Saudi Arabian Division, Air Force Military Sales Program, 1979-1981;

Staff member, National Security Council;

Colonel, U.S. Air Force.

Role

Mr. Lilac was a former superior of Lt. Col. North under National Security Adviser Allen. After leaving the National Security Council, he formed a company, American Marketing and Consulting Inc., with retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard Secord. This company bought a Maule aircraft (a single engine, propellor driven, short take-off and landing, light civil aircraft built in the United States) for the Contras. He denied any involvement in the supply of arms to the Contras. (Washington Post, November 30, 1986).

LIMAN, Arthur L.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Chief Counsel, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

Recent Previous Occupations

Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison;

Assistant U.S. Attorney, New York.

Role

Mr. Liman was appointed January 22, 1987 as chief counsel of the Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition. The Committee is investigating the Iran arms initiative/Contra funding issue. (National Law Journal, February 2, 1987: 2) (New York Times, January 23, 1987: A8).

McFARLANE, Robert C.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Counselor, Georgetown University, Center for Strategic and International Studies

Recent Previous Occupations

National Security Adviser, National Security Council (October 1983-December 4, 1985);

President's Special Envoy to the Middle East, 1983;

Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs, 1982;

Counselor, State Department, 1981;

Staff, Senate Armed Services Committee;

Senior Research Fellow, National Defense University, 1977;

Role

As President Reagan's National Security Adviser until December 1985, Mr. McFarlane was a central player in the decision to sell arms to Iran, and after he left office he served as an adviser on the initiative and as the Administration's envoy during a trip to Tehran on May 25-28, 1986. (Washington Post, February 27, 1987: A1).

Although Mr. McFarlane resigned December 4, 1985, from the National Security Council, he continued to work as an unpaid consultant and kept a secure White House telephone and computer in his home until November of 1986.

Mr. McFarlane said he briefed President Reagan on August 8, 1985, on Israeli official David Kimche's proposal to sell anti-tank missiles to the Iranians in order to "open political talks" between the U.S. and Iran. The McFarlane testimony contradicts assertions of Donald T. Regan, former White House chief of staff. Mr. Regan said the President gave approval after the

first shipment of arms to Iran was made by Israel in August 1985. (New York Times, February 20, 1987: A1).

In his testimony to the Tower Commission, Mr. McFarlane stated that on November 18, 1986 he took part in an effort to falsify some of the history of the Iran arms initiative to "gild the President's motives" and to leave ambiguous his role in the matter. The Tower Commission concluded that Mr. McFarlane "contributed to the creation of (a) chronology which did not....present a full and completely accurate account of the events and left ambiguous the President's role." (Wall Street Journal, February 27, 1987, p. 3).

On February 9, 1987, Mr. McFarlane was admitted to Bethesda Naval Hospital after taking an overdose of valium. (New York Times, February 10, 1987: A3).

Testified before Congress

House Foreign Affairs Committee, December 8, 1986;

House Intelligence Committee, December 10, 1986;

Senate Intelligence Committee, December 1, 1986.

Testified before Tower Commission

December 11, 1986; February 19, 21, 1987.

McLAUGHLIN, Jane E.

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Fundraiser, Channell Corportion, 1986-1987

Role

Ms. McLaughlin, a former fundraiser for Carl R. Channell, told the New York Times that Lt. Col. North was the central and most active figure in raising money through Mr. Channell's network of private foundations and political action committees. Ms. McLaughlin stated that Mr. North's involvement was supposed to be kept secret. "I was told by Spitz (Mr. Channell) that you must never refer to Colonel North as Colonel North over the phone. It was crucial to keep these things quiet." (New York Times, February 26, 1987: A1, A10).

Ms. McLaughlin has been interviewed by agents of the FBI who work for Lawrence E. Walsh, special prosecutor in the Iran arms initiative/Contra funding matter.

McMAHON, John N.

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency, 1982-86 (resigned February 1986);

CIA official, 1951-.

Role

On November 25, 1985, Mr. McMahon first learned that Lt. Col. North had received CIA help in obtaining an airplane to deliver weapons to Iran. He subsequently refused to let the CIA participate without presidential authorization. In November of 1985, Mr. McMahon requested that Stanley Sporkin, former CIA general counsel, draft a finding for the President to sign giving retroactive legal approval for the agency's actions. (Washington Post, January 20, 1987: A2).

Mr. McMahon attended a December 7, 1985, National Security Council meeting with President Reagan, former Chief of Staff Donald Regan, Secretary of State Shultz, Secretary of Defense Weinberger and former National Security Advisers McFarlane and Poindexter at which the arms-for-hostages program was discussed. Mr. McMahon stated that he argued against the arms sales on the basis that the weapons would not strengthen "moderates" in Iran because most had been killed since the Revolution by the Khomeini regime. Various accounts of the meeting exist. Mr. McMahon stated that no decision was reached at the meeting. "We didn't walk away with any marching orders or any decision at that moment." (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, V F).

Mr. McMahon also objected to giving intelligence to Iran during a meeting that took place on January 18, 1986. During this meeting Mr. McMahon, accompanied by Deputy Director Robert Gates, was told by Lt. Col. North and former National Security Adviser Poindexter that the President had signed a secret finding the day before and that the CIA would cooperate on the arms transfer initiative. Mr. McMahon objected on the grounds that Mr. Ghorbanifar was untrustworthy and that the projected arms sales might alter the military balance in the Iran-Iraq war. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 18, 19).

Testified before Congress

Senate Intelligence Committee, December 1, 1986

Testified before Tower Commission

January 6, 1987

MEDINA , Ramon (Luis Posada Carriles)

Recent Previous Occupations

CIA official, - 1967

Role

Mr. Medina reportedly was one of the principals who oversaw the private contra re-supply operation from San Salvador's Ilopango Air Force base. The operation was organized and supervised by Lt. Col. Oliver North and retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord. (Christian Science Monitor, January 20, 1987: 16).

MEESE, Edwin 3d

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

United States Attorney General

Recent Previous Occupations

Counselor to President Reagan, 1981-85;

Adviser to Reagan-Bush '80, 1980;

Professor of Law, University of California, San Diego, 1977-78.

Role

Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d attended a January 7, 1986, White House meeting with Secretary of State Shultz, Secretary of Defense Weinberger, Vice President Bush, and then-Chief of Staff Donald Regan when former National Security Adviser John Poindexter and former CIA Director Casey made the case for an initiative or an overture to the more moderate elements in the Iranian Government which would involve shipping a limited supply of arms to Iran. Mr. Meese stated that he was not then aware that President Reagan had signed a draft finding on January 6, 1987, that instructed the DCI not to report the arms transfers to Congress. Mr. Meese also stated that the previous arms shipments were not discussed. It was reported that Mr. Meese, along with Mr. Regan, supported the initiative. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, V H).

Mr. Meese also attended, along with Mr. Weinberger, Mr. Casey, then-CIA chief counsel Stanley Sporkin, and Mr. Poindexter, a January 16, 1986 meeting in which the final draft of the Presidential finding was discussed and reviewed. Mr. Meese testified that he believed it was legal not to inform Congress of the arms transfers to Iran until all the hostages were released. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 18).

Mr. Meese disclosed in November of 1986 that \$10 to \$30 million from the U.S. arms sales to Iran had been channeled to the Nicaraguan rebels, in an operation supervised by National Security Council staffer Lt. Col. North. (New York Times, March 5, 1987: A19).

MEJIA VICTORES, Oscar Humberto

Nationality: Guatemala

Recent Previous Occupations

Chief of State and Commander-in-Chief, Armed Forces, 1983-1986

Role

General Mejia Victores is believed to have aided Lt. Col. North's efforts to provide funding for the Nicaraguan rebels during the two-year Congressional ban.

According to the Tower Commission Report, the Guatemalan military provided assistance for several years to the Nicaraguan rebels. In its report, the Tower Commission described a memorandum dated March 5, 1985, from Lt. Col. North to Robert C. McFarlane, detailing plans to ship "\$8 million worth of munitions" for the contras through a third country, using false certificates from that country stating that the munitions were for its own use. The name of the country was deleted from the report, but it is reported by the New York Times that the country was Guatemala. (New York Times, February 28, 1987: A10).

The New York Times (February 28, 1987: A10) reported that Guatemala's involvement in the Nicaraguan conflict began after General Mejia Victores seized power in a military coup. General Mejia Victores is reported to be a close friend of Felix Rodriguez, a Cuban-American who has publicly acknowledged his role in the private network to provide weapons to the Nicaraguan rebels.

MESSING, Jr., Andrew

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Executive Director, National Defense Council

Role

Mr. Messing is reported to be linked to private funding efforts for the Nicaraguan rebels. In an April 18, 1985, letter, subsequently released by the Tower Commission Lt. Col. Oliver North sketched a diagram linking himself to Robert Owen, a former State Department consultant, to Mr. Messing and to Linda Guell, former director of Western Goals Foundation. Under Mr. Owen's name is the word "weapons," under Mr. Messing's is "funds" and over Ms. Guell's is "money." (Washington Post, February 27, 1987: A19).

MILLER, Ernest

Nationality: Canada

Current Occupation

Officer, Triad American Corporation

Role

According to press accounts, Canadian business partners Ernest Miller and Donald Fraser provided Adnan Khashoggi between \$10 and \$40 million dollars through a Caymen Islands bank to help finance a U.S. arms shipment to Iran in 1986. When Mr. Khashoggi failed to reimburse them in full, they reportedly became aware that some of the Iranian payment may have been diverted to the Contras. (Washington Post, December 24, 1986: A-1, A-8).

Roy Furmark, business associate of Adnan Khashoggi, informed then CIA Director William Casey on October 7, 1986, that although Mr. Khashoggi had provided the money to finance the arms transfers, Mr. Khashoggi had borrowed the money from two Canadians. Furthermore, Mr. Furmark stated that "the Canadians were putting lots of pressure on Adnan (Khashoggi), and that they were going to sue him and he would have to bring in (sic) the U.S. into the transaction." (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, IX D).

MILLER, Richard

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

International Business Communications, 1983-

Recent Previous Occupations

Director for broadcast services, Reagan-Bush 1980 Campaign;

Director, Agency for International and Public Affairs Development, 1980-1983.

Role

Mr. Miller has been identified, along with Carl R. (Spitz) Channell, as one of the key figures in domestic lobbying efforts for the Nicaraguan rebels. The Washington Post (February 28, 1987: A13) reported that Mr. Miller and Mr. Channell provided approximately \$40,000 to an arm of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) in Washington, D.C. on the account of the National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty (NEPL).

The Washington Post (February 28, 1987: A13) reported that Mr. Miller provided at least \$11,000 through his corporation, International Business Communications (IBC). IBC received an estimated \$276,000 from the U.S. State Department as part of an administration effort to build support for the Nicaraguan rebel cause. (Wall Street Journal, March 2, 1987: 2).

The Miller and Channell organizations -- NEPL, IBC, and the American Conservative Trust (ACT) (a Channell political action committee) -- are indirectly linked on the flow chart (found in the office safe of Lt. Col. Oliver North) by arrows to what appears to be Lake Resources, Inc., a Panamanian registered corporation used by Mr. North and retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord to set up a bank account in Switzerland. Profits from the Iranian arms sales went through the account.

The Wall Street Journal reported that special prosecutor Lawrence E. Walsh is pursuing links between Mr. Miller and a Caymen Islands registered corporation, International Communications, Inc. The flow chart suggests a flow of funds from IBC to a company identified as I.C., Inc. (Wall Street Journal, March 2, 1987: 2).

MUSKIE, Edmund

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Partner, Chadbourne & Parke, 1982-

Recent Previous Occupations

Member, President's Special Review Board, 1986-87;

Secretary of State, 1980-1981;

U.S. Senator, 1959-1980.

Role

Former Senate Muskie served as a member of the Tower Commission, formally called the President's Special Review Board.

NAKASONE, Yasuhiro

Nationality: Japan

Current Occupation

Prime Minister of Japan

Role

Prime Minister Nakasone is reported to have been involved in efforts to free U.S. hostages in Lebanon. Prime Minister Nakasone admitted that he had spoken by telephone with President Reagan in July of 1985, about the American hostages. He has denied that Japan has had any knowledge of or role in the shipment of U.S. arms to Iran. (Facts on File, December 19, 1986: 932).

NIELDS, John

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Chief Counsel, House Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran

Recent Previous Occupations

Attorney, Howrey & Simon

Role

Mr. Niels is chief counsel to the House Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran. He was chief counsel to the House Committee on Standards and Official Conduct during the Koreagate inquiry. (Wall Street Journal, January 9, 1987: 2).

NIMRODI, Yaacov

Nationality: Israel

Current Occupation

Arms merchant

Recent Previous Occupations

Israeli military intelligence operative

Role

Mr. Nimrodi, a former Israeli military attache in Tehran and an associate of Manucher Ghorbanifar and Adnan Khashoggi, was a key member of the original network of middlemen who facilitated the arms transfer to Iran. Beginning in January, 1985, Mr. Nimrodi, along with Al Schwimmer, an arms dealer, and Amiram Nir, adviser on counterterrorism to then-Prime Minister Shimon Peres, held a series of meetings with Mr. Ghorbanifar to discuss the possible sale of TOW missiles to Iran and trading hostages for weapons. Roy Furmark, an associate of Mr. Khashoggi, told Charles Allen, CIA National Intelligence Officer, that "profit was certainly a motive but that the group did see their efforts leading toward stability in the region and the release of the hostages." (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, II C).

Mr. Nimrodi took part in several meetings in the fall of 1985 with Michael Ledeen, Al Schwimmer, and David Kimche in which Manucher Ghorbanifar briefed the group on the intelligence situation in Iran and discussed the technicalities of arms shipments. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 6). Mr. Nimrodi helped develop Israeli relations with Iran in the 1960s, and later used the contacts he made in Iran to develop a lucrative trading business and to help with the arms sales to Iran. (Washington Post, December 14, 1986: H-1).

NIR, Amiram

Nationality: Israel

Recent Previous Occupations

Adviser on counterterrorism to former Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres

Role

Beginning in January of 1985, Mr. Nir, along with Yaacov Nimrodi, an arms dealer, and Al Schwimmer, an arms merchant, met with Iranian arms merchant Manucher Ghorbanifar held a series of meeting to discuss the possible sale of TOW missiles to Iran and trading hostages for weapons. Roy Furmark, an associate of Adnan Khashoggi, told Charles Allen, CIA National Intelligence Officer, that "profit was certainly a motive but that the group did see their efforts leading toward stability in the region and the release of the hostages."

Mr. Nir became the Israeli contact with the United States regarding arms sales to Iran in January 1986, after Iran complained that Israel had sent old HAWK missiles rather than improved HAWKs during the November 25, 1985, shipment. Mr. Nir, at the behest of Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, met with President Reagan and then National Security Adviser John Poindexter in January of 1986 to urge them to reconsider the transfer of arms to Iran for the release of hostages. Mr. Nir also supported the continued reliance on Manucher Ghorbanifar as principal middlemen in the Iran arms transfer. Former CIA Director Casey stated that Ghorbanifar, while uncontrollable, "appears to respond generally to Nir's direction." (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 16, 32).

The Israeli government stated that Mr. Nir had been in contact with Lt. Col. Oliver North regarding arms sales to Iran but that he knew nothing of a channeling of profits to the Contras. According to testimony that Lt. Col. North gave Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d in a preliminary investigation of the arms sale, Israel was involved in the diversion of funds to the Nicaraguan rebels. Mr. North indicated that the idea surfaced during a discussion with Amiram Nir during a January 2, 1986 meeting. (New York Times, February 27, 1987: All). Mr. Nir accompanied Lt. Col. North and others on the May 25, 1986, delivery of arms to Iran. (Washington Post, December 14, 1986: H1, H4). Mr. Nir, following former Israel Prime Minister Shimon Peres' request, briefed Vice President Bush on July 29, 1986, at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem on the status of the arms shipments to Iran. Mr. Nir informed Mr. Bush that although there were problems with the Iran arms deal, negotiations with the Iranians should continue. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, VIII C).

NORTH, Oliver L.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

United States Marine Corps officer

Recent Previous Occupations

Deputy Director, Political-Military Affairs, National Security Council

Role

Lt. Col. Oliver L. North, a former member of the staff of the National Security Council, played the central role in supervising the arms shipments to Iran and in helping coordinate assistance to the Nicaraguan rebels, during the two-year period when Congress barred U.S. government aid for the rebels. (New York Times, March 4, 1987: A14).

According to Congressional testimony given by Mr. McFarlane, Mr. North assumed an active role in the arms initiative on either November 22 or 23, 1985. It was on one of these days that Mr. McFarlane asked Mr. North to help move a shipment of Israeli-owned HAWK anti-aircraft missiles, which had been delayed in Portugal, from Israel to Iran. (New York Times, March 1, 1987: 4). According to Congressional testimony by former CIA Director William Casey, Mr. North asked the CIA for help in moving the arms shipment. (New York Times, January 3, 1987: 4).

During 1985 and 1986, Mr. North coordinated the details of the Nicaraguan rebel defense effort, relying upon a network of planes, ships, and dummy corporations financed with millions of dollars in cash kept in secret Swiss bank accounts. From the National Security Agency, Mr. North obtained top secret encryption devices to create a secure communications link to the private operations in the Contra supply operation. (Time, March 9, 1987: 38).

Mr. North relied upon his communications system to coordinate arms shipments from Europe, to supervise "drops" of arms into Central America and to instruct other members of the Contra supply network where and when to transfer funds. (Washington Post, February 27, 1987: A1).

Mr. North worked particularly closely with retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord. Mr. North and Mr. Secord together organized and managed

the covert network to supply arms to the Nicaraguan rebels, which was code-named Project Democracy, or PRODEM. (Newsweek, March 9, 1987: 32). Mr. North, Mr. Secord, and Mr. Secord's business associate Albert Hakim, who handled the financial transactions, were the key players of the Project Democracy network. The Senate Select Committee report quoted an unidentified CIA officer involved in the arms initiative as describing Mr. Secord and Mr. Hakim as "almost co-equal lieutenants" of Mr. North. (New York Times, January 30, 1987: A9).

Mr. North gave the Iranian arms negotiations the code-name Project Recovery. The two projects merged after Mr. North took on primary responsibility for the Iranian arms deal the fall of 1985.

A flow chart published in the Tower Commission Report which was found in Mr. North's White House safe, lists more than 20 different corporations and organizations which suggest the financial network created by Mr. North to run the two operations. (Los Angeles Times, March 2, 1987: 13).

Mr. North filed suit February 24, 1987, against the special prosecutor in the Iran-contra initiative, Lawrence E. Walsh, and Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d, challenging the constitutionality of the Federal law permitting appointment of a special prosecutor. (New York Times, February 25, 1987: A1).

Testified before Congress

House Foreign Affairs Committee, December 9, 1986; took Fifth Amendment;

House Intelligence Committee, December 9, 1986; took Fifth Amendment;

Senate Intelligence Committee, December 1, 1986; took Fifth Amendment.

OWEN, Robert

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Republican Congressional aide;

State Department Consultant.

Role

Mr. Owen worked out of the State Department's Nicaraguan Humanitarian Office as well as Lt. Col. Oliver North's National Security Council office as an informal liaison between the Nicaraguan rebel leaders and their U.S. supporters. Mr. Owen created the Institute for Democracy, Education and Assistance (IDEA) which is identified on the flow chart found in Lt. Col. North's safe and is believed to be an entity established to manage money raised and spent in support of the Nicaraguan rebels during a two-year Congressional ban on direct U.S. military assistance to them. (Washington Post, February 28, 1987: 13).

Testified before Congress

Senate Intelligence Committee, December 8, 1986; took Fifth Amendment.

PARLOW, Thomas

Nationality: Denmark

Current Occupation

Shipping agent

Role

Mr. Parlow, a Danish shipping agent, was reportedly involved in supplying a small freighter, the Erria, to Lt. Col. North for use in delivering arms to the Nicaraguan rebels. Thomas Clines, ex-CIA agent and close associate of retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord, and Mr. North used the Erria in the spring of 1986, in an unsuccessful attempt to free U.S. hostages in Lebanon with a ransom paid by H. Ross Perot. (Wall Street Journal, February 13, 1987: 50).

The Wall Street Journal reported that Mr. Parlow is a longtime friend of Thomas Clines, ex-CIA official who is linked to the shipments of arms to the Nicaraguan rebels.

PERES, Shimon

Nationality: Israel

Current Occupation

Foreign Minister, 1986-

Recent Previous Occupations

Prime Minister, 1984-86;

Leader of the Opposition, 1977-84.

Role

During an early May of 1985 meeting with Michael Ledeen, then-Prime Minister Peres asked for U.S. consent to sell Iran a quantity of weapons. In a cable to Secretary of State Shultz, then-National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane reported that Mr. Peres had raised the issue of trading arms for hostages. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 5). (Tower Commission Report: Appendix B, II).

On July 14, 1985, Mr. Peres sent Al Schwimmer, adviser on technology to Mr. Peres, to meet with Michael Ledeen. Mr. Schwimmer discussed the details of his earlier meeting in Europe with David Kimche, then Director-General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, Adnan Khashoggi and Manucher Ghorbanifar.

In the latter part of February 1986, Mr. Peres wrote to President Reagan advocating continued efforts to gain a "strategic opening" in Iran. He promised Israeli support for this policy.

PEROT, H. Ross

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Member of the Board of Directors, General Motors Corporation;

Chairman, Electronic Data Systems Corporation;

Member, President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

Role

According to the Tower Commission Report, Mr. Perot, at the request of Lt. Col. Oliver North, placed two million dollars in a Swiss bank, Credit Suisse Bank, in May of 1986, in an effort to gain the release of two American hostages, including William Buckley, held in Lebanon. The arrangements fell through and the money was never used. (Newsweek, March 9, 1987: 26).

PIOWATY, John

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Veteran fighter pilot

Role

According to news reports, Mr. Piowaty was hired to fly secret missions over Nicaragua by a retired Air Force Colonel, Richard Gadd. Edward De Garay, chairman of Corporate Air Services, employed Mr. Piowaty and other members of the rebel resupply operation's flight crews. (Newsweek, March 9, 1987: 34).

POINDEXTER, John M.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Rear Admiral, United States Navy

Recent Previous Occupations

National Security Adviser, National Security Council

Role

Rear Admiral Poindexter replaced Robert McFarlane as National Security Adviser on December 4, 1985. According to the Tower Commission Report, Lt. Col. Oliver North kept Mr. Poindexter "exhaustively informed" of the Iranian arms initiative. (Time, March 9, 1987: 38). Mr. Poindexter actively supervised Lt. Col. North in running the Contra resupply effort, first as Mr. McFarlane's deputy and then after Mr. McFarlane's resignation. Mr. Poindexter kept in close contact with Mr. North through a private inter-office computer communications network which he established August 31, 1985, between his office and Mr. North's that was code-named "Private Blank Check." (New York Times, March 1, 1987: 5).

On January 17, 1986, Mr. Poindexter briefed President Reagan before the President signed a secret intelligence finding authorizing the sale of weapons and spare parts to Iran.

The Tower Commission Report faulted Mr. Poindexter for failing to restrain Mr. North in the execution of the Iran/Contra policies. "Poindexter's own bent for operations aided and abetted rather than compensated for North." (Time, March 9, 1987: 39). According to Attorney General Edwin Meese, Mr. Poindexter was fully aware that Mr. North was arranging the diversion of profits from the arms sales to aid the rebels fighting in Nicaragua. (Washington Post, February 25, 1987: A17).

The Tower Commission Report concluded that Mr. Poindexter "failed grievously" in his duty to President Reagan, deliberately shielding President Reagan from the details of Mr. North's activities.

Mr. Poindexter resigned his position as National Security Adviser on November 25, 1986.

Testified before Congress

Senate Intelligence Committee, November 21; December 3, 1986; took Fifth Amendment;

House Foreign Affairs Committee, December 9, 1986; took Fifth Amendment;

House Intelligence Committee, December 19, 1986; took Fifth Amendment.

POWELL, Colin L.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Deputy National Security Adviser, National Security Council, 1987-

Recent Previous Occupations

U.S. Army General, V Corps, Europe, 1986-87;

Military Assistant to Secretary of Defense, 1983-86;

Assistant Division Commander, 4th Infantry Division, 1981-83;

Executive Assistant to Secretary, Department of Energy, 1979.

Role

General Powell was ordered by Secretary of Defense Weinberger to arrange for the transfer of Army weapons to the CIA. He was assisted in this action by Major General Vincent Russo of the Defense Logistics Agency. He also discussed the arms transfer operation with Lt. Col. North as well as potential problems Israel would have in replacing them. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 17, 18).

QUINTERO, Rafael (Chi-Chi)

Nationality: United States (Cuban exile)

Current Occupation

CIA

Role

Mr. Quintero has been identified as working for Thomas Clines, an ex-CIA official linked to arms shipments to the Nicaraguan rebels, at Contra supply bases in Costa Rica and El Salvador. (Newsweek, March 9, 1987: 35). Mr. Quintero once worked under Mr. Clines in the CIA and later became his business associate. (Washington Post, January 18, 1987: A1, A6).

RABIN, Yitzhak

Nationality: Israel

Current Occupation

Minister of Defense, 1984-

Recent Previous Occupations

Prime Minister, 1974-77;

Minister of Labor, 1974.

Role

Israeli Defense Minister Rabin agreed to an initial shipment of Israeli TOW missiles to Iran on conditions that payments be made in advance, and the U.S. give written approval to the deal and promise to replenish Israeli stocks of the missiles.

The Tower Commission Report stated that Mr. Rabin had proposed sending between 20 and 50 Spanish-speaking military trainers to the Nicaraguan rebels. In addition, the report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence contended that Mr. Rabin on September 12, 1986, had offered "a significant quantity of captured Soviet bloc arms for use by the Nicaraguan resistance."

Mr. Rabin, in a February 27, 1987, statement released by the Israeli Defense Ministry, denied that he had offered to send either advisers or weapons to the Contras. He stated that although he had met with Lt. Col. Oliver North in May of 1986 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York, Mr. North told Mr. Rabin that he had first proposed the idea of sending captured Soviet bloc weapons to Nicaragua to President Reagan. Mr. Rabin stated further that he had "rejected the proposal out of hand." He denied as "totally groundless" the claim made in the Tower Commission Report that he had offered to provide military instructors to the Nicaraguan rebels. (Wall Street Journal, February 28, 1987: A10).

RAFSANJANI, Ali Akbar Hashemi

Nationality: Iran

Current Occupation

Speaker, Iranian Parliament

Role

The London Times, (November 29, 1986: 25), reported that Mr. Rafsanjani was one of five prominent figures in Iran who arranged for Robert McFarlane's visit to Iran without telling the Ayatollah Khomeini. According to the Times, he told the Ayatollah Khomeini of Robert McFarlane's visit after the American envoy arrived in Iran.

The Wall Street Journal (March 5, 1987: 62) quoted Ad Dastour, an Arabic newspaper published in London, as saying that Mr. Rafsanjani may have profited from the U.S. arms deal. Ali Nurizadeh, an exiled Iranian journalist and editor of Ad Dastour, reported that \$6 million from the arms sales was deposited in a bank account in Geneva controlled by Mr. Rafsanjani's son, Saed.

REAGAN, Ronald

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

President, United States of America, 1981-

Role

On January 17, 1986, after a briefing by then-National Security Adviser John Poindexter, President Reagan signed a secret intelligence "finding" authorizing the sale of weapons and spare parts to Iran. President Reagan has stated that his objectives were to improve relations with Iran, end the Iran-Iraq war, and facilitate the release of American hostages held captive in Lebanon.

In his first meeting with the Tower Commission, President Reagan said he had given prior approval of the Israeli shipments of August-September 1985 but in his second meeting he said that, after discussion with then-Chief of Staff Donald Regan, he believed he had not given approval prior to their completion. Subsequently he maintained that he could not remember when he had given approval to the arms shipment to Iran, "I did approve it, I just can't say specifically when." (New York Times, March 5, 1987: A19).

Mr. McFarlane, in testimony to the Tower Commission, insisted that the President gave his approval to the first arms shipment before the weapons were shipped at the end of August of 1985. Mr. Regan has been equally adamant in saying the President endorsed the shipment only after it was made.

The Tower Report concluded that Mr. Reagan probably did give his assent to the first Iran arms shipment before the shipment took place in August of 1985. The Report stated further that some Presidential aides deliberately tried to conceal important information about the Iran arms initiative from the President and to minimize Mr. Reagan's role. The President was not part of the effort, the Report stated, and "did not intend to mislead the American public." It did state that the President "was not totally candid at all times".

President Reagan, in a November 13 and 19, 1986, speech and press conference, and in a March 4, 1987, broadcast to the Nation, stated that his policy toward Iran had deteriorated into a trade of arms for hostages and that he accepted "full responsibility" for the Iran-Contra initiative. "What began as a strategic opening to Iran deteriorated in its implementation into trading

arms for hostages." (New York Times, March 5, 1987: A1). The Tower Commission Report concluded that Mr. Reagan's Iran initiative "became....a series of arms-for-hostages deals," and that the exchange of arms for hostages was an integral part of the President's policy toward Iran "almost from the beginning." (New York Times, March 5, 1987: A19).

President Reagan has stated he was not "fully informed" of the diversion of funds to the Nicaraguan rebels. (New York Times, December 14, 1986: 4-1, 4-2). The Tower Report found no evidence that President Reagan ever approved the broad plan to aid the Nicaraguan rebels. But it quoted several internal documents suggesting that Mr. Reagan knew about at least some of the activities. (New York Times, February 27, 1987: A1). According to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Report, President Reagan may have been briefed orally on a memorandum drafted in April of 1986, by Lt. Col. North, which suggested diverting \$12 million to the Nicaraguan rebels. The Committee said the memorandum appeared to have been sent to Mr. North's superior, Vice Admiral Poindexter, but that the Committee had no evidence that Mr. Poindexter had told the President about the diversion of funds. (New York Times, January 19, 1987: A7).

Testified before Tower Commission

January 26, 1987; February 11, 1987.

REED, Frank H.

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Headmaster, Lebanese International School (Muslim West Beirut)

Role

Mr. Reed was taken captive September 9, 1986, in South Beirut, reportedly by the Islamic Jihad (anonymous phone call, September 9, 1986), which later denied responsibility in a written message on September 11, 1986 (Voice of Lebanon). The al-Baath Cells Organization was also reported to have claimed responsibility (Voice of Lebanon, December 13, 1986), as did the Umar al-Mukhtar Forces of the Arab Revolutionary Cells. (Beirut Radio, September 14, 1986).

REGAN, Donald T.

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

White House Chief of Staff, 1985-87;

Secretary of the Treasury, 1981-85;

Chairman of the Board, Chief Executive Officer, Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, Inc., 1973-81.

Role

Mr. Regan was present on January 17, 1986, along with Vice President Bush and then-National Security Adviser John Poindexter, when President Reagan signed a secret intelligence "finding" authorizing the sale of weapons and spare parts to Iran. He was aware of subsequent arms sales to Iran.

Mr. Regan said under oath that he did not know of the diversion of profits to the Nicaraguan Contras before Attorney General Meese reported it in November of 1986. (Wall Street Journal, December 18, 1986: 3, 12). In a May 16, 1986, message which Lt. Col. North sent to Vice Admiral Poindexter, Mr. North said, "I have no idea what Don Regan does or does not know re my private U.S. operation..." Mr. Poindexter replied to Mr. North's message, "Don Regan knows very little of your operation and that is just as well." (Washington Post, February 27, 1987: A1).

The Tower Commission Report stated that "(m)ore than almost any chief of staff of recent history, (Regan) asserted personal control over the White House staff and sought to extend this control to the national security adviser....He especially should have ensured that plans were made for handling any public disclosure of the (Iran arms sales) initiative. He must bear primary responsibility for the chaos that descended upon the White House when such disclosure did occur." (Washington Post, February 28, 1987: A17).

Mr. Regan resigned as White House Chief of Staff on February 27, 1987.

Testified before Tower Commission

January 7, 1987

RODRIGUEZ, Felix (alias Max Gomez)

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Central Intelligence Agency official

Role

Mr. Rodriguez is a former Central Intelligence Agency operative who coordinated the supply operation to the Contras during the period when Congress had terminated military aid. He was the mediator between American air crews and Salvadoran Air Force officials. Vice President Bush has said that Mr. Rodriguez met three times with members of his staff, Donald P. Gregg, Mr. Bush's National Security Adviser and Col. Samuel J. Watson III, Mr. Gregg's deputy. (Newsweek, March 9, 1987: 35).

SCHWIMMER, Adolph (A1)

Nationality: United States, Israel (dual citizenship)

Current Occupation

Adviser on technology to Prime Minister Shimon Peres;

Independent arms dealer.

Recent Previous Occupations

Founder and former head, Israeli Aircraft Industries

Role

Beginning in January of 1985, Mr. Schwimmer, along with Amiram Nir, adviser on counterterrorism to then Prime Minister Shimon Peres, and Yaacov Nimrodi, an arms dealer, met with Iranian arms merchant Manucher Ghorbanifar in a series of meetings to discuss the possible sale of TOW missiles to Iran and trading hostages for weapons. Roy Furmark, a business associate of Adnan Khashoggi, told Charles Allen, CIA National Intelligence Officer, that "profit was certainly a motive but that the group did see their efforts leading toward stability in the region and the release of the hostages." (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, II C).

Mr. Schwimmer was consulted by Prime Minister Peres with respect to opening possible contacts with Iran. These discussions followed the suggestions made to Mr. Peres by Michael Ledeen, a consultant to the National Security Council, that such contacts be initiated. In early July of 1985, Mr. Schwimmer, a friend of David Kimche's, met with Mr. Ledeen in Washington, D.C. and briefed Mr. Ledeen on an earlier meeting he had had in Europe with Mr. Kimche, Adnan Khashoggi, and Manucher Ghorbanifar. He suggested to Mr. Ledeen that he meet with Mr. Ghorbanifar to discuss the political situation in Iran. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 5, 6).

SCOWCROFT, Brent

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Member, President's Special Review Board, 1986-87;

Brigadier General, U.S. Air Force;

National Security Adviser, National Security Council;

Vice Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.;

Member, Advisory Board, Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Role

General Scowcroft was a member of the Tower Commission, formally called the President's Special Review Board.

SECORD, Richard V.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Executive Director, Stanford Technology Trading Inc., Vienna, VA.

Recent Previous Occupations

Major General, U.S. Air Force;

Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Middle East;

Director, Air Force Military Assistance Advisory Group, Iran;

President, Stanford Technology Trading Group International;

Consultant, Special Operations Policy Advisory Group, Department of Defense.

Role

The Tower Commission Report identified retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord as a central figure in the secret arms sales to Iran as well as in the private Contra air resupply operation based at the El Salvadoran air base at Ilopango. Mr. Secord and his business associate, Albert Hakim, were the two most prominent figures among the clandestine operators who assisted Mr. North. (Wall Street Journal, March 2, 1987: 2).

The Tower Commission Report stated that millions of dollars in profit from the Iran arms sales were deposited in Swiss bank accounts in the name of Lake Resources, a dummy corporation registered in Panama with a bank account in Switzerland and controlled by Mr. Secord and Mr. North. (Washington Post, March 6, 1987: A11).

Mr. Secord relied heavily on Southern Air Transport, a Miami-based freight carrier, which has been linked to his private Contra resupply efforts. Southern Air Transport planes were used to ship U.S. weapons to Israel for later shipment to Iran and, through a Panamanian front, Amalgamated Commercial Enterprises (ACE), to facilitate the purchase and maintenance of planes used in the covert airlift to Nicaragua. (Wall Street Journal, March 2, 1987: 2) (Wall Street Journal, February 13, 1987: 50).

Mr. Secord played a principal role in helping to establish a second channel to Iran in the latter part of August 1986 after the Administration no longer wanted to rely upon Manucher Ghorbanifar, the Iranian arms merchant. The second channel, known in the Tower Commission Report only as "the Relative," had been cultivated in London by Mr. Secord. In a September 10, 1986, memo that Charles Allen, CIA National Intelligence Officer, sent to former CIA Director William Casey, Allen said former National Security Adviser Poindexter told Lt. Col. North to continue to establish "the Relative" through Mr. Secord and his business associate Albert Hakim. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, IX A). Mr. Secord reported in a message to Mr. North, "My judgment is that we have opened up a new and probably much better channel to Iran. This connection has been effectively recruited and he wants to start dealing." (Newsweek, March 9, 1987: 29).

According to Adolfo Calero, who heads the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN), the arms purchased by the FDN during the Congressional ban were obtained through three intermediaries, Mr. Secord, retired Army Maj. Gen. Singlaub, and retired Army Lt. Col. James L. McCoy. Mr. Calero stated that Mr. Secord provided the largest amount of weapons -- between \$8 and \$9 million worth -- mostly through the corporate name Energy Resources International. (Washington Post, March 6, 1987: A11).

Testified before Congress

Senate Intelligence, December 9, 1986;

Senate Intelligence Committee, December 23, 1986.

SHACKLEY, Theodore C.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Director, T.G.S., International;

Director, R.E.I.

Recent Previous Occupations

Associate Deputy Director of Operations, Central Intelligence Agency;

Central Intelligence Agency Station Chief, Vietnam;

Central Intelligence Agency Station Chief, Laos.

Role

Mr. Shackley was one of the first Americans consulted by Mr. Ghorbanifar concerning the sale of arms to Iran. Mr. Shackley met Mr. Ghorbanifar on November 19-21, 1984, in Hamburg, West Germany. During a subsequent series of meetings, Mr. Ghorbanifar suggested that Iran would be willing to trade some Soviet equipment captured in Iraq for TOW missiles. Mr. Ghorbanifar also mentioned the four American hostages in Lebanon, including William Buckley, and claimed he could get them released in exchange for cash. Mr. Shackley was introduced to Mr. Ghorbanifar by General Manucher Hashemi, former head of SAVAK's Department VIII (counterespionage). (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, I B). Mr. Shackley stated that he met with Mr. Ghorbanifar only to discuss the importation into Iran of machinery and prostheses for wounded Iranian veterans. (Washington Post, February 2, 1987: A10). Mr. Shackley prepared a memorandum for the State Department in which he relayed an Iranian proposal to ransom the hostages held in Lebanon. He said he played no role after this time. (Washington Post, January 18, 1987: A-16).

Testified before Tower Commission

February 5, 1987

SHULTZ, George P.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Secretary of State, 1982-

Recent Previous Occupations

Director and President, Bechtel Group Inc., 1975-80;

President, Bechtel Corporation, 1975-80;

Professor, management and public policy, Stanford University, 1974-82.

Role

Secretary Shultz opposed the sale of arms to Iran. According to the Senate Select committee on Intelligence report, Mr. Shultz, at the August 8, 1985, meeting of the National Security Planning Group, voiced opposition to the plan to permit the sale of TOWs to Iran through Israel.

Mr. Shultz has said that although he knew arms sales were considered as part of a plan to improve relations with Iran, he was only partially informed of the operational details of such a plan. During the Geneva summit meeting in November 19-21, 1985, Mr. Shultz was advised by then-National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane that arms were to be shipped to Iran by Israel in an effort to facilitate release of U.S. hostages held in Lebanon. (New York Times, February 12, 1987: A3).

The Tower Commission Report faulted Mr. Shultz, as well as Secretary of Defense Weinberger, for not being energetic enough in opposing the Iran policy. The Tower Commission stated, "Their obligation was to give the President their full support and continued advice with respect to the program or, if they could not in conscience do that, to do inform the President. Instead they simply distanced themselves from the program. They protected the record as to their own positions on the issue. They were not energetic in attempting to protect the President from the consequences of his personal commitment to freeing the hostages." (New York Times, March 6, 1987: A1, A19).

Mr. Shultz has said he was unaware of the diversion of funds to the Nicaraguan rebels. The Tower Commission Report stated that in June of 1986,

then-National Security Adviser Poindexter reported that Mr. Shultz "knows nothing about the prior financing" of the Nicaraguan rebels and added, "It should stay that way." (New York Times, March 4, 1987: A15).

On a recent trip to the Peoples Republic of China, Mr. Shultz commented on the Tower Commission's findings, "I do not agree that my actions were designed somehow or other to make a record to protect myself. I do not operate that way." (New York Times, March 6, 1987: A1).

Testified before Congress

House Foreign Affairs Committee, December 8, 1986.

Testified before Tower Commission

January 22, 1987

SINGLAUB, John

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Director, U.S. Council for World Freedom

Recent Previous Occupations

Chief of Staff, Army Forces Command, Fort McPherson, 1977-1978;

Chief of Staff, U.S. Forces, Korea, -1977.

Role

General John Singlaub played a major role in raising private funds for the Nicaraguan rebels. The Tower Commission Report cited a letter from Lt. Col. Oliver North to the ambassador of an unidentified Central American country, requesting a multiple-entry visa for Mr. Singlaub. In his letter, Mr. North wrote to the ambassador that General Singlaub's visit "will well serve the interests of your country and mine." The Tower Commission report noted that General Singlaub said that on his return he had met with several leaders of the Nicaraguan Contra military organization and had agreed to provide "a few" former military trainers. (New York Times, February 28, 1987: A10). Adolfo Calero, who heads the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), has testified that along with retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord and Lt. Col. Craig Coy, Mr. Singlaub obtained arms for the Nicaraguan rebels during the Congressional ban. (Washington Post, March 6, 1987: A11).

SPORKIN, Stanley

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

U.S. District Court Judge

Recent Previous Occupations

CIA General Counsel

Role

Mr. Sporkin drafted a finding for President Reagan which retroactively gave legal authority to CIA participation in the earlier shipments through Israel. Robert M. Gates, Deputy Director of the CIA, reported to the Senate Intelligence panel in February of 1987, that he had been advised, in 1985, by Mr. Sporkin that a finding was not required by law for the November 1985 arms transfer operation. John McMahon, former Deputy Director of the CIA, has stated that Mr. Sporkin drafted a finding anyway because Mr. McMahon made it clear to Mr. Sporkin "that there was no way we could become involved" in any shipment to Iran, whatever its character, without a finding. (Washington Post, February 28, 1987: A12).

Mr. Sporkin also attended the January 16, 1986, White House meeting, along with then-National Security Adviser John Poindexter, then-CIA Director William Casey, Attorney General Edwin Meese, and Secretary of Defense Weinberger, to discuss the final draft of the Presidential finding authorizing the sale of arms to Iran. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 17).

SUTHERLAND, Thomas P.

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Dean, School of Agriculture, American University, Beirut

Role

Mr. Sutherland was taken hostage on June 9, 1985, in Beirut near the International Airport, by Islamic Jihad. (New York Times, June 16, 1985). He remained in captivity as of March 27, 1987.

TAMBS, Lewis

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica, 1985-86 (retired in January);

U.S. Ambassador to Columbia, 1983-85;

Counselor, National Security Council, 1982-83;

Professor, 1975-82, Associate Professor, 1970-75, Arizona State University;

Director, Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1972-76.

Role

As Ambassador to Costa Rica, Mr. Tambs reportedly maintained close contact with private groups involved in supplying the Nicaraguan rebels with aid. A CIA official who testified before the Tower Commission stated that the Santa Elena airstrip, in northern Costa Rica, which was reportedly developed for use by the Nicaraguan rebels, was a "pet project" of Mr. Tambs. Mr. Tambs, in his own testimony, said he had been told by Lt. Col. North that his goal should be to "open the southern front" for the rebels. Mr. Tambs said this was "confirmed by Abrams" (Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State) and an unnamed CIA official in subsequent discussions in the Restricted Interagency Group (RIG) on South America, a group of officials charged with monitoring the Nicaraguan rebel's progress, but in reality involved in supporting them. (New York Times, March 4, 1987: A15).

Citing testimony from Mr. Tambs, the Tower Commission Report, said that RIG gave Mr. Tambs "instructions" as he prepared to begin his ambassadorship in Costa Rica in July of 1985. Mr. Tambs testified, "Before I went, Ollie (Lt. Col. North) said when you get down there you should open the southern front. In the subsequent meetings and meeting (of the RIG) that was confirmed by Abrams (Elliott Abrams) and (the CIA official). That was sort of our mission." (Washington Post, February 27, 1987: A18).

The Village Voice (December 30, 1986: 15, 16) reported that Mr. Tambs was the object of an assassination attempt by Contra supporters who hoped to force the U.S. into a war with Nicaragua.

TEICHER, Howard J.

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Senior Director, Political-Military Affairs, National Security Council;
Deputy-Director, Political-Military Affairs.

Role

Mr. Teicher participated in the initial reassessment of U.S. policy toward Iran. He co-authored with Donald Fortier a June 11, 1985 National Security Decision Directive for Robert C. McFarlane which proposed allowing friendly states to sell to Iran arms "that would not affect the strategic balance as a means of showing Iran that it had alternatives" to the Soviets. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, II B).

In March of 1986, Mr. Teicher was requested to prepare "terms of reference" for Mr. McFarlane's use during a future Iran trip. (Tower Commission Report, Appendix B, VIII B).

Mr. Teicher traveled with Lt. Col. North and Robert C. McFarlane to Iran in May of 1986 in a plane that carried spare parts in an abortive effort to secure the release of four American hostages. (Washington Post, February 17, 1987: A10). Mr. Teicher claims that he was involved only politically and not operationally.

Testified before Congress

Senate Intelligence Committee, December 12, 1986; refused to testify.

Testified before Tower Commission

December 19, 1986

TOWER, John G.

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Member, President's Special Review Board, 1986-87;

Member, U.S. Delegation to Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms, 1985-1986;

U.S. Senator, 1961-85;

Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee.

Role

Former Senator Tower was a member of the Tower Commission, formally called the President's Special Review Board.

TRACY, Edward A.

Nationality: United States

Recent Previous Occupations

Illustrator; author of children's books.

Role

Mr. Tracy was taken captive on October 21, 1986, in Beirut. The Revolutionary Justice Organization sent a letter and photographs to a western news agency claiming it kidnapped Mr. Tracy and stating he was a spy for Israel and the CIA. (Reuters, UPI). He remained in captivity as of March 27, 1987.

VER, Fabian

Nationality: Philippines

Recent Previous Occupations

Chief of Staff, Philippine Armed Forces

Role

General Ver reportedly provided an Israeli arms dealer false resale certificates in an attempt to hide the arms sales to Iran. (Washington Post, December 11, 1986: A-39).

WALSH, Lawrence E.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Independent Counsel

Recent Previous Occupations

Counsel, Crowe & Dunlevy, 1981-;

Partner, firm of Davis, Polk & Wardwell, 1961-81;

Head with rank of Ambassador, US delegation meeting on Vietnam, 1969.

Role

Mr. Walsh was appointed December 19, 1986, as independent counsel the US District Court of Appeals "to investigate, and, if warranted, to prosecute alleged violations of federal criminal laws by Lt. Col. North...or other individuals acting in concert with North...in connection with the sale or shipment of military arms to Iran and the transfer or diversion of funds." (In re North Div. No. 86-6 (D.C. Circ.). Mr. Walsh has widened the terms of his investigation by assuming control of three Justice Department inquiries into the private American supply network for Nicaraguan rebel groups. (New York Times, February 12, 1987: A9).

On March 5, 1987, Attorney General Edwin Meese, appointed Mr. Walsh as an independent officer of the Justice Department. This decision gave Mr. Walsh executive branch authority to conduct his investigation, presumably to assure continuity of his efforts pending resolution of a suit by Lt. Col. North, which charged that Mr. Walsh's appointment as independent counsel was a violation of the constitutional separation of powers. (New York Times, March 6, 1987: A19).

WATSON, Sam III

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Deputy National Security Adviser to Vice President George Bush

Role

Lt. Col. Watson, along with Donald Gregg, National Security Adviser to Vice President Bush, is said to have had several contacts with Felix Rodriquez. He is also reported to have visited two Nicaraguan rebel camps in Honduras in January of 1986. He, along with Mr. Gregg, met, on August 12, 1986, with U.S. Ambassador Edwin Corr, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State William Walker, Lt. Col. Robert Earl and Lt. Col. Oliver North to discuss the Nicaraguan rebel supply effort. (Wall Street Journal, February 5, 1987: 5). (National Journal, December 20, 1986: 3079).

WEINBERGER, Caspar W.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Secretary of Defense

Recent Previous Occupations

General Counsel, Vice President, and Director, Bechtel Corp., 1973-80;

Secretary, Health, Education and Welfare, 1973-75;

Counselor to the President, 1973;

Deputy Director and Director, Office of Management and the Budget, 1970-73.

Role

Secretary Weinberger attended, along with then-CIA Director William Casey, then-National Security Adviser John Poindexter, and CIA General Counsel Stanley Sporkin, the January 16, 1987, White House meeting at which the final draft of the Presidential finding authorizing arms transfers to Iran was discussed and reviewed. Mr. Weinberger stated that he opposed the sale of arms to Iran. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 17).

Mr. Weinberger says that he did not know of the diversion of funds to the Contras until Attorney General Meese disclosed it in November of 1986. (New York Times, January 17, 1987: A8).

The Tower Commission Report stated that although Secretaries Weinberger and Shultz opposed the arms deals, they "simply distanced themselves from the march of events" rather than pressing their objections. (New York Times, February 27, 1987: A9). Although Mr. Weinberger portrayed himself as uninformed about the arms deals, the Tower Commission Report stated that "Secretary Weinberger had access through intelligence to details about the operation." (New York Times, March 6, 1987: A19).

Speaking to reporters in Boston, Massachusetts, on March 5, 1987, Mr. Weinberger rejected the criticism of himself in the Tower Commission Report as "totally unsupported by any evidence."

Testified before Tower Commission

January 14, 1987

WEIR, Benjamin

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Presbyterian Minister

Role

Reverend Weir was kidnapped by the Islamic Jihad on May 8, 1984, and released on September 14, 1985. According to the testimony of Michael Ledeen to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, the Israelis believed that Mr. Weir's release was linked to the September 1985 arms shipment to Iran. (Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: 9).

ZUCKER, Willard I.

Nationality: United States

Current Occupation

Manager, Compagnie de Services Fiduciaires

Recent Previous Occupations

Attorney, Internal Revenue Service

Role

As manager of Compagnie de Services Fiduciaries (CSF) in Geneva, Mr. Zucker traveled to Denmark in April of 1986 with Albert Hakim, to purchase a Danish flag-freighter, the Erria, which was subsequently used in efforts to resupply Nicaraguan rebels. The Erria was also used in the spring of 1986, in an unsuccessful attempt to free U.S. hostages in Lebanon with a ransom paid by H. Ross Perot. Compagnie de Services Fiduciaries, a Swiss financial concern, is central to the private financial network used by Lt. Col. Oliver North in the Iran/Contra initiative. (Los Angeles Times, March 2, 1987: 13).

Mr. Zucker is reportedly also linked to the purchase of a STOL aircraft for use by the Nicaraguan rebels. (Washington Post, December 14, 1986: A21).