#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

November 20, 2000

#### MEMORANDUM FOR PARTICIPANTS, ARMS TRAFFICKING SVTS

FROM:

LEE WOLOSKY AND GRANT HARRIS

SUBJECT: Summary of Conclusions for A/T SVTS --Friday, November 17, 2000

Participants discussed and agreed as follows:

1. South Africa: State will seek an update of South African intentions with respect to possible criminal investigations/prosecutions in advance of its proposed early December trip to Pretoria. [State]

2. Intelligence Coordination: 1.4(c) ATF, and other members of the 1.4(c) law enforcement communities as appropriate, will meet no later than November 29 to compare notes on VBO, with the intention of presenting to policymakers an all-source consensus USG view of current VBO activities in South Africa in advance of the proposed early December Statelead trip to Pretoria. 1.4(c) ATF]

3. Interpol: FBI will convey to Interpol the interest of USG policymakers in discussing VBO with its Lyon-based agent during his upcoming visit to the United States. [FBI]

2. Visas: State will convene, by no later than November 29, a small group meeting to review progress on visa-related issues. Among other things, State, working with the intelligence and law enforcement communities, will ensure that its list of VBO associates for out-of-channel visa processing is current, and that all relevant individuals have been entered into the TIPOFF/LOOKOUT systems as appropriate. State will also ensure that TIPOFF/LOOKOUT hits for Butt and associates are promptly notified to ATF. Finally, State will provide copies of Naydo and Manik visa applications to ATF and other interested agencies. [STATE, 1.4(c) ATF and other agencies as appropriate]

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2016-0167-M (1.01) KBH 8/9/2022

SECRET CLASSIFIED BY: LEE S. WOLOSKY REASON: 1.5(c)(d) DECLASSIFY ON: 11/20/10

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

2016-0167-M (1.05)

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PER E. O. 13526

September 15, 2000

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MEMORANDUM FOR PARTICIPANTS, ARMS TRAFFICKING SVTS

FROM:

LEE WOLGSKY AND NORA DEMPSEY

SUBJECT:

Summary of Conclusions for A/T SVTS --Wednesday, September 13, 2000

Participants discussed and agreed as follows:

1. Visas: State will convene, by no later than September 20, a small group meeting to ensure that TIPOFF/LOOKOUT hits for Butt and associates are promptly notified to DOJ/Crim (Bellinger), Nu State/AF (Schneidman) and NSC (Wolosky). [STATE]

2. Diplomatic: Given the sensitivity of the subject matter and the risks of premature disclosure of the developing USG plan of action, the planning and execution of all diplomatic activities will be coordinated through the Arms Trafficking SVTS Group. [All]

Staté will prepare, by no later than September 20, a detailed written analysis of whether the activities of the Victor Butt organization (VBO) breach current UN sanction regimes applicable to Angola, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Ethiopia/Eritrea. The analysis will address possible enforcement actions (including without limitation arrest and asset seizure/forfeiture) available to the above countries as well as to other member states obligated to enforce sanctions. 14(c) DOJ will support preparation of the analysis as necessary. 1.4(c)

State will prepare, by no later than September 27, a preliminary analysis of whether the activities of the VBO violate domestic criminal law provisions of VBO source, host, destination, and The analysis will include transshipment countries. consideration of the following non-exhaustive list of possible criminal offenses: violation of civil aviation regulations, (aircraft) document fraud, visa fraud/immigration law violations, diamond/smuggling/customs violations, manslaughter, tax evasion, bribery, arms trafficking. Due to the sensitivity of the subject matter, preparation of the analysis will not, involve consultation with posts. will support 1.4(c)preparation of the analysis as necessary. 1.4(c)

#### TOP SECRET

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To inform diplomatic activities and related planning efforts,

1.4(c)

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#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

#### August 31, 2000

#### MEMORANDUM FOR PARTICIPANTS, ARMS TRAFFICKING SVTS

FROM:

LEE WOLOFRY AND NORA DEMPSEY

SUBJECT:

Summary of Conclusions for A/T SVTS --Wednesday, August 30, 2000

Participants discussed and agreed as follows:

#### 1. Roster:

Agencies will provide a roster of participants to Niki Grandrimo by 9/1/00. The roster should include full contact information for all individuals to be included in follow-on sessions. Ms. Grandrimo's contact information is as follows: 202-456-9147 (phone) and 202-456-9360 (fax). NSC will distribute an interagency contact list upon receipt of all information. [ALL/NSC]

#### 2. Law Enforcement:

EO 13526 1.4c DOJ/crim and other law enforcement agencies in respect of 3/00/20559-00. 1.4(c)

DOJ/FBI will follow-up published reports indicating Interpol activity involving the Butt organization. [DOJ/FBI]

#### 3. Visas:

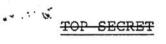
State will procure visa applications and supporting materials filed with post in respect of Butt and associates. [STATE]

State will ensure that TIPOFF/LOOKOUT hits for Butt and associates are promptly notified to DOJ/crim (Bellinger). 1.4(c) 1.4(c) State in compiling a database of Butt associates to trigger notification procedure. [STATE 1.4(c)

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#### 4. Diplomatic:

State will prepare by 9/11/00 a memorandum analyzing whether activities of the Butt organization breach UN sanction regimes applicable to Angola, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan, Liberia and Libya. The memorandum will address possible enforcement actions available to member states obligated to enforce sanctions. 1.4(c) 1.4(c) State's analysis, and Justice will provide legal input if requested. 1.4(c)

1.4(c)



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#### Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)

From:	Harris, Grant T. (AF)
Sent:	Tuesday, September 19, 2000 3:30 PM
To:	Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT); Byrne, Catherine E.
Subject:	RE: [SECRET]

Also important in my view to find out 1.4(c) soonest what differences of opinion that agency has on some of these facts

(AF)

 ---Original Message

 From:
 Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)

 Sent:
 Tuesday, September 19, 2000 2:26 PM

 To:
 Harris, Grant T. (AF); Byrne, Catherine E. (AF)

 Subject:
 RE: [SECRET]

Thanks. Grant -- I have three action items from this meeting:

- need name of former UAE ambassador to US who Brits believe is VB's sponsor (Dick says there has never been a bin Zayed here as ambassador, which is what Brits said). Also would like to know basis of belief that this person is sponsor.
- Brits will pass through channels info relating to Vienna, VA
- need more info on those flights to Islamabad

Anything I am missing?

----Original Message----From: Harris, Grant T. (AF) Sent: Tuesday, September 19, 2000 2°13 PM To: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT): Byrne, Catherine E. (AF) Subject: RE: [SECRET]

Cathy is the queen of all things related to Liberia, but she is on leave today. It is my understanding that we do NOT have sanctions in place, although this is something being considered (along with a freeze on the Maritime Registry) by the interagency as a way to ramp up pressure on Taylor. Cathy can fill us in more tomorrow.

-----Original Message-----

From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT) Sent: Tuesday, September 19, 2000 2:01 PM To: Harris, Grant T. (AF); Byrne, Catherine E. (AF) Subject: [SECRET]

Cathy, Grant -- I briefed Dick on highlights of the British intel brief Grant and I attended this morning. When I briefed the item concerning payment for Liberians out of Vienna, VA, he asked whether we had sanctions in place targeting Liberian assets subject to US jurisdiction (and being administered by OFAC). Do we?

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2016-0167-M (1.12)

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#### BUTT TO-DO LIST - 09/27/00

#### I. DIPLOMATIC

- A. South Africa
  - respond to request for USG advice and assistance in connection with SA demarche to UAE → indicate that USG will respond to SA Ambassador to US [State; NSC draft cable transmitted to State last week]

• by 10/6/00, provide responsive intel brief for SA Ambassador to US and discuss possible enforcement action/issuance of SA warrant [State/NSC]. Will need to have completed by that time the following:

- transmit cable indicated above [State]
- complete analysis concerning possible violations under SA domestic law and possible UNSCR enforcement authorities thereunder; tie legal analysis to pertinent facts learned from SA intelligence [State]

E.O. 12958 1.4(c)

1.4(c)
miscellaneous legal and practical issues associated with extradition/expulsion

E.O. 12958 1.4(d)

[NSC/TNT]

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#### C. UAE

- request report from security officials on Sri Lanka incident [NSC/State]
- 1.4(c)
- pass State analytic memo on VBO sanctions busting activity to Hamdan/MBZ [NSC/State]
- complete analysis on possible violations under UAE domestic law and UNSCR enforcement authorities thereunder, and pass memo to Hamdan/MBZ [State/NSC]
- D. UN
  - ensure that mid-October briefing of SL experts panel does not pre-maturely reveal information on Butt/Ruprah that might compromise USG objectives [State/AF to coordinate with State/IO]

#### II. LAW ENFORCEMENT

- Interpol status [DOJ]
- ensure that lead information on Amcit/US bank/Liberian Maritime Registry/Liscore is passed to domestic law enforcement authorities [DOJ/FBI/Customs Enforcement/Defense Trade Controls - DOS (Will Lowell)]
- if legally permissible, determine whether Amcit 1.4(d) enjoys diplomatic immunity [State]

#### III. REGULATORY

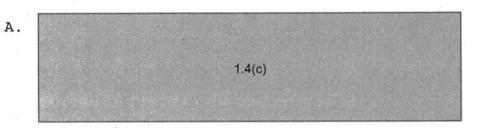
- 1.4(c)
- discuss related regulatory/enforcement options with DOT [State/AF]

#### IV. VISAS

- entry of VBO key individuals into CLASS (notification to whom? State? DOJ? NSC?) [State]
- obtain visa application for Valery Naydo; obtain dob and other pertinent information from visa application and enter into TIPOFF; prepare POE instructions in the event of a TIPOFF hit (notification to whom?) [State]
- same for Ruprah upon receipt of biographic data 1.4(d)
   1.4(d) [State]

- cable to post (Abu Dhabi, Dubai, others?) re: key VBO members to watch for; also, request retroactive visa check for key VBO members [State]
- V. INTEL

and it . .



- B. Collection
  - end-game scenarios for assets in Luanda, Kigali [NSC/AF to arrange options discussion]
  - enhance collection efforts within UAE generally [NSC/State to reinforce at higher levels]
    - need dob's for key VBO members for TIPOFF process

#### VI. PENDING TASKERS

"State will prepare, by no later than September 20, a detailed written analysis of whether the activities of the Victor Butt organization (VBO) breach current UN sanction regimes applicable to Angola, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Ethiopia/Eritrea. The analysis will address possible enforcement actions (including without limitation arrest and asset seizure/forfeiture) available to the above countries as well as to other member states obligated to enforce sanctions. 1.4(c) DOJ will support preparation of the analysis as necessary.

"State will prepare, by no later than September 27, a preliminary analysis of whether the activities of the VBO violate domestic criminal law provisions of VBO source, host, destination, and transshipment countries. The analysis will include consideration of the following non-exhaustive list of possible criminal offenses: violation of civil aviation regulations, (aircraft) document fraud, visa fraud/immigration law violations, diamond/smuggling/customs violations, manslaughter, tax evasion, bribery, arms trafficking. Due to the sensitivity of the subject matter, preparation of the analysis will not involve consultation with posts. 14(c)

1.4(c) DOJ will support preparation of the analysis as necessary. 1.4(c)

#### VII. LIBERIA

• consider law enforcement and executive branch measures that might be taken against Liberian assets, Maritime Registry and Liscor. [NSC/STATE on executive branch measures; NSC/STATE to reinforce law enforcement points to DOJ/FBI/Customs/ATF at higher levels]

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2016-0167-M (1.17)

TNT DRAFT - 9/13/00

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### ENDGAME SCENARIOS - VICTOR BUTT ORGANIZATION

<u>GOAL</u>: Bring an end, as quickly as possible, to the arms trafficking and other illegal activities of the Victor Butt organization, ideally in a way that results in appropriate punishment for principal criminal actors and provides maximum deterrent effect.

#### STRATEGIES TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVE:

A. Arrest Butt and key associates; and/or

B. Seize and/or forfeit assets.

IF A:

NEED WARRANT(S)

what jurisdiction issues? UAE? CAR? Angola? South Africa? Other? Interpol status?

 need to understand applicable criminal penalties in potential issuing jurisdictions before undertaking diplomatic activities

what jurisdiction executes? UAE? US?

covering what crimes? sanctions busting? violation of civil aviation regulations? (aircraft) document fraud? visa fraud/immigration law violations? manslaughter? bribery? tax evasion? other?

assuming sanctions busting, (1) do relevant UNSCRs provide member states with enforcement authority? (2) which jurisdictions listed above incorporate enforcement authority/obligations directly into domestic law? which indirectly or through implementing regulations?

for whom? Victor? Sergei? Other key associates?

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#### IF B:

MOVE AGAINST ASSETS WHERE? UAE? Luanda? Kigali?

MOVE AGAINST ASSETS WHEN? Do we have a means of knowing when to move with optimal effect?

MOVE AGAINST ASSETS HOW? As sanctions enforcement? Other criminal law enforcement action? Civil aviation/regulatory action?

#### QUESTIONS

A, B OR BOTH?

To what extent is organization dependent on one man (or one man and his brother)?

What is the likelihood of getting a warrant (or warrants) issued? executed?

To what extent would an optimally timed seizure of assets in one jurisdiction (e.g., UAE) be sufficient to achieve objective absent either arrests or additional steps targeting assets located in other jurisdictions?

CORRUPT OFFICIALS?

Has Butt corrupted officials in the jurisdictions that may issue or execute warrants, or seize assets? If so, how do we overcome?

#### MULTILATERAL ACTION?

To what extent do we coordinate with others in achieving objective? When? How? With whom? Brits? UN?

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Mi-8T, Montovia - Roberts Airfield, Liberia, July 2000

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London Heathrow, 8 June

Cevo Sad

#### Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)

From: Sent: To: Cc: Subject: Dempsey, Nora B. (AF) Friday, July 07, 2000 2:47 PM Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT) Cooper, Colby J. (ADMIN) RE: Evil arms dealer [<del>TOP SECRET]</del>

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2016-0167-M (1.19)

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Lee -

I'll definitely come... let us know where in the bldg the briefing will be.

----Original Message-----From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT) Sent: Friday, July 07, 2000 1:30 PM To: Weiss, Andrew S. (RUE): Smith, Gayle E. (AF); Tucker, Maureen E. (NONPRO); Dempsey. Nora B. (AF); Rosa, Frederick M (TNT) Subject: FW: Evil arms dealer [<del>TOP SECRET</del>]

Tues. briefing will not include upstream Russia connections because 1.4(c) at this point. We know Butt has an office in Moscow 1.4(c)

Please let me know who plans to attend Tues brief so that we can figure out where to hold it. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----

 From:
 Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)

 Sent:
 Friday, July 07, 2000 12:13 PM

 To:
 Smith, Gayle E. (AF); Tucker, Maureen E. (NONPRO); Dempsey, Nora B. (AF)

 Cc:
 @AFRICA - African Affairs; @NONPRO - Export Controls; Weiss, Andrew S. (RUE); Rosa, Frederick M (TNT)

 Subject:
 RE: Evil arms dealer [TOP SECRET]

I've arranged a briefing here Tues. 11 July at 1:30. Issues include the items set forth below. Let me know if you will join the briefing; I have already been in touch with RUE.

- overview of operations in Africa
- possible ties 1.4(d)
- existing warrants
- ties to UBL/sanctions busting
- upstream connections to ROC, Russian Government/arms export agencies/state-owned factories

• 1.4(d)

----Original Message-----From: Smith, Gayle E. (AF) Sent: Friday, July 07, 2000 11:13 AM To: Tucker, Maureen E. (NONPRO); Dempsey, Nora B. (AF) Cc: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT); @AFRICA - African Affairs; @NONPRO - Export Controls Subject: RE: Evil arms dealer [<del>TOP SECRET</del>]

not a bad idea, also maybe someone from intell

----Original Message----From: Tucker, Maureen E. (NONPRO) Sent: Friday, July 07, 2000 11:09 AM To: Dempsey, Nora B. (AF) Cc: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT); @AFRICA - African Affairs; @NONPRO - Export Controls Subject: RE: Evil arms dealer [TOP SECRET]

Sure, I'd like to sit in. I haven't seen any intel on this, so I don't know what it indicates, but since the evil one is Russian, should we invite someone from RUE?

----Original Message-----From: Dempsey, Nora B. (AF) Sent: Friday, July 07, 2000 11:06 AM To: Tucker, Maureen E. (NONPRO) 

 Cc:
 Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT); @AFRICA - African Affairs

 Subject:
 RE: Evil arms dealer [TOP SECRET]

 Maureen we met with Lee just after this e-mail conversation.

 he had some good ideas (re U.A.E. diplomacy), and will contact
 1.4(c)

 1.4(c)
 1.4(c)

----Original Message----

-Onginal Messay	6
From:	Tucker, Maureen E. (NONPRO)
Sent:	Friday, July 07, 2000 8:37 AM
To:	Smith, Gayle E. (AF); Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
Cc:	Dempsey, Nora B. (AF); Byrne, Catherine E. (AF); Tucker, Maureen E. (NONPRO)
Subject:	RE: Evil arms dealer [TOP SECRET]

Nora/Cathy - let me know when you get together with Lee - thanks - Maureen

Original M	essage
From:	Smith, Gayle E. (AF)
Sent:	Monday, July 03, 2000 10:33 AM
To:	Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT); Clarke, Richard A. (TNT)
Cc:	@TRANSNATIONAL - Transnational Threats; Dempsey, Nora B. (AF); Byrne, Catherine E. (AF); Tucker, Maureen E. (NONPRO)
Subject:	RE: Evil arms dealer [TOP SECRET]

Cool. Nora/Cathy - can you get with Lee on this when possible?

Original I	Message
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Onginar ivi	033890
From:	Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)
Sent:	Monday, July 03, 2000 9:51 AM
To:	Smith, Gayle E. (AF); Clarke, Richard A. (TNT)
Cc:	@TRANSNATIONAL - Transnational Threats; Dempsey, Nora B. (AF); Byrrre, Catherine E.
	(AF); Tucker, Maureen E. (NONPRO)
Subject:	RE: Evil arms dealer [TOP SECRET]

I am. As you know, Butt is a Russian, and I have been interested in learning more about his network outside Africa. Suggest we get together before you grab your hammer and frequent flyer voucher.

Original Me	essage
From:	Smith, Gayle E. (AF)
Sent:	Monday, July 03, 2000 8:41 AM
To:	Clarke, Richard A. (TNT)
Cc:	@TRANSNATIONAL - Transnational Threats; Dempsey, Nora B. (AF); Byrne, Catherine E. (AF); Tucker, Maureen E. (NONPRO)
Subject:	Evil arms dealer [TOP SECRET]

We have an evil arms dealer named Victor Butt who has networks across Africa and is effectively fuelling Angola, Sierra Leone and the Congo. We also have A LOT of intell on him. Following a briefing from them, I have asked Nora Dempsey and Cathy Byrne in my office to put together a draft strategy for shutting down his network, which they are very eager to do since they have been following him around for months and he keeps messing up their portfolios. Dick - who in your office is the get-evil-arms-dealers person, that they might touch base with? Maureen - do you think you can offer any insights or ideas into this?

Nora and Cathy are quite determined and I am convinced that if we simply turned them loose with my frequent flier miles and a hammer they could take care of this. However - want to know what legal, diplomatic, and other tools we may have at our disposal. If this network could be shut down it would be huge for Africa, both in the specific sense of his operations, but also in the bigger picture.

Thanks

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CONFIDENTIAL DECL: 31 October 2005

#### BACKGROUND

Despite our clear warnings of U.S. action should he persist in fueling the civil war in Sierra Leone, Charles Taylor has continued to arm the RUF and direct RUF operations. With Taylor's support, the RUF has recently expanded its operations along the Liberia-Guinea border. Simultaneously, Taylor is trying harder to conceal his support of the RUF. Over the past month, he has engaged in a diplomatic charm offensive, hoping to convince regional leaders he is working hard to steer the RUF towards a peaceful settlement.

Consistent with the Deputies' August 7 agreement to look for ways to speed up implementation of sanctions against Liberia, an IWG on Liberian sanctions has examined several follow-on measures to the visa restrictions announced October 11. These measures are elaborated on below. They fall into two categories: measures which would be most effectively pursued multilaterally and unilateral measures. We had initially considered awaiting the report of a UN Sierra Leone Sanctions Committee Expert Panel. However, that report has been delayed and Taylor's support for the RUF continues. While we may not obtain UNSC support for all of the proposed multilateral sanctions against Liberia, we should press ahead seeking support for as a broad range of measures as possible in order to hasten the end of Taylor's support for the RUF.

In addition to the multilateral approach to Liberian sanctions, State believes we must also pursue additional unilateral measures. Such sanctions could derive from legal authority provided in the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), the Foreign Missions Act, or the Export Administration Act (State Sponsor of Terrorism). IEEPA provides the President broad legal authority to impose sanctions such as restrictions on Liberia's U.S.-based maritime registry, an import embargo, a financial assets freeze, or a ban on new direct U,S. investment. However, absent a UN resolution calling for international sanctions, some agencies question whether Taylor's continued support for the RUF meets the criteria for a Presidential emergency declaration invoking IEEPA

Classified by AF A/S Susan E. Rice CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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Liberia would simply legitimate Taylor's trade in diamonds. Instead, we should propose an outright ban on the importation of diamonds from Liberia, many of which have been illegally smuggled out of Sierra Leone. While other Council members may note that  $\sqrt{280}$ an outright diamond ban on Liberia would hurt legitimate traders and hurt the Liberian economy, an outright ban is the best means to deprive Taylor of resources with which to support the RUF.

#### STATE POSITION

The U.S. should seek a UN Security Council resolution that C bans the importation of diamonds from Liberia. The resolution would permit the lifting of the embargo when the Secretary-General reported to the UNSC that non-government forces had been

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

disarmed and demobilized and that the GOSL had reestablished control over all Sierra Leone territory. We would seek to designate an experts panel to investigate violations of the Liberian arms and diamond embargoes. State believes that an outright ban on all'Liberian diamonds is the only effective way to deprive Taylor of resources used to support the RUF.

#### 2. TIGHTER ENFORCEMENT OF UN ARMS EMBARGO

#### DISCUSSION

UNSCR 788 (1992) established an arms embargo in the midst of the Liberian civil war which remains in force but is flouted by Taylor despite a sanctions committee (chaired by Namibia, which leaves the Council at the end of December) established under UNSCR 985 (1995). Paradoxically, efforts to reinforce this ban could destroy it, as UNSC members may question the need to continue or enforce the ban when the Liberian civil war for which it was enacted has ended.

UNSCR 1132 (1997) established a Sierra Leone sanctions committee (chaired by Bangladesh) which was subsequently charged with monitoring the arms embargo imposed on the RUF in UNSCR 1171 (1998). This committee is also concerned about links between illicit arms and diamonds trafficking as noted in UNSCR 1306 (July 5, 2000), which imposed a diamond embargo on Sierra Leone. The report of the experts panel, which has traveled to Europe and Africa, will guide the committee's efforts to curb the illicit trade. We will work with both committees to tighten the arms embargo on Liberia.

Taylor has proposed allowing border monitors to investigate reports of arms shipments to the RUF from Liberia. Our initial assessment is that this would be prohibitively costly and difficult to perform. Monitors dispersed in remote locations would be dubiously effective and make an easy target for hostage taking.

On the broader question of border monitors, however, the October 3 ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council ministerial agreed to deploy a military observer mission along the borders of Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone to quell tensions in the region. Such a deployment requires a decision by ECOWAS Heads of State, at either an Extraordinary Executive Session or regular Summit (currently scheduled for December). It would also require significant external financing.

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Taylor has requested technical assistance to enhance monitoring of Liberia's air and seaports. We could counterpropose that international monitors be placed at Liberian air and arhord seaports. As an adjunct responsibility, some monitors might be able to provide the technical assistance Taylor has requested. Funding would, however, have to come from voluntary contributions. The program could be conducted under UN auspices when or, alternatively, through ECOWAS.

USUN reports that Council members are likely to oppose 7 monitoring as costly and ineffective, citing previous attempts at international arms monitoring and the FRY. An ineffective system of UN (or ECOWAS) monitoring would likely be easy for the Liberians to circumvent, and Taylor could use it to reinforce his claims that Liberia is not involved in illicit arms trafficking.

#### STATE POSITION

We should approach Security Council members with sanitized information to demonstrate Taylor's role in supplying arms to the RUF and build the case for tightening the existing arms embargo on Liberia. State should prepare a series of strong bilateral demarches to countries wittingly or unwittingly involved in sanctions violations.

The USG should decline Taylor's offer of border monitoring as impractical and counterpropose placement of international monitors/trainers at air and seaports. If Taylor accepts our counterproposal, USUN will seek to include in a UNSC resolution authorization to place monitors at Liberian air and seaports to enforce the arms embargo. This effort would need to be funded by voluntary contributions (need to identify source of U.S. contribution and consult with Congress) and might be UNadministered. While costly, we believe these monitors would send an important signal to Taylor that the UNSC is serious about enforcing the embargo, would raise the costs to Taylor and arms traffickers, and would help curb arms trafficking in the region.

#### 3. TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS (VISA BAN)

#### DISCUSSION

We have begun pressuring Taylor and other RUF supporters with a unilateral visa ban, under authority of the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act, announced October 11. The ban applies to those who support the RUF, regardless of nationality. We have instructed selected Embassies to approach key governments to try to internationalize travel restrictions on RUF supporters

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOP

#### STATE POSITION

We should seek a UN embargo now on Liberian timber exports and try to enforce it at the point of export by use of UN or UNfunded monitors placed in Liberia's timber processing ports. If needed, we could also encourage and support NGO efforts to gather the information necessary to enforce such an embargo. We believe the UNSC must deprive Taylor of the revenues he uses to support the RUF and sow terror in the region. Failure to do anything to cut this apparent revenue source to Taylor will most likely lead to an escalation of regional instability and the humanitarian crisis that already exists.

5. IEEPA - ASSETS FREEZE AND BAN ON NEW DIRECT U.S. INVESTMENT USeize assets in VS of Taylor + cottrie, same cen as visa fram DISCUSSION (2) Mathlakad

The International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA) provides broad legal authority for a range of possible economic sanctions, including a financial assets freeze, restrictions on the maritime registry, and halt to new investment. To invoke IEEPA, the President must issue an Executive Order declaring a national emergency based on "an unusual and extraordinary threat . . . to the national security, foreign policy, or economy of the United States" and identify prohibitions on economic activity by U.S. persons. To be effective, the scope of the Order should be broad enough to cover all assets under the control of Taylor, his advisers, and the GOL. Treasury/OFAC can subsequently license activities (such as the maritime registry) we might want to allow to continue while the Order is in place. Treasury requests that we defer further consideration of IEEPA and an assets freeze until discussed and approved by a Deputies meeting which includes Treasury.

As of 1998, cumulative U.S. direct investment in Liberia was \$228 million. We are seeking information on annual investment levels in recent years to quantify possible impact of a ban on new investment. We would need to seek information on the owners of Liberian assets in the U.S. that might be subject to the asset freeze.

#### STATE POSITION

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOP

The President should invoke IEEPA to institute a Liberian assets freeze, a ban on new U.S. direct investment in Liberia, and possibly other economic sanctions..

ROGER CHANNEL CABLE ABU DHABI

MUST-GO CROSS-HATCH NSC TRANSNATIONAL (CLARKE/WOLOSKY), LEGAL, INTEL, AFRICA

ACTION REQUEST; SEE PARAGRAPH (4)

(1) ON SEPTEMBER 21 AND SEPTEMBER 22 NATIONAL COORDINATOR FOR SECURITY INFRASTRUCTURE PROTECTION AND COUNTER-TERRORISM RICHARD A. CLARKE AND NSC DIRECTOR FOR TRANSNATIONAL THREATS LEE WOLOSKY MET WITH SHEIK HAMDAN BIN ZAYED AT THE WHITE HOUSE COMPLEX.

(2) CLARKE AND WOLOSKY DISCUSSED WITH HAMDAN USG CONCERNS REGARDING INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRAFFICKER VICTOR BUTT, WHO OPERATES A FLEET OF AT LEAST 60 SOVIET-MADE AIRCRAFT FROM HIS UAE BASE. BUTT, THROUGH SUPPLY OF LARGE AND SMALL ARMS TO CONFLICTS IN SIERRA LEONE, ANGOLA AND THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO, VIOLATES NUMEROUS UN SANCTION REGIMES AND CONTRIBUTES SIGNIFICANTLY TO HUMAN MISERY AND THE FRUSTRATION OF US FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IN AFRICA.

(3) HAMDAN REQUESTED THAT HARD-COPY UAE-RELEASABLE BRIEFING MATERIALS CONCERNING THE VICTOR BUTT ORGANIZATION (VBO) BE DISPATCHED TO HIM IN UAE. THOSE MATERIALS ARE EN ROUTE TO POST.

(4) AMBASSADOR IS REQUESTED TO PRESENT MATERIALS DIRECTLY TO HAMDAN AND INTELLIGENCE DIRECTOR HAZZAH. AMBASSADOR IS REQUESTED TO INDICATE TO HAZZAH USG WILLINGNESS TO RENDER ASSISTANCE TO UAE INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY OFFICIALS IN SHUTTING DOWN THE OPERATIONS OF THE VBO. AMBASSADOR IS REQUESTED TO RE-ITERATE THAT USG IS NOT REQUESTING ACTION BY UAE OFFICIALS TO EXPEL VICTOR BUTT OR HIS ASSOCIATES AT THIS TIME, PENDING CONFIDENTIAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THIRD-PARTY STATES AFFECTED BY THE VBO. FINALLY AMBASSADOR IS REQUESTED TO NOTIFY MOHAMMED BIN ZAYED AS A COURTESY OF HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH HAZZAH REGARDING THE FOREGOING.

(5) ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS TO FOLLOW.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

[2016.0167.m, 1.23]

# Supplying Illicit Arms and Air Transport to African Conflicts: Victor Butt and His Network

September 2000

DECLASSIFIED IN PART PER E. O. 13526

2016-0167-M (1.24) KBH 8/9/2022

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## Summary

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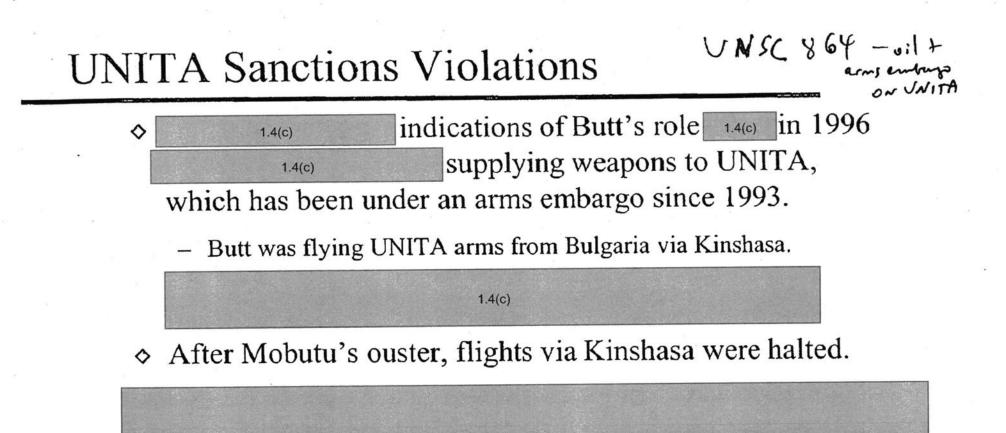
- Victor Butt has been the largest supplier of illicit arms and air transport services in Sub-Saharan Africa, since the mid-1990s.
  - His ability to attract a large clientele is based on the large scale of his \* Has 60 aircraft, 200 personnel, facilities in several countries.

    - + MORE, is desided balen Brokers sales, delivers arms and combatants. Contrible square USG attention to Butt is based on: amount)
      - \* His role in supplying several of Africa's bloodiest military conflicts.
      - His flaunting of UN efforts to halt these conflicts through sanctions.
  - The scale and full-service nature of his operation are potential vulnerabilities as well as strengths:

As an air cargo operator, he needs secure facilities for his aircraft.

His largest and most important are in the UAE operations center) in sharjah + Ras al khaimah

EO 13526 1.4c does brainers meer: Transavia Aor Air Cess / Cessavin



1.4(c)

### Support to DROC Rebels

1.4(c) Butt sets up Centrafrican Airlines

- Airline registered in CAR; most of the planes are in Kigali, Rwanda.
- <u>1.4(c)</u> <u>flights</u> <u>1.4(c)</u> to DROC rebels carrying small arms, ammunition, and troops.
- Butt acts as a military advisor to Rwandans and rebels.
- Centrafrican planes also noted in Sharjah and Ras al Khaimah.

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### Liberia: Weapons Embargo Violations

In Butt has been working to deliver military cargoes to Liberia, despite an arms embargo on Monrovia free 1306that has been in effect since 1992.

UNSCRI

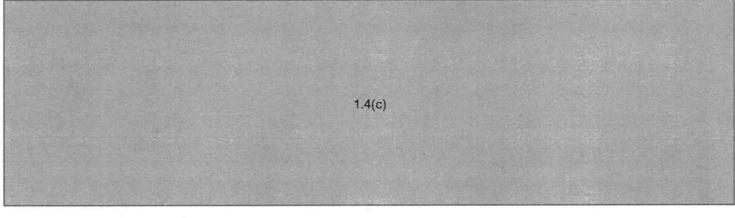
bar

- July 2000, Butt delivered several Mi-8T military helicopters and associated rockets to Liberian President Taylor.
- Also in July, Butt and his associates were arranging to ship air defense equipment, bombs, and ammunition to Monrovia.
- The ultimate recipient of some weapons is the Revolutionary United Front rebels in Sierra Leone.

#### SECRET REL UAE

## Trafficking in Illicit Diamonds

- Butt has become a key player in smuggling African diamonds:
  - Illustrates involvement in a disturbing trend that UN seeks to counter by working with legitimate diamond industry.



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## Exploiting Africa's Bloodiest Civil Wars

- Butt's actions in Africa prolong the carnage associated with the fighting in Angola, the DROC, and Sierra Leone.
  - Since the mid-1990s, the Angolan civil war has resulted in some 300,000 deaths and displaced 2.3 million people.
  - In Sierra Leone, civil conflict has forced 850,000 people from their homes; the main rebel group is notorious for torturing and mutilating civilians—including children.
  - Since mid-1998, some 6,000 combatants have been killed in the DROC and 1.6 million people have been made homeless.
  - Butt has armed combatants in Angola, DROC, Liberia, and Sierra Leone; transported troops to the front in the DROC; 1.4(c)

1.4(c)

#### SECRET REL UAE

Size of Butt's Organization: A Vulnerability and a Strength

- ♦ Operates about 60 aircraft, maybe more
- ♦ Has at least 200 employees
- Operating about half a dozen firms

1.4(c)

- ♦ UAE facilities are the most important.
  - Loss of license to operate there would be a crippling blow.

SECRET REL UAE

 $\diamond$ 

SyUNE Unlikely To Withstand Official Scrutiny Aircraft registration often acquired by bribery 1, 15 frandles Butt in 1997 bribed a Swazi CAA official for a license and to or hay been revolued register 50 aircraft... license and registrations revoked in 1998 1.4(c)1.4(c)

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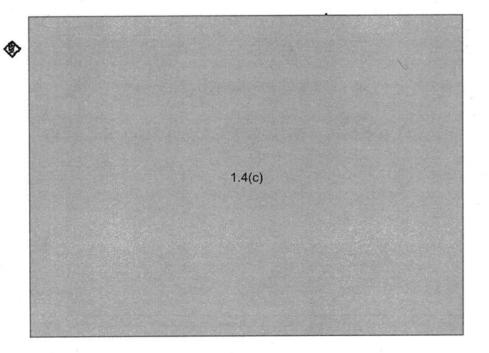
### Butt's Firms

### ♦ Main Firms

- Transavia Travel and Cargo
- Air Cess
- Centrafrican Airlines

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- San Air General Trading



#### SECRET REL UA

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FROM DEPARTMENT OF STATE OPERATIONS CENTER (FRI) 10. 13'00 10:15/ST. 10:15/NO. 3700000260 P 2 INITIALS NON MUST-GO APPR: DK DRAFT: B-F Clarke / Wislosh CLR 1: R W CLR 2: S W CLR 3: GT CLR 4: L W CLR 5: M J CLR 6: G H DECLASSIFIED PER E.O. 13526 2016 - 0167. M (1.25) IO/PHO: B FITZGERALD:BF KBH 8/9/2022 10/12/2000 6-7740 INR:D W KEYSER IO/PHO: M JONES INR/AA: S WEIGERT NEA: J STANLEY L/AF: G TAFT NSC: L WOLOSKY NSC: G HARRIS (NSC: Cuthy Bforme IMMEDIATE ABU DHABI ROGER CHANNEL ADDITIONAL FOR AMBASSADOR - DCM, POLCOUNS REFTEL INSTRUCTIONS - STATE 196040 E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/12/2010 AND MATERIALS REGARDING

TAGS: PINR, AMGT

SUBJECT: N DEFICIAL TATTON GOVERNMENT OF THE REGARDING ARMS AND DIAMOND UAE TRAFFICKER VICTOR BUTT AND HIS ASSOCIATES

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY IO/PHO ACTING DIRECTOR M. JONES. REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

CONTINUING OUR EFFORTS TO IMPRESS UPON THE UAE THE IMPORTANCE THE USG ATTACHES TO SPUL PROSECUTION OF NOTORIOUS ARMS TRAFFICER AND SIDENT VICTOR BUTT, BELOW IS A NON-PAPER WHICH WE AMBASSADOR OR DCM PRESENT TO THE WAE GOVERNMENT OVEST AN APPROPRIATELY HIGH ZEVEL. THE PAPER ASSESSES TOLATIONS BY BUTT OF VARIOUS UNTED VATIONS SECURITY BESOLUTIONS. IN ADDITION, FALKING POINTS ARE COUNCIL PROVIDED IN PARA 4 FOR POST'S USE

3. (8) BEGIN NON-PAPER VICTOR BUTT: VIOLATIONS OF UNSCRS

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1. (75) AMBASSADOR IS REQUESTED TO PROVIDE THE FOLLOWING NON-PAPER TO SHEIK HAMDAN BIN ZAYED AND INTELLIGENCE DIRECTOR HAZZAH BY MEANS OF FOLLOW-UP TO, OR IN CONNECTION WITH, ACTIONS REQUESTED IN REFTEL. THE NON-PAPER DESCRIBES VIOLATION OF UNITED NATIONS SANCTION REGIMES APPLICABLE TO LIBERIA, ANGOLA AND SIERRA LEONE BY THE VICTOR BUTT ORGANIZATION (VBO). IT IS RESPONSIVE TO ISSUES AND CONCERNS DISCUSSED WITH SHEIK HAMDAN IN THE LATE SEPTEMBER MEETINGS AT THE WHITE COMPLEX WITH NATIONAL COORDINATOR CLARKE AND NSC DIRECTOR WOLOSKY THAT ARE DESCRIBED IN REFTEL.

2. (78) AMBASSADOR IS REQUESTED TO REITERATE TO HAZZAH USG OFFER TO RENDER ASSISTANCE TO UAE SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS, BUT ALSO TO REITERATE THAT USG IS NOT REQUESTING ACTION BY UAE OFFICIALS TO EXPEL VICTOR BUTT OR HIS ASSOCIATES AT THIS TIME, PENDING THE COMPLETION OF CONFIDENTIAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THIRD PARTY STATES AFFECTED BY THE VBO.

3. (25) NOTWITHSTANDING PARA 2, AMBASSADOR MAY REFER IN THE COURSE OF HIS PRESENTATION OF NON-PAPER TO UAE LAW NO. 11 OF 1976, WHICH [INSERT 4].

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SECRET INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRAFFICKERY HAS CINSISTENTLY TRANSGREESED THE WILL THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE RESOLUTIONS WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN VIOLATED BY VICTOR BUTT INTERNATISMA (SOMETIMES SPELLED BUT OR BOUT) AND HIS ASSOCIATES. COMMUNIT

BUTT LIBERIA: RESOLUTION 788 (1992) IMPOSED AN ARMS EMBARGO ON LIBERIA. IN THAT RESOLUTION, THE COUNCIL DETERMINED THAT, "THE DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY" AND CALLED UPON ALL PARTIES TO "RESPECT AND IMPLEMENT THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE VARIOUS ACCORDS OF THE PEACE PROCESS...". IN JULY 2000, BUTT DELIVERED MULTIPLE MIST MILITARY HELICOPTERS AND ASSOCIATED ROCKETS TO LIBERIAN PRESIDENT TAYLOR. ALSO IN JULY, BUTT AND HIS ASSOCIATES WERE ARRANGING TO SHIP AIR DEFENSE EQUIPMENT, BOMBS, AND AMMUNITION TO MONROVIA. MANY OF THE ARMS DELIVERED TO LIBERIA ARE FORWARDED TO SIERRA LEONE FOR USE BY THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT (RUF). IN ADDITION, LIBERIA HAS BEEN A POSSIBLE CONDUIT FOR DIAMONDS BUTT IS SMUGGLING FROM SIERRA LEONE IN VIOLATION OF UNSCR 1306 (2000).

ANGOLA (UNITA): RESOLUTION 864 (1993) IMPOSED AN OIL AND ARMS EMBARGO ON UNITA. THE RESOLUTION DECIDED, "WITH A VIEW TO PROHIBITING ALL SALE OR SUPPLY TO UNITA OF ARMS AND RELATED MATERIEL AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE, AS WELL AS PETROLEUM AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS, THAT ALL STATES SHALL PREVENT THE SALE OR SUPPLY, BY THEIR NATIONALS OR FROM THEIR TERRITORIES OR USING THEIR FLAG VESSELS OR AIRCRAFT, OF ARMS AND RELATED MATERIEL OF ALL TYPES, INCLUDING WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION, MILITARY VEHICLES AND EQUIPMENT, PARAMILITARY EQUIPMENT AND SPARE PARTS FOR THE AFOREMENTIONED AND SPARE PARTS FOR THE AFORE-MENTIONED, AS WELL AS OF PETROLEUM AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS, WHETHER OR NOT ORIGINATING IN THEIR TERRITORY, TO THE TERRITORY OF ANGOLA OTHER THAN THROUGH NAMED POINTS OF ENTRY ON A LIST TO BE SUPPLIED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA ... ". WE BELIEVE THAT BULGARIAN ORIGIN ARMS HAVE BEEN SHIPPED TO UNITA BY BUTT AND HIS ASSOCIATES. IN MID-1998, SOUTH AFRICA IMPLICATED BUTT'S FIRM AIR RASS IN UNITA ARMS SMUGGLING. OTHER REPORTS HAVE INDICATED THAT BUTT IS A KNOWN SANCTIONS VIOLATOR. FOR EXAMPLE, WE KNOW THAT IN JUNE 2000 BUTT WAS ARRANGING AIRLIFT FOR UNITA VIA MONROVIA.

ALSO NOTEWORTHY IS THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS, PETER HAIN, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON JULY 27, 2000. HE

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DECLARED, "WE ALSO HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT VICTOR BOUT CONTINUES TO SUPPLY ARMS TO ANGOLA IN BREACH OF THE UN ARMS EMBARGO [ON UNITA]. WE CALL ON ALL STATES TO FULFIL THEIR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS TO IMPLEMENT AND ENFORCE THE MANDATORY SANCTIONS IMPOSED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS; THERE CAN BE NO EXCUSE FOR ANY STATE TO PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR BOUT IN HIS CONTINUED FLOUTING OF UN SANCTIONS." AT THE REQUEST OF THE UK, MR. HAIN'S STATEMENT WAS GIRCULATED TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE ANGOLA SANCTIONS C COMMITTEE C

IN ADDITION, THE REPORT OF THE PANEL OF EXPERTS ON VIOLATIONS OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL SANCTIONS AGAINST ANGOLA SPECIFICALLY NAMED VICTOR BUTT AS A NOTORIOUS SANCTIONS VIOLATOR. THE REPORT STATED (P. 13, PARA 29), "IN ADDITION TO INTERSTATE AIRWAYS, A COMPANY NAMED AIR CESS TOGETHER WITH ITS SISTER COMPANY AIR PASS ARE KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THE SMUGGLING OF COMMODITIES FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO UNITA CONTROLLED AREAS. AIR CESS AND AIR PASS ARE CONTROLLED BY A RUSSIAN NATIONAL NAMED VICTOR ANATOLEVIC BOUT, WHOSE OPERATIONS ARE NOW LARGELY BASED IN THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES." A FOOTNOTE TO THAT PARAGRAPH ADDS, "VICTOR BOUT IS KNOWN TO OPERATE WITH A NUMBER OF PARTNERS, SOME OF WHCM ARE ALSO BELIEVED TO BE INVOLVED IN SANCTIONS BUSTING ON BEHALF OF UNITA. AS NOTED IN THE PANEL'S RECOMMENDATIONS, FURTHER INVESTIGATION AND EXPOSURE OF THESE CONNECTIONS SHOULD BE A HIGH PRIORITY FOR FUTURE SANCTIONS ENFORCEMENT ACTIONS. IN ORDER TO ASSIST THESE EFFORTS, THE PANEL WILL MAKE AVAILABLE TO THE SANCTIONS COMMITTEE PERTINENT INFORMATION THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN COLLECTED. "

SIERRA LEONE (RUF): RESOLUTION 1171 (1998) PLACED AN EMBARGO ON ARMS SHIPMENTS TO THE RUF. THE RESOLUTION DECIDED THAT "ALL STATES SHALL PREVENT THE SALE OR SUPPLY, BY THEIR NATIONALS OR FROM THEIR TERRITORIES, OR USING THEIR FLAG VESSELS OR AIRCRAFT, OF ARMS AND RELATED MATERIEL OF ALL TYPES, INCLUDING WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION, MILITARY VEHICLES AND EQUIPMENT, PARAMILITARY EQUIPMENT AND SPARE PARTS FOR THE AFOREMENTIONED, TO SIERRA LEONE OTHER THAN TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SIERRA LEONE ... ". RESOLUTION 1306 (2000) FOLLOWS UP ON THIS REQUIREMENT BY CALLING UPON STATES, "WHERE THEY HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE DO, TO ENFORCE, STRENGTHEN OR ENACT, AS APPROPRIATE, LEGISLATION MAKING IT A CRIMINAL OFFENCE UNDER DOMESTIC LAW FOR THEIR NATIONALS

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OR OTHER PERSONS OPERATING ON THEIR TERRITORY TO ACT IN VIOLATION OF THE MEASURES IMPOSED BY PARAGRAPH 2 [OF 1171]...". WE BELIEVE THAT UNSCR 1171 IS BEING VIOLATED BY BUTT, AS SOME OF THE MILITARY ITEMS DELIVERED TO LIBERIA ARE FORWARDED TO THE RUF, AS NOTED ABOVE. BUTT IS POSSIBLY INVOLVED IN VIOLATIONS OF RESOLUTION 1306 (2000), WHICH PROHIBITS THE EXPORT OF DIAMONDS FROM SIERRA LEONE THAT DO NOT HAVE A GOSL CERTIFICATE OF ORIGIN. (THE RESOLUTION "DECIDES THAT ALL STATES SHALL TAKE THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO PROHIBIT THE DIRECT OR INDIRECT IMPORT OF ALL ROUGH DIAMONDS FROM SIERRA LEONE TO THEIR TERRITORY ... " BUT THEN EXEMPTS FROM THIS DIAMONDS WITH A SIERRA LEONE CERTIFICATE OF ORIGIN.) AT THE JULY 31/AUGUST 1 UN EXPLORATORY HEARINGS ON SIERRA LEONE DIAMONDS, LINKS WERE DRAWN BETWEEN BUTT AND VIOLATIONS OF SIERRA LEONE SANCTIONS, AS WELL AS UNITA SANCTIONS.

BUTT IS POSSIBLY INVOLVED IN VIOLATIONS OF RESOLUTION 1306 (2000). WHICH PROHIBITS THE EXPORT OF DIAMONDS FROM SIERRA LEONE THAT DO NOT HAVE A GOSL CERTIFICATE OF ORIGIN. (THE RESOLUTION "DECIDES THAT ALL STATES SHALL TAKE THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO PROPERIT THE DIRECT OR INDIRECT IMPORT OF ALL ROUGH DIAMONDS FROM SIERRA LEONE TO THEIR TERRITORY..." BUT THEN EXEMPTS FROM THIS DIAMONDS WITH A SIERRA LEONE CERTIFICATE OF ORIGIN.

END NON-PAPER

4. (U) POST MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS AS APPROPRIATE DURING PRESENTATION OF NON-PAPER:

UAE LAW NO. 11 OF 1976 PROHIBITS ANY PERSON, NATURAL OR JURIDICAL, TO OWN, POSSESS, TRADE OR OTHERWISE DISPOSE OF ANY FIREARMS, AMMUNITION, OR EXPLOSIVE MATERIALS WITHOUT LICENSE, EXCEPT FOR MEMEBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES AND THE POLICE. THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE IS CHARGED WITH ISSUING SUCH LICENSE, EXCEPTTHAT THE MANUFACTURE AND EXPORT OF FIREARMS, AMMUNITION, AND EXPLOSIVE MATERIALS MUST FIRST HAVE THE APPROVAL OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. PENALTIES INCLUDE UP TO TEN YEARS IN PRISON AND A FINE.

THIS LAW MAY PROVIDE A LEGAL BASIS FOR PROCEEDING AGAINST INDIVIDUALS IN THE UAE ACTING CONTRARY TO ITS

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OBLIGATIONS UNDER UNSC RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO ARMS TRAFFICKING.

WE DO NOT HAVE INFORMATION ON UAE PRACTICE, IF ANY, RELATING TO THE PROSECUTION OF VIOLATORS OF UNSC SANCTIONS RESOLUTIONS OR OTHERWISE RELATING TO THE APPLICATION OF CITED LAW.

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AFRICA Mtg. Rm. 208 10/2/2000 Lee she wasn't expecting this may people + they don't have everyone cleared. So she said the cel whitney issue would not be discussed today. leg. issues tyget 1 yr. deadline Follow -up conf. in london Global Christion Move issue to UN GARESolution + work on implementation aspects Pulling in other diamond countries Kimberly Process \* get GA bec. don't Mink on set SC ( Get concrete / defined issues so an get something through the SC [ Standup a Convention if carif get a SCRESOWITION Somesof of discussion whall the stakeholders Who attending these mtgs from the U3? Add people to delegation CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Barda h SVT3 w | the Brits Send small team to longlon in advance What hoppering w/SL UNSC1306 Contry specific certification Regime Get cohesive l'imprehensive certification regime Angola, DROC, SL المنازعين أرار المتدارهماية in the second Liberia Sec. Same Sh shawin the contract of the w the second is the second - Las Castro a daga da da sa ya ya CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTO

# JL | Liberia Pg.2 C. Taylor subverting the certification procedure in order to implement 1306 need exec. order? something Like this? ustoment to execute executive order implement net amorg. act unpa? / iepa? \* Prathed exectorder alreedy Treasing wrote State ok rough diamonals of Customs needs to approve? + definition & Customs needs to approve? Proluitits all rough diamonals except SL cetified HT3 demarcation Precise definition too wide or too namow 3L doing ok VN disussion on rough diamonals?

## Summary of Recent BUTT activity

This summary includes the major known activities of Victor Butt over the past several months. While most of Butt's activities deal with small arms it has recently come to light that he is in the market for larger armaments and systems.

Butt delivered 2 Mi-8T military helicopters and associated rockets to Liberian President Taylor. (The shipment of the helicopters included 57mm air to surface rockets). (July 2000)

- Butt associates deal with Bulgarian Peter Mirchev, Managing Director of the Bulgarian consortium KAS Engineering. This included deals to sell Mirchev 2 Mi-8 helicopters, an Mi-8T and a Mi-8MT. (July-August 2000).
- DROC Rebel Group receives shipment of military supplies. Supplies arrived to President Jean-Pierre Bemba (Congolese Liberation Movement). Cargo included unidentified anti aircraft equipment and mine shooting equipment. (August 2000)
- July 2000 Butt and his associates arranged a shipment of air defense equipment, bombs and ammunition to Monrovia. SL rebels are the ultimate recipient of some of these weapons. (July 2000)
  - Butt was considering the purchase of a wide variety of aircraft, weapons systems and munitions. This represents a broadening of his interests to include the acquisition and proliferation of larger weapons such as multiple rocket launcher systems. It is believed significant that Butt apparently has the necessary connections to have weapons systems, namely the MRLS built to his or his customer's specifications. While specific destinations for the equipment is unknown, it is undoubtedly destined for African countries.
    - It is believed that the MRLS would be a BM-21 122mm GRAD MRLS with the option for mounting it on a Czech Tatra chassis (8 wheeled very large chassis). (July 2000).
    - Butt and associated have referred to the MRLS as a small NEPOGODA (bad weather). Weapons systems which have names referring to bad weather include SMERCH, URAGAN and GRAD (tornado, hurricane and hail respectively). There are all multiple rocket launcher equipped systems: the 300mm SMERCH MRLS, the BM-22 220mm URAGAN MRLS and the BM-21 122mm GRAD MRLS. Since it was described as small, it is assumed to be the BM-21 GRAD MRLS.
  - Butt is also interested in SAMs, air to ground rockets, anti-tank guided missiles (ATGM) and mines.

It is probably that Butt delivered up to 160 tons of ammunition to Liberia. Ruprah and Butt arranged to supply to Liberia ammunition based on a list of requirements provided to Ruprah by possibly President Charles Taylor. This includes rounds of AK-47 ammunition, RPG-7V ammunition, 7.62-54 ammunition. Possibly sent cargo lots of 40 tons (max cargo capacity of Il-76). 4 flights at 40 tons = 60 tons (July 2000)

[2016 - 0167- M, 1.29]

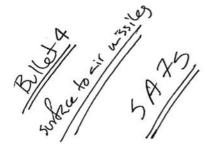
- Jean-Pierre Bemba, Chairman of the DROC rebel group the Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC) agreed on March 15, 2000 to lease 3 transport aircraft and one helicopter from Butt. A Yakovlev 40, a LET 410, an Antonov-28 and an Mi-8 PS for several months.
- Butt was expected to have approval from the Ukrainian Presidential Policy Committee on Military-Technical Cooperation and Export Control regarding a contract with the Ukrainian State Arms Export Company, Ukrspetsexport. The contract was for unspecified goods to be purchased from Ukrspetsexport which were apparently destined for Rwanda. Able to circumvent UN resolution. (September 2000)
- Butt made first contact with an official Russian state arms export company (Federal State Unitary Enterprise "Promexport.") (July 2000)
- UAE based Transavia Travel Agency a company owned by Butt is facilitating operations of a Libyan-registered aircraft in Tripoli. Many of the flights are associated with VIP travel. This is also the way the hostages were transported from the Philippines to Libya. (Summer 2000)
- Butt has a company in Moscow.
- Payment info: Ruprah seeking to transfer funds from a NY banking company to the account of San Air Gneral Trading in Sharjah. Request for USD 400,000 to be transferred. A US citizen based in VA was asked to arrange the transfer. (Will get you more info on recent transaction).
- Basic recent diamond info: Butt has received concessions to exploit diamonds in rebel held areas in DROC.

## Extra Information also see attached photos etc.

Also – I will summarize the info I just got from the library and send you a finalized version either later today or first thing tomorrow morning.

Mi-8 Helicopters are civilian helicopters Mi-8T is the military version of the Mi-8 model. The Mi-8T is identical to the Mi-17 It is not possible to officially export an Mi-17 to Liberia. The only Mi-8 helicopters still being produced are military versions according to Butt associate.

Butt has 4 more identical helicopter models available. Original helicopter batch was of 6 Mi-87 helicopters. One was destroyed. One sent to Liberia. 4 more available. All had between 45-50% service time left before an engine overhaul would be necessary.





# Joint Forces Intelligence Command

JFIC HOME

WEBMASTERS INTEL READBOARD

TOP SECRET/ 1.4(c) NOFORN//X1

Date Posted: 10 July 2000

# Liberia: Gray Market Helicopter Will Aid Rebels in Sierra Leone (S#NF)



(TS/\_\_\_\_NF) Liberia's acquisition this month of a military helicopter and associated armaments will improve Liberia's ability to support Revolutionary United Front (RUF) operations against UN and Sierra Leonean Government forces. <u>1.4(c)</u> indicates that a Liberia-based arms broker worked with air transporter Victor Butt to buy an Mi-8T helicopter from unidentified suppliers, and imagery shows the helicopter arrived in Monrovia this week.

/NF) The Mi-8T has a larger 1.4 (c)

capacity than the Mi-2s that Monrovia now is using to supply the RUF. President Taylor could use the Mi-8T to strike directly at Sierra Leonean forces that threaten his control of key diamond areas but would hesitate to deploy it against UN forces for fear of international condemnation. <u>1.4(c)</u> indicates the helicopter was to be accompanied by 100 "units" of unguided armaments, most likely 57-mm air-to-surface rockets, which could be for the Mi-8T or Liberia's three Mi-2 military helicopters.

(TS/

Close Window

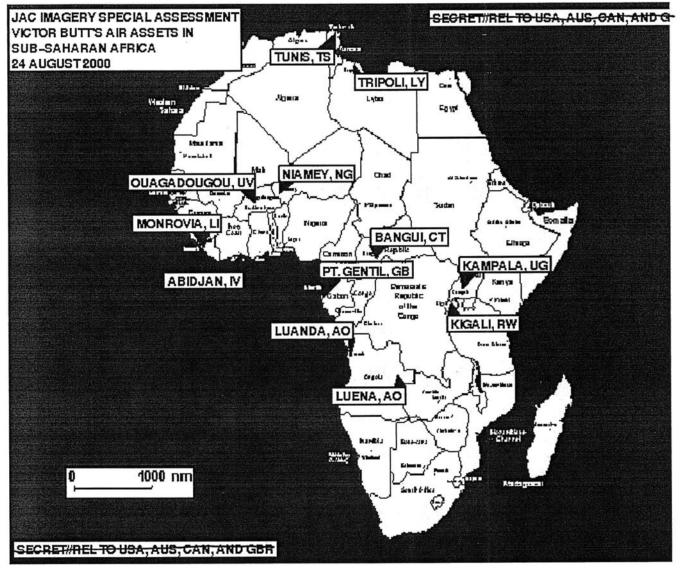
## TOP SECRET / 1.4(c) /NOFORN//X1 DERIVED FROM: MULTIPLE SOURCES

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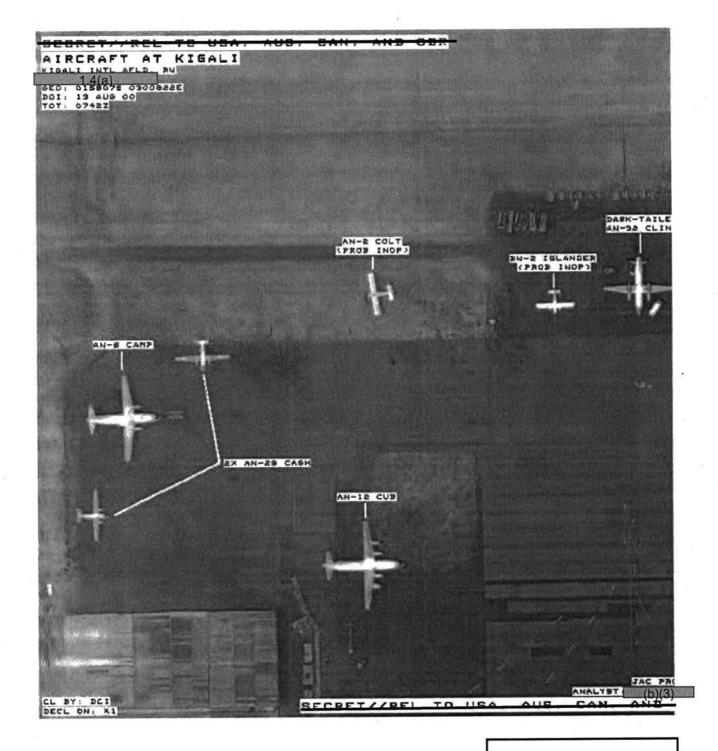
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2016-0167-M<sub>1</sub>(1.55)

KBH 8/9/2022

Motes-Christian Brizzer SECRET Arms Inflicting 430-2:30pm 9/13/2000 \* Figure at Key Players We need to find people EO 13526 1.4c EO 13526 1.4c Valerie Nado - visit to US late arg. DECLASSIFIED IN PART PER E. O. 13526 Yes 3 wkg. TX, FL setting up bus. / pleasure no further details. 2016-0167-M (1.59) KBH 8/9/2022

.: +: X . · SEGRET in which ... ..... : **1** . . . \* \* . Victor .. UAE - + cell still active 9 15 - Kiev UK. export deal Not know where in TX ··· · · Get list of assoc. \*. <u>\*.</u> . INK tipott notif. procedures VISA office @ State: no list State 3 options 1) Waldwide Cable not practiced visa opps made 2) id limited gr. counties where night goply for visas + aletus. CA? Consular Alkins [Buff's VISA rejected] anto into 00 system nome checks not done onless thought attensise eligible. if ineligible anyway don't say anything don't check unless decide to issue ) only ensure notif. if will get a VISA if know applying ... maybe indig ... we get him in wat be close in time syst. works w/ LEnf. legwork alread of time

When + Whene Applying Pg. 2 Notifying several posts INR needs bio 100B info andary purpose pt. of entry notification #2 Viol. to SC Res. · Possible Sanctions Violations Get Copy Sanctions What Prolibit What type of info on these violations legal opp. that exist should be enforced Sanc. regimes · all member states mist enforce · Eth/Erit . oblig. by states Where comitted these viol. transit pt (purchase: pt States here pow. to do something finight not here civininelized the action + how they implement is up to them.

which states in position to take action State: UAE can't speak to their helping us No one prob. has night stoff to help us liberia out Angola out maybe (but he helps both sides) 51 maybe not very likely Eth. maybe legal + Pol. question + who incorp. into domestic lew on sanc./res. + implementing meas. . Will have to get from posts @ What about countries in between - + transit countries Where aircraft from t get as comprehensive a list to interept Sansitivity to information issue ... Who in a legal position to take action State: Very few states legisl. pièces to enforce sorutions list reported back to SC R+ UK yes Africa mostly no USG data call Res. on foreign lew + practice

No submissions or very general submissions State will try #3,4,5 Dipl. Initiatives VAE - official not be here good brief for him but he isn't here incr. collection efforts in vae pritish - + discussions by State already endgame sciencios Where going ? Grant Hamis Other Channels and Aneves Dot 1.4(c)Diamondes : legit. diamond producers: he dresn't op. there UK+ Russia : Diamond Heeting Justice We still need to make an action plan Access to UAE yes (most likely) Need working lews 1 judiciary 1 puisons Imotivation leadeship and resources

Pg.3

# Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME	08/01/2000 4:12:44 PM		DECLASSIFIED IN PART PER E. O. 13526
FROM	Harris, Grant T. (AF)	L	1242.0113320
CLASSIFICATION	SECRET		2016-0167-M (1.63)
CLASSIFICATIONREASON	1.5(c)(d)		KBH 8/9/2022
DATECLASSIFIEDON	07/26/2000		
DECLASSIFYON	07/27/2010		
SUBJECT	RE: Victor Butt/diamonds [SECRET]		
то	Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)		

CARBON\_COPY

TEXT\_BODY

Thanks, Lee. I am going to cut and paste and will show you the product.

-----Original Message-----From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT) Sent: Tuesday, August 01, 2000 3:59 PM To: Harris, Grant T. (AF) Subject: FW: Victor Butt/diamonds [SECRET]

-----Original Message-----From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT) Sent: Wednesday, July 26, 2000 7:50 PM To: Shapiro, Daniel B. (LEGIS); Wilcox, Richard M. (MULTI) Cc: Feldman, Daniel F. (MULTI); Dempsey, Nora B. (AF); @CRIME; @LEGISLAT -Legislative Affairs; @AFRICA - African Affairs Subject: RE: Victor Butt/diamonds [SECRET]

Dan: Please keep us in the loop. Per previous emails, in addition to banning the diamonds, one of our objectives should be to create a statutory basis for attacking the international crime groups engaged in this activity. LW

-----Original Message-----From: Shapiro, Daniel B. (LEGIS) Sent: Wednesday, July 26, 2000 7:14 PM To: Wilcox, Richard M. (MULTI); Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT) Cc: Feldman, Daniel F. (MULTI); Dempsey, Nora B. (AF); @CRIME; @LEGISLAT -Legislative Affairs; @AFRICA - African Affairs Subject: RE: Victor Butt/diamonds [SECRET]

The Wolf amendment was removed from the bill in the House. A similar measure is in the Senate CJS bill, which won't be considered until September. Our attitude toward both is "support the intent, but disagree with the method". State believes these provisions as drafted would undermine our international efforts to crack down on the trade in conflict diamonds, while Customs believes they are unenforceable.

We've said we are willing to keep discussing with them ways to accomplish

our shared objective, but have not settled on any alternative language yet.

-----Original Message-----From: Wilcox, Richard M. (MULTI)

Sent: Wednesday, July 26, 2000 5:54 PM To: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT); Shapiro, Daniel B. (LEGIS) Cc: Feldman, Daniel F. (MULTI); Dempsey, Nora B. (AF); @CRIME Subject: RE: Victor Butt/diamonds [SECRET]

#### I

would think it is. I suppose that ensaring him in US domestic law may allow us to put pressure on the UAE or other potential "host" governments to disallow people like Butt from using their countries as bases. I may also allow us to put pressure on the Russian government which I understand from 1.4(c) maintains some contact with Butt. Other views?

-----Original Message-----From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT) Sent: Wednesday, July 26, 2000 5:46 PM To: Wilcox, Richard M. (MULTI); Shapiro, Daniel B. (LEGIS) Cc: Feldman, Daniel F. (MULTI); Dempsey, Nora B. (AF); @CRIME Subject: Victor Butt/diamonds [SECRET]

Richard, Dan:

Transnational is looking at various

options to frustrate the work of Victor Butt, the international arms trafficker who is fueling conflict in Sierra Leone, DROC and Angola, and who, in his spare time, occasionally helps out the Taliban. Butt often receives diamonds in exchange for arms -- all of which has required us to get smart on recent efforts to prevent conflict diamonds from entering the stream of commerce.

### Is the Wolf diamonds

amendment dead? Do we care? Here is my specific issue: would be good to be able to ensnare people like Butt in the US law enforcement web by criminalizing trafficking in blood diamonds.

LW

# Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME FROM	07/19/2000 6:35:51 PM Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT) <del>SECRET</del>	DECLASSIFIED IN PART PER E. O. 13526					
CLASSIFICATION CLASSIFICATIONREASON DATECLASSIFIEDON DECLASSIFYON		2016-0167-М (1.70) КВН 8/9/2022					
SUBJECT	E.O. 12958 1.4(c)						
то	Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)						
CARBON_COPY TEXT_BODY	OK Original Message From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT) Sent: Wednesday, July 19, 2000 6:19 PM To: Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT) Subject:						
	(c)						
	I believe the answer is yes as well; I would be interested in seeing Cressey response before your call with FBI. I think I should ultimately get back to Bellinger on this, since I did give him the name last week.						

-----Original Message-----From: Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT) Sent: Wednesday, July 19, 2000 6:16 PM To: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)

E.O. 12958 1.4(c)

E.O. 12958 1.4(c)

### Believe

the answer is yes, but would need to make sure... FBI's Richardson called me back while we were in the afternoon meeting; should be able to link up with him tomorrow morning...

-----Original Message-----

From:

Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT) Sent: Wednesday, July 19, 2000 6:15 PM To:

Cressey, Roger W. (TNT); Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT)

E.O. 12958 1.4(c)

Is he violating US law by aiding and abetting the contravention of UN sanctions/US measures against Ariana? If so, a good basis, one would think, for domestic law enforcement interest.

-----Original Message-----From: Cressey, Roger W. (TNT) Sent: Wednesday, July 19, 2000 11:03 AM To: Rosa, Frederick M. (TNT); Wolosky, Lee S.

E.O. 12958 1.4(c)

our friend the Butthead.

-----Original Message-----From: Camp, Donald A. (NESA) Sent: Wednesday, July 19, 2000 7:15 AM To: Cressey, Roger W. (TNT); Kurtz, Paul B. (TNT) Subject:

E.O. 12958 1.4(c)

E.O. 12958 1.4(c)

	From: WHSR Sent: Tuesday, July 18, 2000 5:12 PM To: Bolan, Christopher J. (VP); Cables;						
	Camp, Donald A. (NESA); Cooper, Colby J. (ADMIN); Malley, Robert (NESA); Pollack, Kenneth M. (NESA); Riedel, Bruce O. (NESA) Subject:						
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	E.O.	12958 1.4(c)					

