

Richard testified that he was "aware of nothing that I would characterize as a sinister effort to frustrate" the Committee. (Ibid., pp. 91)

Former Miami US Attorney Leon Kellner testified before the Subcommittee that he did not recall seeing most of the documents which Feldman testified he had been given as a file by Kellner. Kellner stated that he did recall previously reading the transcript of the June 26, 1986 closed session of the Committee which discussed allegations concerning drug trafficking, weapons violations, corruption and related charges concerning the Contras, but he did not know how he got the material. (Subcommittee Deposition of Leon B. Kellner, November 8, 1988 pp 10-11). Kellner testified that he talked to Justice Department spokesman Pat Korten in May of 1986 after Korten told *The New York Times* that the allegations concerning the Miami Neutrality Act cases had been investigated and found not to be true. (Ibid., pp. 29-30) Kellner testified that he told Korten his statements had not been correct and it was improper to comment on pending investigations. (Ibid.) Kellner said that if any one had come to him and asked him not to go forward with a case because of national security reasons, Kellner would throw the person out of his office. (Ibid., p. 34)

The Subcommittee obtained departmental correspondence from the Miami U.S. Attorney's Office between Associate Attorney General Steve Trott and Deputy Assistant Attorney General Ken Bergquist regarding the Justice Department's response to Committee inquiries in the spring and summer of 1986. These documents show that Bergquist sought to release some material from the Miami investigation in order to put to rest contentions that the Justice Department was engaged in a cover-up. These documents, including memoranda between Trott and Bergquist, further show that the Justice Department closely monitored press accounts of the Committee's interest in the allegations concerning the Contras. The memoranda, together with statements made by Justice Department officials to reporters writing about the allegations, also document that some officials in the Department of Justice sought to discredit both the allegations concerning criminal activity relating to the Contras and the persons making these allegations.

Bergquist testified that he provided the Committee with the arrest records and law enforcement histories of four individuals who had been identified as the key persons making the charges concerning the Contras. (Subcommittee Deposition of Ken Bergquist, September 28, 1987, p. 17)

Bergquist testified that the Office of Legislative Affairs of the Justice Department was provided by July, 1986 with a copy of the "Feldman memo" regarding whether to take the Miami cases to a Grand Jury. He testified he might also have seen it earlier "when Leon Kellner came by." (Bergquist Deposition, p. 59) Bergquist testified that the Feldman memo was the only material he was provided from the investigative files of the Miami investigation, and that he received it from John Bolton who in turn received it from Mark Richards. (Ibid., pp. 60, 82)

Bergquist testified that he never had participated in any effort to interfere with Congress or any committee of Congress, and had never knowingly misled Congress or any committee. (Ibid., p. 65) More recently, Bergquist denied participating in "any deliberate attempt to undermine a Senate probe," but admitted the administration opposed the hearings. (U.S. News & World Report, December 5, 1988)

The testimony before the Subcommittee by these witnesses and the documents provided the Subcommittee by the Justice Department conflict in many essential areas. However, the material does enable the Subcommittee to reach some conclusions as to what happened.

It is clear that:

1. Confidential materials of the Foreign Relations Committee were improperly provided to the Justice Department and to the U.S. Attorney responsible for deciding whether or not to bring allegations being investigated by the Committee to a grand jury.
2. Confidential law enforcement information from the Miami investigation was selectively made available to the Committee while the Miami investigation was pending, at a time when the Justice Department was taking the position that no such material would be provided the Committee on any pending case, and without the knowledge of the AUSA handling the case in Miami.
3. The Justice Department provided information to the Committee that tended to discredit the allegations being investigated. The Justice Department advised the Committee that the persons who had made the allegations to Senator Kerry's staff had significant credibility problems, and that there was no truth to the allegations under investigation by the Committee. Justice Department officials made similar statements to the press, attacking the credibility of potential witnesses and stating that the allegations under investigation by the Committee had been investigated and determined to be false.

it, it would have lent credibility to the allegations that you wanted to explore. (Subcommittee Testimony of Feldman, p. 29)

Feldman testified that following his meeting with Marum and Martin, he returned to Miami and reviewed documents given to him by Leon Kellner, the former US Attorney for the Southern District of Florida. Feldman testified that in reviewing these files he found a transcript of an Executive Session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, documents from the Committee investigation, and memoranda between Deputy Assistant Attorney General Kenneth Bergquist and Committee staff on coordinating efforts "to basically show that what you [Kerry] were saying wasn't necessarily correct." (Subcommittee Testimony of Feldman, p. 29)

Feldman testified that he has a number of questions regarding the information he found in the files provided him by US Attorney Kellner. "If [the Justice Department] opposed your investigation, did Mr. Kellner know about it, and if he did know about it, did he let that factor influence his decision in delaying my investigation? . . . Was my memo revised for disinformation purposes? Was it revised so that it could be used against you? In other words, if going to the Grand Jury would lend credibility to the [Senate] investigation, the opposite decision would take away from it, and if you had a memo to that effect, it would detract from the allegations that you were trying to encourage the Senate to explore." (Ibid., pp. 45-46)

Feldman testified that he had recently learned that his memo, classified "sensitive," had been leaked to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He testified that he had recently reviewed a June 26, 1986 memorandum prepared by Committee staff in connection with reviewing the Kerry allegations. Upon reviewing that Committee memo, Feldman determined that it incorporated information from Feldman's memo to Kellner, including some material which was "verbatim." (Ibid., p. 48)

Feldman testified that his memorandum had a "sensitive" classification on it and was prepared because Kellner asked Feldman to produce it, not for the purpose of going to a Grand Jury. (Ibid., p. 51)

Feldman testified that he would not draw conclusions as to the meaning of the documents he found, but that the documents Kellner had given him, taken together with Marum's statements, had aroused "questions in my own mind again about why the memo was changed." (Ibid., pp. 57-58)

Previously, Feldman had testified before the Iran/Contra Committees that a memorandum he wrote recommending that the cases he was investigating be taken to a grand jury had been rewritten without his knowledge in late May, 1986. Feldman testified that the recommendation had been changed to suggest that a grand jury would be merely a "fishing expedition." Before the Subcommittee, Feldman testified that the statements made by Marum could create an inference that the decision not to move to a grand jury had been taken in order to slow down the Foreign Relations Committee inquiry.

In testimony under oath, Marum denied having told Feldman that there had been an agreement to undermine the Committee's investigation into the allegations concerning the Contras. Marum also denied that he had ever participated in discussions to undermine or block Senator Kerry's attempts to hold Congressional hearings. Marum said it was true that the Justice Department and the other participants in the meeting were opposed to such hearings taking place. (Subcommittee Deposition of Thomas E. Marum, October 25, 1988, p. 56)

Marum testified that he was "totally unaware of anything that could even be construed as an unethical attempt to mislead the Committee." Marum added that he did "recognize that the Department saw no need to have hearings about a matter which we were handling." (Ibid., p. 75)

On November 7, 1988, Assistant Attorney General Mark Richard testified that Feldman was "wrong" about there being any meeting attended by Richard in which there was any attempt to undermine Senator Kerry's attempts to have hearings. (Subcommittee Deposition of Richard, p. 37) Richard said he was aware of a meeting which had taken place May 2, 1986 regarding the Kerry allegations which he did not attend, and a second meeting on October 15, 1986, which he did attend. Richard testified that the latter meeting, attended by 20 to 25 people, went down the list of outstanding items requested by the Committee to inventory and respond to them. (Ibid., pp. 38-40) Richard recalled that the DEA did not want to provide any of the information the Committee had requested. (Ibid., p. 39) Richard emphasized that his concern was to respond to the Committee's requests, not to block them (Ibid., pp. 99-100)

Richard recalled seeing the transcript of the Foreign Relations Committee Executive Session of June 26, 1986, but could not recall where or from whom he obtained it. (Ibid., pp. 52)

4. The Justice Department did not provide information to the Committee that would have corroborated the allegations being investigated by the Committee, although the FBI possessed such information. In light of the information possessed by the FBI, the information that was provided to the Committee by Justice Department officials was misleading. Statements made to the press by Justice Department officials regarding the allegations were also misleading.

The conflicting testimony under oath raises serious questions about the actions of Justice Department officials which this Committee cannot answer:

1. Did the US Attorney's Office in Miami decide not to convene a grand jury on allegations of gunrunning and Neutrality Act violations in May, 1986 because of concerns that the convening of a grand jury would increase the probability of an investigation into these allegations by the Foreign Relations Committee?

2. Did Justice Department officials seek to interfere with the Committee investigation, because the investigation might damage the Administration's goal of supporting the Contras?

Related questions are raised by entries in the personal notebooks of Oliver North which appear to concern the Committee and Kerry probes.

The declassified North notebook entries include references to the Kerry and Foreign Relations Committee investigations and investigators on April 18, 1986; April 22, 1986; May 1, 1986; May 13, 1986; June 2, 1986; June 17, 1986; October 15, 1986; November 19, 1986; November 21, 1986.

The entries show that North was provided with information regarding Senator Kerry's attempts to have hearings in the spring and fall of 1986, at a time when the information was Committee confidential.

The North notebook entries raise the further question of whether North and others working with North took steps to interfere with the Committee investigation.

In August, North's courier, Robert Owen, was asked by John Hull to transmit copies of falsified affidavits charging the Kerry staff with bribing witnesses to both the US Attorney's Office in Miami and to the Senate Ethics Committee. The US Attorney then provided a copy of these affidavits to the Justice Department in Washington. Shortly thereafter, these false charges against Kerry staff appeared in press accounts, while the Committee investigation was pending.

Taken together, these facts raise the question of whether North, Owen, and Justice Department officials may have sought to discredit the Kerry investigation because of concerns that it might harm the Administration's efforts to support the Contras.

The Subcommittee views the allegations—that high ranking officials, including officials in the Justice Department, may have acted in concert to obstruct the Committee investigation—to be quite serious. When high ranking officials deliberately provide false or misleading information to Congressional investigation, the result is that the Congress cannot carry out its constitutionally mandated responsibilities, and our system of government is put at risk.

The following chronology details a number of events and facts relevant to any further investigation of these matters.

#### CHRONOLOGY

May 4, 1983.—Ramon Milian Rodriguez, a self-professed money launderer for the Medellin cocaine cartel, is arrested by DEA agents while attempting to leave Fort Lauderdale aboard his personal jet with \$5 million in his personal jet. Prior to his arrest on money laundering charges, for which he was later convicted, he told federal agents that "the money was all the proceeds of narcotics transactions," and he provided a list of narcotics traffickers whose taxes he prepared. Among those he named were "Luis Rodriguez." Records of Milian Rodriguez seized by federal agents when he was arrested May 6, 1983 included numerous references to the services he provided "Luis Rodriguez," and showed Luis Rodriguez' address to be 535 SW 98th Place in Miami, the corporate address for "Ocean Hunter," a seafood import business. (Trial documents, *U.S. v. Rodriguez*, SD Florida 1983)

May 27, 1983.—While investigating the bombing of the Continental Bank in Miami, Miami police detectives receive allegations regarding Contra operations in Costa Rica being supported by narcotics funds involving a company called "Ocean Hunter," which is traced to Luis Rodriguez, a Miami based Cuban American, who has been named as a drug trafficker earlier that month by his indicted accountant, Ramon Milian Rodriguez. The address for the company was 535 SW 98th Street, the same address shown in the records seized by the government in its prosecution of

Ramon Milian Rodriguez. (On September 26, 1984, this material is approved to FBI Intelligence SA George Kiszynski and recorded in an FBI 302)

March 2, 1984 and April 13, 1984.—Luis Rodriguez is interviewed by IRS agents regarding Ocean Hunter, drug trafficking and money laundering and takes the Fifth Amendment on almost every question. (Documents on file in *U.S. v. Rodriguez*, ND of Florida, 1988)

June 26, 1984.—North notebook entry reads: "Call from Owen—John Hull—protection . . . John now has "private army of 75-100"—Cubans involved in drug—up to 100 more Cubans expected. (Redaction) (Iran/Contra Q344)

July 20, 1984.—North notebook entry reads: "Call from Clarridge: Alfredo Cesar re drugs—Borge—Owen leave Hull alone. (Iran/Contra 426)

July 23, 1984.—Oliver North notebook entry reads: "Call from Rob Owen—call from John Hull . . . Pastora convinced that Hull has "sold out." Q0432

September 1, 1984.—Two Americans die in the downing of a helicopter by Nicaragua. The two Americans are members of Civilian Military Assistance Group ("CMA"). The helicopter was equipped with rocket pods and an M/60 machine gun. The attack is part of a Contra assault on a Nicaraguan base at Santa Clara. Following the downing, members of CMA meet with a representative of the US Embassy in Honduras, who "instructed them in a cover story," directing them to say they were not involved in combat, but on a humanitarian mission, because the true story was "not in the interests of the United States." (FBI 302 of Thomas V. Posey, 8/6/87)

October 12, 1984.—The Boland Amendment is signed into law, prohibiting "direct or indirect" support by the United States for the Contras.

October 25, 1984.—FBI SA George Kiszynski interviews Rafael Torres Jimenez, who states that he has been working with Contra leader Eden Pastora in Costa Rica to fight the Sandinistas, as part of a group of Miami Cubans including Frank Castro and Rene Corbo, who established a military camp in Costa Rica. Jimenez states that some of the Cuban Americans had obtained weapons and explosives in Florida for foreign operations. (FBI 302 of 12/17/84)

November 29, 1984.—FBI SA George Kiszynski interviews Joseph Marcos in connection with the Continental Bank bombing investigation. Marcos advises him that a group of Cuban Americans have established a military camp in Naples, Florida, and that Mariel Boat Cubans ("Marielitos") and Contras were being trained in the camp before going to Costa Rica to receive additional military training and to participate in military operations against the Sandinistas. (FBI 302 of 12/17/84)

December 12, 1984.—Frank Camper, who operates a mercenary training school in Dolomite, Alabama, reports to the FBI that there are approximately "one dozen U.S. citizen volunteers and fifty or more FDN trainees training for deep penetration raids into Nicarargua," and that the operation involves Posey and members of CMA, along with a "Colonel Flaco." (Camper Document, subpoenaed by Subcommittee)

Mid-December 84.—Meeting at Adolpho Calero home in Miami to discuss Southern Front operations of Contras. The attendees discussed what CMA could do on the Southern Front with Hull as the coordinator. Attendees: Adolpho Calero, John Hull, Robert Owen, Phillipe Vidal Santiago "Morgan," Enrique Bermudez, Joe Adams "Tiradon," Jack Terrell "Flaco," Lanny Duyck "Doc Zorro," Aristide Sanchez, Donald Lacey, and Frank Chanes. (Subcommittee Depositions of Terrell and Adams, Iran/Contra Deposition of Robert Owen, Appendix B, Vol. 20, pp. 799-800)

January 14, 1985.—North notebook entry: "Rob Owen, John Hull—no drug connection—believes." (Iran/Contra, North Notebook Q0977)

January 24, 1985.—Rene Corvo tells FBI SA George Kiszynski that he is the military leader of a Contra training camp in Naples, Florida, working with Francisco Chanes and Moises Nunez, together with "John Hall" [sic] who is assisting the Contras from his Costa Rican ranch. (FBI 302, March 1, 1985)

February 15, 1985.—Frank Castro, a Cuban American who had previously been convicted on marijuana importation charges in connection with a spinoff of the DEA "Grouper Case," tells FBI SA George Kiszynski that he is backing actions against Communist targets outside of the United States and has been providing Rene Corvo's military camp with military gear. Castro tells Kiszynski about the involvement in the Contra war of "John Hall" [sic] who has large holdings of farm lands in Costa Rica. (FBI 302 3/8/85)

February, 1985.—Life Magazine identifies Bruce Jones as "a CIA man in Nicaragua," and describes his 55-acre citrus farm in the jungles of northern Costa Rica, 30 miles from the Nicaraguan border, a farm which is actually controlled by John Hull. (February 1985 LIFE)

February, 1985.—CMA leader Tom Posey is arrested in Miami on weapons charges, where he meets Jesus Garcia, a booking officer, who offers to work with Posey in providing assistance to the Contras. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 42)

February, 1985.—At Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge in Miami, group of American mercenaries associated with CMA are introduced to Rene Corbo and others involved in Cuban American operation in support of Contras and discuss Contra training activities in Central America. Mercenary Steven Carr agrees to go to Costa Rica to help train Contras. (See Iran/Contra Deposition of Owen, Appendix B, Vol. 20, p. 799; Kerry staff interview of Stephen Carr in La Reforma Prison, San Jose, Costa Rica, March 9, 1986)

Late February-Early March, 1985.—Owen goes to Costa Rica at the request of Colonel North to coordinate meeting of Contra groups. He is accompanied by Frank Gomez of International Business Communications and Jonathan Miller of the NSC. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Owen, Appendix B, Vol. 20, pp. 658-660)

March 3, 1985.—Soldier-of-fortune Steve Carr and Cuban named "Papito" load van full of uniforms, boots and medicine aboard cargo plane at Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood Airport. (FBI 302's of Francisco "Papito" Hernandez, 6/17/86 and 6/24/86)

March 6, 1985.—In Miami, Carr picks up 14-foot 20mm cannon with 150 rounds, a box of 30 G-3 automatic rifles and a box of M-16s, two 60mm mortars and 80-100 mortar rounds, and a .50 caliber machine gun with 250 rounds of ammunition. Carr, Corbo, Thompson and Carr aboard flight from Ft. Lauderdale/Hollywood airport. Flight is on American Flyers, a Ft. Lauderdale air charter company, owned by Daniel Vazquez III, twice convicted of running guns to Cuba in the 1950s and 1960s. Plane flies in to Ilopango, military airfield in El Salvador. No customs checks. Material is offloaded. Includes 14' long 20 mm cannon, AK-47 automatic rifles, etc. These weapons were collected from the residences of Corbo and of Frank Chanes of "Ocean Hunter," the partner of Luis Rodriguez (FBI 302's of Corbo, "Papito," documents produced by FBI in *U.S. v. Corbo, et. al*, SD Florida 1988, including false Customs declaration, cargo manifest, and records of Florida Aircraft Leasing Corp.)

March 9, 1985.—Hull pays to fly British mercenary Peter Glibbery from Miami to Costa Rica in support of Contra military activities. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Robert Owen, Appendix A, Vol. 20, p. 797)

March 1985.—John Hull says he has a friend at the National Security Council who puts \$10,000 a month in Miami bank account for him. Hull also tells Carr and Glibbery around March 17 or 18th that he had gotten a call from his friend at the NSC who told him the FBI was investigating him for drug trafficking, and that his friend "for god sakes tell me if you are so we can do something . . ." (Kerry Staff interview of Peter Glibbery, March 9, 1986 and May 26, 1986; Owen confirms \$10,000 a month came from Contra funds maintained by Adolfo Calero, Iran/Contra Deposition, Appendix B, Vol. 20, pp. 650-651) Owen later testifies that a film producer named Larry Spivey had told Owen he had talked with the FBI and that "the FBI is watching [Hull] for drug trafficking." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Owen, Appendix B, Vol. 20, p. 821)

March 20 or 24, 1985.—Small plane lands at Hull's airstrip with an ARDE pilot. In plane are clothes, boxes, US Army manuals written in Spanish from Special Forces school. Pilot was to bring supplies north, but had landed on wrong field. Hull, Owen, Davies and Glibbery and ARDE pilot fly in the ARDE plane and Hull's to the wrong strip, 50 miles away, and find the plane. In the plane is a 50 cal. browning, boxes of uniforms and other materials. Arms are then sent to right airstrip. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Robert Owen, Appendix B, Vol. 20, pp. 664-665; see also Kerry staff interview of Peter Glibbery, March 9, 1986 and May 26, 1986)

April 24, 1985.—Carr, Glibbery and three other mercenaries are arrested in Costa Rica on property controlled by John Hull following an April 9 raid on Nicaragua. (See Iran/Contra Deposition of Currier, Appendix B, Vol. 8, pp. 199-200)

April 26, 1985.—The State Department confirms that two U.S. citizens have been arrested by Costa Rican police. Diane Dillard, State Department Spokesman in office of Consular Affairs, states "all we know is that they are in jail and that the consular officer from the embassy is visiting them." Dillard cites press reports that Hull denied the men were on his property, and suggests that Hull "happens to have his farm in the wrong neighborhood." (Inter Press Service, April 26, 1985)

June 7, 1985.—Adolpho Calero meets with Robert Owen to conclude purchase of weapons and ammunition for Contras, after telephone calls involving General Singlaub, who was providing the weapons, and Lt. Col. North, who was overseeing the purchase. (Iran/Contra Testimony of Robert Owen, May 14, 1987, pp. 343-346)

July 8, 1985.—Following a July 7, 1985 press conference at La Reforma Prison in Costa Rica, *The New York Times* and *Miami Herald* report that two mercenaries

Oliver North comes up in FBI Miami Corbo/Garcia investigation in this period. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Currier, Appendix B Vol. 8, pp. 211-212)

February 7, 1986.—Senator Kerry learns of Garcia's allegations regarding private assistance efforts on behalf of the Contras involving alleged weapons and narcotics violations. Senator Kerry asks his staff to meet with Jesus Garcia at Metropolitan Correctional Center in Miami. Garcia suggests Senate staff interview Carr and Glibbery to confirm his allegations.

March 5, 1986.—GAO's Frank Conahan testifies before Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs of House that \$7.1 million of humanitarian aid distributed by NHAO contains no audit trail showing payments from brokers' accounts to suppliers, and only partial documentation of shipments from the suppliers to the resistance forces. Records subpoenaed by House Subcommittee reveal payments by the State Department to Frigorificos de Punterenas, with the signatories on the bank account being Luis Rodriguez, Frank Chanes, and Moises Nunez. Chanes and Nunez have previously been cited in FBI investigative reports for their involvement with the Contras in Central America: Chanes has been named as a narcotics trafficker to the FBI; and Luis Rodriguez has been named as a narcotics trafficker and previously taken the Fifth Amendment in response to questions by the IRS. (NHAO documents and GAO analysis of bank records subpoenaed by House Subcommittee; FBI 302 of George Kiszynski, September 24, 1984; IRS interview on file in *U.S. v. Rodriguez*, ND Florida (1988))

March 8, 1986.—Senator Kerry's staff interview Carr and Glibbery at La Reforma prison in Costa Rica. At that meeting, Carr and Glibbery repeat allegations they had made in the past to the press regarding the presence of explosives and mines on Hull farm, and the connections between North's courier Robert Owen, Hull, and the Cuban Americans providing support to the Contras.

March 13, 1986.—Assistant Director of FBI Oliver B. "Buck" Revell sent an urgent inquiry to FBI Miami about Costa Rican and Miami Neutrality case, asking for a summary of the Corbo investigation "expeditiously." A 38 page "LHM" or letter head memorandum is sent in March to Revell from Currier and Kiszynski in response to Revell's request. It mentions Owen's name, as well as Hull and Sam Hull as among the targets of the grand jury that Currier and Kiszynski are then anticipating. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Currier, Appendix B, Vol. 8 p. 229). In addition to Revell, the original LHM was sent to US Attorney's Office in Miami, to Customs in Miami and to HQ. (Ibid., p. 230).

March 14, 1986.—Assistant AG Mark Richard calls Miami US Attorney Kellner to ask him about a case involving allegations of an alleged plot to assassinate the Ambassador to Costa Rica and a variety of other allegations, including blowing up embassies. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14 p. 1031).

FBI Agent Kevin Currier and Miami public defender John Mattes, Garcia's lawyer, meet with Feldman. Feldman brings Custom's declaration forms on March 6 flight and hotel bills confirming Garcia's claim that Carr and Thompson were at Howard Johnson's hotel in Miami. Kellner appeared at meeting, asking, "does anybody know anything about these mercenaries in Costa Rica?" It was Feldman's impression that he asked this as a consequence of a phone call from Justice. As a result of Kellner's interest, Feldman decides the case was more important than he previously thought. Kellner and Feldman agree that Feldman will go to Costa Rica to check the case out. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 55) Feldman tells Mattes that he hopes to impanel a grand jury on case. (Ibid., p. 117).

According to FBI Agent Currier, Kellner states he had been on the phone with high ranking officials in the U.S. Department of Justice regarding Garcia and the mercenaries incarcerated in La Reforma prison in Costa Rica. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Currier, Appendix B, Vol. 8 p. 213).

March 17, 1986.—Kellner is called by Mark Richard of Justice, to request a continuance in Garcia's sentencing hearing. According to Feldman, "between March 14 and 17, it was a lot of momentum building up." Feldman files for a continuance at Justice's request. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 60; Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, p. 1034).

March 18, 1986.—The San Francisco Examiner reports that "one or two contras may have dealt cocaine." The article cites a State Department official, William Walker, as acknowledging that a few contras might have been involved who were associated with the ARDE group, but could provide no details. (Examiner, p. A-12).

March 18, 1986.—Feldman's notes refer to Daniel Vazquez, Jaime Ortega, and other possible targets of neutrality probe, include Rene Corbo, Frank Castro, Francisco Chines (sic) [Chanes], Philepe (sic) [Felipe] Vidall, Juan Perez Franco, Steven Carr, Peter Glibbery. According to Feldman, George Kiszynski discovers that Corbo

and other Cubans might not only have been involved in bombing the Continental Bank in Miami but also in training people at paramilitary camps and sending them down to Costa Rica. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 63).

March 18, 1986.—Feldman draws up list of witnesses which includes the pilot of the March 6 weapons flight plane, Daniel Vasquez, Martha Honey, Tony Avirgan, John Mattes, Jesus Garcia, Jack Terrell and Alan Saum. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 64).

March 20, 1986.—Deputy Attorney General Lowell Jensen sends letter from FBI Assistant Director Oliver "Buck" Revell regarding "NEUTRALITY MATTERS" investigations. Content of entire memo redacted before sent to Iran/Contra committee. (See Iran Contra Exhibit EM-73).

March 21, 1986. Feldman makes note to make travel arrangements to meet with Jack Terrell in New Orleans. Terrell has previously given a statement to an FBI officer in New Orleans. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 66).

March 24, 1986.—Assistant Attorney General Stephen S. Trott writes Assistant AG Mark Richard to "Please get on top of this—DLJ [Lowell Jensen] is giving a heads up to the NSC. He would like us to watch over it. Call Kellner, find out what he is up, and advise him that decisions should be run by you." (Iran Contra Exhibit EM-73) (Iran/Contra Deposition of Richard, Appendix B, Vol. 23 p. 55) Jensen testifies that he then briefed Admiral Poindexter in the NSC about the allegations made by Jesus Garcia, including Neutrality Act violations and alleged Contra gunrunning. It was the only time Jensen ever briefed Poindexter on a case. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Jensen, Appendix B, Vol. 14, pp. 582-593) Richards says this memo was justified because NSC should be alerted about a plot to attack U.S. facilities, and "it's natural that somebody in this context better tell the NSC . . . assuming you give any credence to the allegations." (Ibid., 56) Richards says that the memo meant that decisions on the case to prosecute or not prosecute, the ultimate decision to indict or not indict, should be run by him. (Ibid. 63-63) Richards says he has no idea why the case was being treated so seriously, that one would have to ask Trott or Jensen. (Ibid. 64) Richards has written on undated note from this period "Hull—CIA". (Ibid. 71).

After March 24, 1986.—North is provided an FBI investigative report on the Miami investigation written by Kiszynski, according to Justice Department spokesman. The report is later found in North's files at the NSC after the Iran/Contra affair is uncovered. The exact date North received the document is unspecified. (See AP, "North Got FBI Report on Contra-Supply Probe, Officials Say," April 14, 1987)

March 25, 1986.—Feldman and FBI SA Kiszynski meet with disaffected contra mercenary Jack Terrell in New Orleans, who describes paramilitary activities of CMA, Terrell, Posey. Terrell is questioned for 14 hours. Feldman said Owen was CIA. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 69; Deposition of Currier, Vol. 8, p. 217).

March 26, 1986.—Assistant Attorney General Mark Richards notes that he "spoke to Kellner, AUSA not back from N.O. File, contra folder." According to Richard, Kellner said story was "something being manipulated by a couple of reporters" and by Garcia to mitigate his sentence, and involved "CIA involvement in this transaction, government irregularities, and what have you." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Richard, Appendix B, Vol. 23, p. 66)

March 27, 1986.—Feldman meets with Kellner, discusses Terrell interview and confusion about "thousands of allegations" flying around, including assassination plot on Ambassador, mercenaries in Honduras, and common threats were people who were attempting to assist the contras. According to Feldman, Kellner and Feldman were both very confused about allegations. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 70)

March 28, 1986.—Feldman meets with Kellner for six hours. Kellner has no recollection of substance of meeting. Feldman has no recollection of substance of meeting. It ends with Kellner advising him to go to Costa Rica. Feldman cannot recall whether he discussed Oliver North or Feldman with Kellner at meeting. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 71; Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, p. 10,40)

Prior to March 30, 1986.—Feldman has developed chart showing Oliver North, National Security Council, Staff Intelligence Adviser, CIA; Rob Owens, State Department, something AID, John Hull. From Hull are lines to Bruce Jones, Jim Denby. Then a line from Hull to FDN and from FDN to Cuban (sic) allegiance [Legion] [Rene Corbo's organization]. Feldman states that his "earliest notes showed

a reference to North." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, pp. 72-73)

March 31, 1986.—Feldman, Currier and Kiszynski fly to Costa Rica and go to U.S. Embassy, where they are advised by Assistant Security office Jim Nagel that Ambassador Tambs wishes to speak to them. Feldman "pulled out my little chart with Oliver North, Rob Owen and John Hull. The Ambassador turned white . . . The only thing he said when I pulled out the chart was 'Get ['Castillo'] in here.' (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 79; Deposition of Currier, Vol. 8, p. 222)

March 31, 1986.—'Thomas Castillo' is introduced to Feldman as CIA station chief in Costa Rica, with Tambs present. 'Castillo' tells Feldman that Hull was classified U.S. equipment prior to 1984, and used by U.S. military to deliver supplies to contras prior to the Boland Amendment. (Iran Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, pp. 80-81) 'Castillo' tells Feldman Hull hasn't been involved in any military capacity for USG or contras since March of 1984, but that Corbo is a renegade without any ties and has 50 people operating in Costa Rica out of Hull's ranch. 'Castillo' requests that Feldman or Justice contact him if Justice is to take action against Hull. Accuses Honey and Avirgan of being tied into "September murder," and of being Sandinista agents. 'Castillo' tells Feldman that "I can tell you for a fact that John Hull knows both Rob Owen and Oliver North," and that North "is the person who introduced me to the President of the United States last week." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, pp. 82-83)

March 31, 1986.—According to Currier, 'Castillo' said Corbo was in Costa Rica near Upala worked with Fernando El Negro Chamorro, that the CIA had an association with Chamorro and Vidal, but that Corbo was a renegade, and that the CIA used Hulls farm until March 1984. (Deposition of Currier, Vol. 8, p. 224)

March 31, 1986.—Feldman concludes that 'Castillo' is directing Justice to go after Corbo and leave the other people alone. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 85)

March 31, 1986.—North notebook entry states "Call from (redacted) . . . Assistant U.S. Attorney/2 FBI and resident agent—Rene Corbo, Terrell (Flako), CMA—Guns to (redacted)." (North notebook #Q2078)

April 2, 1986.—Feldman becomes increasingly certain he is being watched while in Costa Rica. Nagel, security officer of State at Embassy, advised Kiszynski that "the U.S. Ambassador is the law and [Feldman, Kiszynski etc] are here through his graciousness, there are other agencies that had their operational requirements, and we should not interfere with the work of these agencies." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 86)

April 3, 1986.—Hull calls Feldman, tells him he won't speak to him on advise of counsel. Feldman asks whether anyone at the U.S. Embassy had advised him not to talk. Hull denies this. Kirk Kotula at the embassy then admits 40 minutes later that Kotula advised Hull not to talk. Feldman testifies that he has caught Hull in a "dead lie." (Feldman 59) But Feldman tells Currier that Embassy staffer Fitzgerald has told him that Hull went to the embassy, spoke to Tambs, and that Hull had been in contact with the NSC regarding the FBI/Justice inquiry. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Currier, Appendix B, Vol. 8, p. 227)

April 3, 1986.—State Department officer Nagel advises Feldman that "Hull is a friend of Ronald Reagan, if you understand what I mean." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 89) "They [at the embassy] seemed very protective of Mr. Hull and the others. They didn't interfere, but they were reluctant to help." (Currier, Ibid., p. 224)

April 3, 1986.—Feldman is told by Vice Consul Paul Fitzgerald at Embassy that Hull had been contacted by the National Security Council and the Voice of America during Feldman's visit. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol 10 p. 89) Nagel is then following Feldman around remainder of trip, which has Feldman increasingly unhappy. According to Feldman, after *The Miami Herald* writes about this incident, Kotula told reporters Feldman lied about what happened at Embassy, and the Embassy treated John Hull like they would treat any other citizen. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, pp. 90-91)

April 4, 1986.—Feldman, Kiszynski and Currier return to Miami. Currier contacts FBI HQ's international terrorist unit to report what Tambs, Castillo and the others had told him while he was in Costa Rica. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Currier, Appendix B, Vol. 8, p. 228) Feldman asks questions and raises issues about Boland Amendment at meeting with Ana Barnett, Larry Sharf, Richard Gregorie and Leon Kellner, asking whether there were criminal penalties attached to Boland. They ask David Leiwant to pull a copy off the machine, and he enters meeting. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, pp. 97-98) Kellner can't remember who

the government officials were that were being discussed as being involved in connection with looking at the Boland Amendment. Kellner recalls they were looking at the National Security Council, but does not recall them looking at Oliver North. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, pp. 1128-1130) Gregorie recalls that the meeting lasted two hours, and that Feldman mentioned Oliver North's name as "this fellow North who is behind all of this" in the bureaucracy. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Gregorie, Appendix B, Vol. 12, p. 1164) Mark Richard calls Gregorie several times after this meeting, asking Gregorie to check with Kellner to see what the progress of the investigation is." (Ibid., p. 1166)

April 4, 1986.—Feldman says that it was at this meeting that newspapers [David Leiwant] say Kellner told him to go slow, but that he has no memory of that taking place. He left the meeting with an order to write a memo so that they could study the assassination and gun plots. Kellner expresses little interest in Neutrality violation. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 98)

April 4, 1986.—Kellner remembers the meeting as including Barnett, Sharf, Gregorie, Fieldman and himself, and that Feldman showed him a diagram and discussed the Boland Amendment with him at that meeting. This chart has the name "North NSC" and "Robert Owen" on it. Feldman tells Kellner and the rest of the group about his meeting with the CIA Station Chief Castillo. Kellner does not register surprise. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, p. 1041-1050) Richard says he talked to Kellner in this period regarding Garcia case, but did not ever ask Kellner to slow it down. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Richard, Appendix B, Vol. 23 p. 93) Richard says to his knowledge, no one else did, either. Richard is asked whether he discussed with Kellner the implications of the Garcia/Neutrality Act case in regard to any pending votes in the Congress. Richard does not answer question directly. Instead, Richard testifies there was "always controversy on one aspect of another of the contra matter" but "from my perspective, in dealing with something with—the administration issuing all sorts of statements saying, 'look the CIA is not doing this. The NSC is not doing this. We were fighting [sic] by the Boland Amendment. We're doing this. We're acting in good faith in compliance with the laws' . . . we take the investigation where the facts take us . . . and then we take the heat when it's not a particularly popular judgment." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Richard, Appendix B, Vol. 23, pp. 93-94) Richard testifies that his understanding was that the CIA was denying any relationship with John Hull, that it had previously terminated. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Richard, Appendix B, Vol. 23, p. 97).

April 7, 1986.—Rob Owen writes Oliver North, describing in detail the Feldman investigation and the Feldman, Currier and Kiszynski visit to Costa Rica, based on a conversation he had with CIA station chief "Thomas Castillo." Owen notes that "Feldman looks to be wanting to build a career on this case. He even showed ['Castillo'] and the Ambassador a diagram with your name at the top, mine underneath and John [Hull's] underneath mine, then a line connecting the various resistance groups in C.R. . . Feldman stated they were looking at the "big picture" and not only looking at a possible violation of the neutrality act, but at possible unauthorized use of government funds. (Exhibit TC-15, Iran/Contra committees) Owen testifies that he received his information regarding the Justice Department investigation from Hull, CIA Station chief "Thomas Castillo," and possibly from Ambassador Tambs. (Iran/Contra, Appendix B, Vol. 20, p. 832)

April 7-May 2, 1986.—Feldman works on memo about Garcia case, gun-running and assassination plot. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. p. 99)

April 11, 1986.—The Associated Press reports that a federal investigation is under way into assertions that Nicaraguan rebels and some of their non-governmental American backers have engaged in gun-running and drug trafficking. The AP says the inquiry was "examining assertions that cocaine was smuggled to help finance the rebels' war effort, and that the Neutrality Act was violated. The article quoted Jack Terrell as stating he had been interviewed by the FBI on allegations concerning weapons shipments from the U.S. to contra base camps in Central America, involvement of contras in drug smuggling, and a reported conspiracy to assassinate the U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica, Lewis Tambs. AP report appears in *The New York Times* and *Washington Post*.

April 11, 1986.—*The Boston Globe* reports that U.S. Attorney's Office in Miami is investigating allegations of extensive criminal activity by soldiers-of-fortune working with the contras, that include gun-running and a plot to attack U.S. Embassy in Costa Rica. Story quotes Ana Barnett, spokesman for Kellner, as saying "it is a very hot topic." Article quotes Senator Kerry as saying "over the past few months my office has engaged in an investigation of alleged drug-smuggling, gun-running, Neutrality Act violations, and other equally, if not more serious offenses. To date, we

have received substantial corroboration for these activities. . . . It's vital for Congress to investigate these matters fully in order to uncover the truth."

April 11, 1986.—Feldman discusses Associated Press article with Lellner and Barnett. Feldman tells Kellner the Miami cases are a "hot potato." Kellner replies, "politics are not for me to consider, the only thing that I need to consider is the evidence and the law." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 100)

April 11, 1986.—Poindexter writes memorandum of "Senior Staff" meeting, to discuss "FBI story on drugs and gun running by contras." Poindexter Exhibits, Iran/Contra Committees, p. 000041.

April 12, 1986.—Attorney General Meese visits Miami and meets with Kellner in course of visiting FBI agents hospitalized after a shoot-out. Kellner meets Meese at airport and drives in convoy to hospital. At the hospital, Meese calls Kellner aside and asks him about the Garcia case, referring to the assassination plot. Kellner replies that there is no evidence for the assassination plot but that the gunrunning was still under investigation. The conversation lasts only three minutes and Meese asked no follow up questions. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, pp. 1052-1054)

April 13, 1986.—Memo sent from Trott to Richard and Toensing of Justice referring to the Boland Amendment and requesting a memorandum on the amendment. It is triggered by "one of many Congressional requests for appointment of special prosecutor." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Richard, Appendix B, Vol. 23, p. 48)

April 17, 1986.—*The Washington Post* reports that the Reagan Administration acknowledges that some rebels "may have engaged in" drug trafficking, but were not acting on the orders of their leaders. According to the Post, Elliott Abrams developed a three page document for Congressman Charles Stenholm stating that "individual members of the resistance . . . may have engaged in such activity but it was, insofar as we can determine, without the authorization of resistance leaders." (Post, A-40)

April 17, 1986.—Senator Kerry writes Senator Lugar, provides a summary of allegations of criminal activities connected to contra supply operations, and asks for a formal Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigation. Among the activities cited by Senator Kerry are the Tambs murder conspiracy, the La Penca bombing, drug smuggling connecting Columbia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and the U.S., weapons smuggling involving CMA and Brigade 2506, transport of arms from Miami and New Orleans to contras in Central America. (Kerry-Lugar Correspondence)

April 18, 1986.—Oliver North writes in his notebook: "Sheenan investigating La Penca in consort with Sen. Kerry trying to get evidence linking RR to La Penca." (North Notebook Q2109)

April 21, 1986.—Stephen Carr writes Feldman, care of Kotula at U.S. Embassy in Costa Rica, asking for opportunity to cooperate so that he can get out of jail. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 105)

April 22, 1986.—Kerry staff provides detailed information on its investigation, including a list of targets, to Committee staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Entry in North notebook reads: Bill Perry—Kerry investigation—violations. (North notebook Q2111)

April 24, 1986.—Feldman meets with Kellner. No notes of what was discussed. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 106)

April 25, 1986.—Feldman again meets with Kellner. No notes of what was discussed. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 105)

April 26, 1986.—Feldman again meets with Kellner, no notes of what was discussed. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 105) Feldman works on first draft of his prosecutorial memo, down playing the investigation, but recommending a grand jury. It was the first of many versions of the Feldman memo, all dated May 14. There are six in all (Iran/Contra Deposition of Currier, Appendix B, Vol. 8, pp. 233-235)

April 28, 1986.—Feldman submits first draft to Kellner, who advises him that he does not like it because it is not sufficiently detailed. Feldman rewrites it. Feldman says "investigation has dispelled Garcia's story, [but] we have learned CME (sic) [CMA] actively assisted FDN in Honduras, Costa Rica between November '84 and April '85. There is no question Rene Corbo and CME [sic] actively recruited individuals in the U.S. to train and/or fight with the FDN and contras; further investigation may also verify Carr's claim the weapons were among the items shipped from the U.S. to Salvador." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 106)

April 28, 1986.—Kellner says Feldman memo started in middle and its conclusion, "further investigation may also verify Carr's claim that weapons were among the

ers about mercenaries who were unreliable, and I did not think it was appropriate to go into the grand jury." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Gregorie, Appendix B, Vol. 12, p. 1179) Gregorie testified that Feldman's case in May was "thoroughly confused and had no direction." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Gregorie, Appendix B, Vol. 12, p. 1181)

May 22, 1986.—Feldman choose to leave signature off final revised draft of Feldman prosecution memo, "I don't know why." He notes that at this point, they are not looking at North, but are looking at the gun shipment and the neutrality violation that Corbo was involved in and perhaps CMA was involved in." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, pp. 116-117)

May 22, 1986.—ABC News Tonight reports that at least one shipment of weapons was smuggled from U.S. to Central America from Ft. Lauderdale airport to Ilopango to Costa Rica.

May 23, 1986.—Deputy Assistant AG Bergquist writes Assistant AG Trott to pass on requests for information regarding Steven Carr, Jack Terrell and Jesus Garcia in preparation for Foreign Relations hearings. The information requested is for arrest records and any statements made to the FBI by each of these individuals. (Bergquist-Trott memo) Bergquist also provides Trott with a summary of "Key Stories on Contras Involvement in Crime." The summary "Key Stories on Contras Involvement in Crime." The summary lists 39 stories which appeared in the press from 12/13/84 to 5/22/84. (Kellner File Provided to AUSA Jeffrey Feldman, subpoenaed by Subcommittee)

May 24, 1986.—FBI 302 of interview with Francisco Hernandez a/k/a Papito, who confirms that he assisted Rene Corvo in supporting Eden Pastora, Alfonso Robelo and other Contras in Costa Rica, including shipments of weapons from the United States which went from Fort Lauderdale through Ilopango Air Force Base in El Salvador.

May 27, 1986.—Feldman makes list of interviews that need to be conducted. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 118)

June 1, 1986.—Miami Herald reports that a special investigative unit will be set up within the House Judiciary Committee to probe allegations of criminal activity by contras. Article quotes a Justice Department official as saying FBI and DEA have "run down each and every one" of the allegations regarding gunrunning, murder plots, drug trafficking, and corruption connected to contras and found "no credible or substantive evidence" warranting prosecution of contra leaders." The Justice Department describes the allegations as those of "disgruntled people with an ax to grind who have little credibility," and said congressional efforts to investigate the allegations smacked of "McCarthyism," and that some congressional aides "were seeking to destroy the contras by innuendo in the press." The Justice official quoted said "I can state categorically that the attorney general did not, at any time, ask or instruct any U.S. prosecutor to slow down or in any other way impede any investigations on the contras." The article said that a contra official admitted that North and the NSC helped the rebels raise private aid, find sources for weapons and ammunition, and developed strategy and tactics. (Miami Herald, p. A-28)

June 2, 1986.—Kellner assigns Feldman to work on Thai heroin case. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 121)

June 2, 1986.—AUSA Sharf resubmits Feldman's memo for "corrections" which he does not show Feldman. He makes changes on memo without Feldman's permission. Feldman notes that the major change was in the conclusion. Feldman believed when the background work was done, "the grand jury investigation may be in order." Sharf rewrites this to say "a grand jury investigation at this point would represent a fishing expedition with little prospect that it would bear fruit." Feldman notes that some of Sharf's changes were "reaching," but that Feldman was never shown them before it went out to Mark Richard at the Justice Department in Washington (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, pp. 121-124)

June 3, 1986.—*The Washington Times* reports, "Anti-contra witness said to fabricate story," regarding Jack Terrell's charges of Neutrality Act and weapons violation involving American supporters of the Contras and the involvement of the CIA.

June 3, 1986.—Kellner sends Feldman memo to Justice, never hears back from them, and never calls about any reaction. He testifies that "the purpose of the memo was not for them to do anything; the purpose of the memo was to give them the information of what I was doing." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, p. 1073 According to Richard, in the course of an earlier conversation with Kellner, he had requested that Kellner keep him apprised of the status of case and developments. In response, Kellner provided him both the Feldman memo and a copy of the Christic Institute lawsuit naming Secord. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Richard, Appendix B, Vol. 23, p. 95)

June 3, 1986.—FBI Agents meet with Oliver North who “expressed specific concern as to why no action has been taken regarding . . . charges placed by Senator Kerry against North, nor any attempt to obtain the information presently at the Department of Justice (DOJ) involving Senator Kerry’s allegations.” In a June 11, 1986 memo relating to this meeting, the FBI Agents conclude to the Director that “WFO [FBI’s Washington Field Office] has no predication into this investigation.” (Iran/Contra, Appendix A, Vol. 1, p. 805)

Sometime after June 2, 1986.—The Feldman memo is leaked to the press and to Congressional staff. In his testimony before the Iran/Contra Committees, Feldman is asked who leaked it. He says he does not know, but that “the memo was stolen out of my cabinet,” because a note attached to it about [Thomas] Castillo and John Hull showed up under his door several months later. That note was the “most sensitive footnote in the entire memorandum” because it suggested that Hull was an operative for the CIA. Feldman notes that he didn’t lock his office or file cabinet, because both were in a secure area, and “all you are locking your door from are your colleagues.” Feldman notes, “I wasn’t cynical enough.” (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 129)

June 4, 1986.—FBI 302 report on interview with Rene Corvo states that Corvo told FBI “the only crime he has committed are United States neutrality violations for shipping weapons from South Florida to Central America. These weapons were destined for the ‘contras.’” Corvo confirms details of allegations made by Carr regarding the shipment of weapons from Ft. Lauderdale on March 6, 1985, and involvement of Salvadorean military officials in his contra supply operation. (FBI 302 released in *U.S. v. Corbo*, SD Florida, 1988) (On May 6, 1986, the CIA had advised the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that it had specific intelligence that these allegations regarding Corvo were false.)

June 8, 1986.—*Miami Herald* runs front-page story by Alfonso Chardy, stating that NSC and CIA managed contras during Boland Amendment, in a network overseen by North with help from CIA. Chardy story cites Owen and Singlaub as among those helping North, and naming Hull as one of Owen’s contacts. (Miami Herald)

June 10, 1986.—AP runs story by Robert Parry and Brian Barger alleging that Reagan Administration managed ‘private’ contra aid network through North, using Robert Owen as a “buffer,” and John Hull in Costa Rica. (AP)

June 10, 1986.—Feldman discusses Mattes and Garcia with Kellner. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 130)

June 11, 1986.—FBI Agents report to Director that the Christic Institute complaint filed in Miami names individuals who “are presently aiding the Contra effort under Colonel North’s direction.” (Iran/Contra, Appendix A, p. 803)

June 11, 1986.—Associated Press reports that “U.S. Allegedly Ran Private Network to Arm Contras.” The article stated that “the White House, working through outside intermediaries, managed a private aid network that provided military assistance to Nicaraguan rebels during last year’s congressional aid ban, according to government officials, rebel leaders and their American supporters.” (*Baltimore Sun*, p. 1)

June 12, 1986.—*Washington Times* reports that Kerry contra probe is “witch hunt.”

June 13, 1986.—FBI 302 interview of Rene Corbo, in which Corbo again confirms his transport of weapons from South Florida into Central America for the contra on March 6, 1985 and June 16, 1985. Corbo also confirms that John Hull provided assistance to his and other Contra support groups in Northern Costa Rica.

June 17, 1986.—FBI 302 interview of Francisco Hernandez, in which Hernandez again confirms involvement in Contra support operations in Northern Costa Rica involving Rene Corvo. Hernandez states that he and other supporters of the Contras were assisted from military officials at Ilopango in El Salvador.

June 17, 1986.—North writes in notebook, “Gene Wheaton wants to talk to PFIAB—has talked to Kerry.” Q2223

June 20, 1986.—Feldman leaves for Thailand. He remains “out of pocket” until August 1. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 131)

June 24, 1986.—After Kerry staff contacts Rick Messick of FRC to say that Justice has never called to gather further information regarding allegations, Justice sends another letter to Kerry reaffirming its interest in “vigorously and expeditiously” investigating any evidence to support allegations of criminal activity. (Kerry-Justice correspondence)

June 25, 1986.—Senator Kerry makes a presentation before a closed door session of the Committee. In that presentation, Senator Kerry states that in looking at allegations concerning the Contras he had found that “some American officials decided to circumvent the clear prohibitions of the Boland Amendment, as a result of that it

appears that the contras and the infrastructure set up to support them determined that they had a license in a sense, to violate laws . . ." He also reviews allegations regarding narcotics trafficking involving the Bahamas and Panama and calls for an investigation of the links between narcotics trafficking, law enforcement and foreign policy. At conclusion of session, Richard Lugar announces publicly that Foreign Relations Committee has ordered a "staff inquiry" to review allegations of drug running involving contras and Sandinistas.

June 26, 1986.—Kerry responds to Justice letter, again inviting Justice to contact his staff to set up a meeting to provide further information on the allegations concerning criminal activity in connection with the Contras. Justice never responds. (Kerry-Justice correspondence)

July 11, 1986.—Glenn Robinette meets Jack Terrell, as part of an investigation of Terrell on behalf of the Secord enterprise. (Iran/Contra Appendix A, Vol. 1, pp. 819-833)

July 14, 1986.—CBS Evening News broadcasts a tape which includes a segment on Oliver North's alleged involvement as a liaison between the White House and the Contras. On July 18, 1986, Special Agents of the FBI review the July 14, 1986 broadcast regarding North in connection with their investigation of Jack Terrell. (Iran/Contra, Appendix A, Vol. 1, p. 814)

July 15, 1986.—FBI reports to Director of alleged threat to assassinate President Reagan by Jack Terrell from a source not specified. (Ibid., p. 819) (Later Terrell is polygraphed on the issue and the FBI concludes the allegation is false.)

July 17, 1986.—FBI agents meet with Glenn Robinette "believed to be working in an unspecified government capacity" regarding Terrell and Robinette's surveillance of Terrell on behalf of the Secord's enterprise. (Ibid., pp. 820-829) Robinette advises the FBI of Terrell's ties to the Kerry investigation, notes that Terrell stated that he received no funds from Senator Kerry, and that he was aware of Secord's involvement in covert air support on behalf of the Contras. (Iran/Contra Appendix A, Vol. 1, p. 832)

July 18, 1986.—A dozen FBI agents meet in Washington and agree to undertake full-time FBI Special Operations Group surveillance of Jack Terrell. (Iran/Contra Appendix A, Vol. 1, p. 812)

July 18, 1986.—CIA advises FBI that subjects of Miami Neutrality Act investigation Corbo, Carr, Thompson, Posey and Garcia are not CIA assets. No mention is made of Hull or Felipe Vidal. (Letter to Director Webster regarding Jack Terrell allegations.)

July 21, 1986.—Kerry writes Attorney General Meese, enclosing an article in *The Boston Globe* which reports that the CIA provided financial and other assistance for mercenaries fighting with the contras. Kerry asks for a summary of any investigations Justice has undertaken into Neutrality Act or Boland Amendment allegations in connection with the contras. The Attorney General does not respond to the request. (Kerry-Justice correspondence)

July 22, 1986.—North is interviewed by FBI agents in connection with their investigation of Jack Terrell. North advises the FBI that "Terrell's name had surfaced in connection with a staff investigation being conducted by Massachusetts Senator John Kerry," and denies that he is involved with managing Contra support efforts. (Iran/Contra, Appendix A, Vol. 1, pp. 878-879)

July 24, 1986.—State Department issues a Report to the Congress which states that "the available evidence points to involvement with drug traffickers by a limited number of persons having various kinds of affiliations with or political sympathies for [the Contra] resistance groups." (State Department Document # 5136c)

July 24, 1986.—Robinette meets with FBI officials regarding Terrell, expressing concerns that the FBI had targeted Robinette "as being a 'plumber' for the White House . . . and leaking information to the media concerning his contact with him." He confirmed knowing North and working for Secord. (Iran/Contra Appendix A Vol. 1, pp. 852-853)

July 25, 1986.—North writes Admiral Poindexter that Associate FBI Director Oliver "Buck" Revell had called and asked for any information which NSC might have regarding Terrell. According to North, FBI believes Terrell could be a paid asset of Nicaraguan Intelligence Service. (N45907, Iran Contra committees)

July 28, 1986.—North writes memo from Poindexter to President Reagan regarding Terrell, initialed and presumably read by the President, which describes "anti-contra and anti-U.S. activities by U.S. citizens Jack Terrell. Memo describes allegations about Tambs bombing, alleged activities of CMA including weapons and narcotics trafficking, states that Terrell's charges are at the center of Senator Kerry's investigation in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and that the Operations Sub-Group (OSG) of the Terrorist Incident Working Group (TIWG) has made avail-

able to the FBI all information on Mr. Terrell from other U.S. government agencies to consolidate it for investigating Terrell. (N454896, Iran/Contra committees) Poindexter memo to President states "it is important to note that Terrell has been a principal witness against supporters of the Nicaraguan resistance both in and outside the U.S. government," and "since it is important to protect the knowledge that Terrell is the subject of a criminal investigation, none of those with whom he has been in contact on the Hill have been advised." (N-45897, Iran/Contra committees)

July 28, 1986.—FBI Special Agents conduct surveillance of Jack Terrell at Marriott Hotel in Miami and go through his trash when he leaves his hotel room. They find a newspaper with an article torn from it concerning statements by Admiral John Poindexter that "the relationship between the Nicaraguan Contras and Colonel Oliver North did not violate a congressional prohibition on United States involvement with the rebels." (FBI 302 reprinted in Appendix A, Iran/Contra)

July 31, 1986.—Feldman receives "PROS" memo, or prosecution memorandum, from Kevin Currier of FBI, who was "looking for a way to pressure Leon into making a decision." (Feldman 102) According to Currier, the memorandum ran 200 pages and was written "to force their hand." Currier describes it as "a 200 page prosecutive report which outlines the violations and the evidence we had obtained to that time to support the prosecution of this matter." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Currier, Appendix B, Vol. 8, p. 238) However, "nothing happened in response to the prosecutor's report. Nothing." Currier testified that "Kellner told Feldman to do nothing on case until he made a decision on the prosecutor's report. The U.S. Attorney's office was dragging its feet on this matter. We frequently went to Feldman's office or the USA's office to pressure Feldman to make a decision, calling two or three times a week." (Currier, *Ibid.*, pp. 238-244) Among the names which came up in the investigation were Enrique Bermudez, Mario and Adolfo Calero, Felix Rodriguez, Ramon Medina [Luis Posada], Richard Miller, Rafael Quintero, Richard Secord, Ted Shackley and John Singlaub. (Currier, *ibid.*, pp. 255-261)

August 5, 1986.—Richard Lugar and Claiborne Pell, as chairman and ranking member of Senate Foreign Relations Committee, jointly request information from Justice Department regarding 27 individuals for its investigation of narcotics trafficking. The request, based on a list supplied by Senator Kerry, included requests for information on John Hull, Robert Owen, Tom Posey, Luis Rodriguez, Frank Chanes, and Frank Castro. (FRC records)

August 8, 1986.—John Hull sends a letter to Leon Kellner, Senator Rudman and Senator Lugar, charging Senator Kerry's staff with bribing witnesses to lie about Hull, North, and the Contras. The letter mentions "Democratic funds." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, p. 1091) Hull asks Robert Owen, North's courier, to transmit the letter to Kellner and to the Senate Ethics Committee. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Robert Owen, Appendix B, Vol. 20, p. 856)

August 11, 1986.—John Bolton, on behalf of Justice, writes Lugar and Pell to tell them that Justice will not disclose information gathered during pending investigations and therefor will not provide any information in response to the request, but "we remain convinced that further rambling through open investigations gravely risks compromising those efforts." (FRC files)

August 18, 1986.—Feldman gives Kellner the PROS memo, from which he concludes there is clearly sufficient evidence to go forward. Corbo has admitted there were weapons on the March 6 shipment. Feldman believes they have enough to go forward, noting that he believed that in May, but that now they clearly had enough to satisfy Kellner. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 132) Kellner describes PROS memo as being "quite thick," puts a little yellow sticker on it and sends it to First Assistant US Attorney Richard Gregorie. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, pp. 1078-1079)

August 18-August 29, 1986.—Feldman goes to Kellner on several occasions in response to pressure from FBI Agent Currier, "nagging him to make a decision." Kellner states that he must still read the memo and makes no decision. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 133)

August 19, 1986.—Justice sends letter to Senators Lugar and Pell, informing them that Justice would examine its files, but would only make information available on the one closed case, involving Cabezas and Zavala (Frogman Case.)

August 20, 1986.—Feldman has his "only" conversation with people at Justice, with Joe Tafe, who is in charge of neutrality violations. Tafe "gave me hints." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 133)

August 27, 1986.—Kellner says this is the day he actually received August 8 letter from John Hull charging that Kerry staff had engaged in misconduct. Kellner "had difficulty with those documents." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, p. 1082)

August 29, 1986.—Feldman returns to Kellner for fourth time or so in August saying "I have to know." Kellner tells Feldman to "sit on the case until he gets back from Washington DC," because "politics are involved." Feldman says, "Leon that really upset me because he told me on April 11, during the day of the FBI shooting, that politics were not a consideration." Kellner tells Feldman, "politics aren't a factor for you to consider but they are a factor for me to consider." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 134) As of this date, Feldman concludes the case is dead. It sits on a box on his table. Kellner never gets back to him about it. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 138)

September 3, 1986.—Kellner takes Hull affidavits regarding Kerry to Mark Richard in Justice, and on his return gives them to Feldman. He brings back some memos on the Neutrality Act, and asks Feldman to check them and to investigate the affidavits concerning Senator Kerry. Kellner says that Richard read affidavits about Senator Kerry in his presence but said nothing. Kellner believed the affidavits were "amateurish," and "did not make sense," and that he was "being set up by somebody," but "couldn't figure out who." Kellner believed someone was trying to have him investigate a Senator, either to embarrass Kellner or to embarrass the Senator." After meeting with Richard, Kellner told Richard he would "check out the truth" of the affidavits by investigating the affidavits, although neither he nor Feldman believed them. Kellner describes the allegations as being that Senator Kerry's staff was paying witnesses to lie. Kellner says he did not believe these allegations, but it "would impact on the investigation." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, pp. 1082-1094) Kellner testifies that he went to Washington with charges about Senator Kerry "because this was an allegation of a crime," and didn't do so with the allegations regarding the Garcia case because "we were still questioning whether or not there was a crime involved in what they were doing." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, p. 1146) Richard says Kellner told him this "package" reflected all sorts of questionable activities by the senator's staff, attempts by reporters to influence testimony and suborn perjury and the like. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Richard, Appendix B, Vol. 23, p. 88) Richard testifies that he forwarded it to Steve Trott with a note that it be handled by either the Public Integrity Section of Justice or to first interview Hull. Ultimately it was decided to ask the FBI to see whether Hull was willing to submit to an interview. Richard says he had no idea what happened after that, and whether the FBI did anything or not. Richard says Kellner told him the package from Hull "vindicated his assessment" that Kellner was being manipulated by political forces where everyone had their own agenda, with "Kerry's staff attempting to discredit the actions of—I don't know who—the CIA, the contras, or what." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Richard, Appendix B, Vol. 23, p. 89)

September, 1986.—Feldman checks out the allegations against Senator Kerry's staff and determines, after talking to "as many people as he could contact" that "they weren't true." Kellner notes that "there were additions to the affidavits and that at least in one case the signature was not accurate." In addition, "not only did they not write some of these statement, but it was not factually true in any event." Feldman told Kellner that at least one of the persons said he wrote the affidavit defaming Kerry and Kerry's staff because it was a way to get out of Costa Rica. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, p. 1093)

September 15, 1986.—Garcia is sentenced. Feldman states that Garcia's allegations are irrelevant to his sentencing. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 140)

Early October, 1986.—Mark Richard convenes a meeting, attended by 19 members of FBI and Justice, including Ken Bergquist, Leon Kellner, Chuck Sapho and George Schenck. Bergquist and Schenck had previously met with Kerry staff on May 6, 1986, regarding the allegations. Present are representatives of narcotics and fraud sections of Justice. Group spent most of meeting discussing fraud issues related to NHAO humanitarian aid. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Richard, Appendix B, Vol. 23, p. 82)

October 6, 1986.—Gregorie sends PROS memo back to Kellner on day of Hasenfus crash, recommending that Kellner convene a grand jury. As Kellner concludes, the crash may have figured in his decision to move forward. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Kellner, Appendix B, Vol. 14, p. 1081) When Hasenfus plane crashes, Feldman concludes "it really wasn't any great revelation because it was apparent [in May] that there was much more to this whole network than Renee Corbo . . . if for some reason . . . the United States Government may be exposed or Oliver North's network may be exposed, as far as I was concerned, that had already been done. It is just that it hadn't received the public attention the Hasenfus crash brought out." Although Feldman does not find memo until November, Richard Gregorie, Assistant

U.S. Attorney to Kellner, sends memo to Feldman on this day authorizing him to go to grand jury. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, pp. 140, 143)

October 7, 1986.—William Weld asks Richard what he knows about Hasenfus crash, who calls Tom Marum about Miami Neutrality investigation. Richard contacts Kellner and asks Kellner what is going on. Kellner is angry, because he is "getting hit with press inquiries and knew nothing about the pending investigation." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Richard, Appendix B, Vol. 23, p. 106)

October 14, 1986.—Senator Kerry releases staff report describing "Private Assistance and the Contras." Report refers to activities of North, Owen, Secord, Singlaub, Felipe Vidal, Hull, and others. Includes statement that "Max Gomez [Felix Rodriguez] was managing contra supply operations out of Ilopango having allegedly been placed there by NSC."

October 15, 1986.—Washington Post prints story about Kerry Report and describes its allegations against persons named above.

October 15, 1986.—Oliver North writes in notebook "Kerry +2," below that is something redacted, and below that a notation "Max Gomez/VP." North Q2533.

October 15, 1986.—Oliver North Notebook describes June 25th closed session of Foreign Relations Committee regarding narcotics trafficking and contras. Notebook states "list of 27 witnesses, early August 8—sent to DOJ—Ken Bergquist, Vicky Toennsing—46 boxes of transcripts of SF Frogman case, Justice never provided. In April/May, (illegible) Rick Messick . . . John Kerry—has 8 votes. Scott Armstrong, Natl Security Archives, Jack Blum. (North Notebook, Q2531)

October 24, 1986. North writes in notebook about 6:30 pm meeting with Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage, that Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigation has taken trips to Miami, Costa Rica, San Francisco and Honduras. (North notebook Q2566)

October 30, 1986. Feldman meets with Justice Public Integrity Section. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 140)

Early November, 1986.—Feldman receives authorization to go to the grand jury.

November 18, 1986.—Feldman takes Neutrality Case to Grand Jury. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 143)

November 19, 1986.—North notebook entry reads "Tom Dowling re Kerry Hearings." (North Notebook Q2646)

November 21, 1986.—North notebook entry describes concerns about information known by Gene Wheaton, who has "chart" regarding Secord's involvement in both Iran and contra initiatives, and who has provided information to Senator Kerry.

November 22, 1986.—Iran/contra diversion memorandum is found by Justice Department investigators in North's safe at the NSC.

December 2, 1986.—Feldman meets with Kellner, Sharf, Gregorie, Barnett, about Garcia case, and they tell Feldman to stay away from Jose Coutin case. (Coutin was being held as the supplier of the weapon used to kill DEA informant Barry Seale, but had originally helped the FBI in the Garcia case). Feldman gets authorization to take Robert Owen to a grand jury. He finds out that Owen was at "tons" of meetings with "players involved in both the Cuban and CMA organizations." (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, pp. 147, 149)

December 29, 1986.—Grand Jury halts in order that case may be reviewed by Independent Counsel Walsh. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 149)

January 21, 1987.—Independent Counsel Walsh declines Miami Neutrality Act cases and Feldman proceeds. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 149)

April 7, 1987.—Feldman is interviewed by Independent Counsel Walsh's office. (Iran/Contra Deposition of Feldman, Appendix B, Vol. 10, p. 150)

August 10, 1987.—FBI 302 of Frank Castro. Castro states that in 1985 he went to Costa Rica to meet with John Hull at Hull's farm, and that he was working with Frank Chanes and Moises Nunez with Rene Corvo and other Cubans, and that this group had taken a number of Mariel boat Cubans from their training camp in Naples, Florida to Central America to fight the Sandinistas.

August 20, 1987.—FBI 302 of Frank Castro. Castro reaffirms statements regarding involvement of Corvo and others in military training in Naples, Florida before going to Central America to fight Sandinistas.

September 30, 1987.—The Justice Department indicts Luis Rodriguez as a drug trafficker, for smuggling which took place between November 1980 and January 1983. (*U.S. v. Luis Rodriguez*, 87-01044, U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Florida)

November 18, 1987. AUSA Jeffrey Feldman goes to Washington to meet with John Martin and Thomas Marum, the head and assistant head of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division. At a meeting between 9:30 am and 10:20 am, Feldman reviewed the previous questions that had been raised about the Justice Department's handling of the Miami investigations, including the allegations made by David Leiwant concerning a phone call allegedly made on April 4, 1986 asking Kellner to delay with the cases; the revisions of the Feldman memorandum; and the delay in prosecuting the case between August and November, 1986. According to Feldman, after further discussions, Marum "mentioned that he, Joe Tafe, Mark Richard, Leon Kellner, and reps from DEA and FBI met in Richard's office sometime last year to discuss how Senator Kerry's efforts to get Lugar to hold hearings in this case could be undermined. Marum did not re: date." Feldman then makes a contemporaneous memorandum of the meeting with Martin and Marum and time stamps it at the Criminal Division of the Justice Department at 10:47 AM November 18. (Feldman Memcom, subpoenaed by Subcommittee)

April 5, 1988.—The Justice Department indicts Luis Rodriguez for tax evasion in connection with the laundering of money through Ocean Hunter from June 1979 through April 1985. (*U.S. v. Luis Rodriguez*, 88-0222 CR-King, US District Court Southern District of Florida) Grand jury statements on file in Northern District of Florida narcotics case against Luis Rodriguez state that Ocean Hunter was established to launder money for a narcotics smuggling enterprise involving Frigorificos de Punterennas.

July 13, 1988.—The Justice Department indicts Mario Calero, Jack Terrell, Tom Posey, and others on Neutrality Act and weapons violation in connection with CMA's support for the Contras.

July 27, 1988.—The Justice Department indicts Rene Corvo, Frank Castro and others on Neutrality Act and weapons violations in connection with the Naples, Florida training camp and Cuban-American military assistance to the Contras.

#### WITNESSES <sup>1</sup>

Aguado, Marcos. A Nicaraguan living in Costa Rica who served as a pilot for the ARDE contra organization located on the Southern Front of the Contra/Sandinista war.

Awan, Amjad. A marketing manager for the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI).

Bannister, Gorman. The son of Everett Bannister, a Bahamian political operative, currently in the Federal Witness Protection Program.

Bergquist, Kenneth P. Former Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Legislative Affairs, Justice Department.

Betzner, Gary Wayne. A federal prisoner, convicted of running a continuing criminal enterprise for trafficking in cocaine, now serving a sentence of 27 years and two months.

Biamby, Roger E. An exile from Haiti, currently employed as the Executive Director of the Haitian-American Community Association of Dade County, Miami Florida.

Blandon, Jose. Former Panamanian Consul General, based in New York from 1986-1988, and political confidant of General Manuel Antonio Noriega; served as a federal witness in the 1988 indictments brought against General Noriega by two Florida grand juries; currently in the Federal Witness Protection Program.

Camper, Franklin Joseph. A federal prisoner, convicted in 1987 of RICO, weapons and conspiracy charges, now serving a sentence of 14 years; former owner and operator of the Recondo Mercenary Training School in Dolomite, Alabama.

Carlton, Floyd. A federal prisoner, convicted in 1987 on narcotics charges; formerly the personal pilot of General Noriega in Panama; testified against Noriega before the federal grand jury leading to indictments of Noriega in January, 1988; currently in the Federal Witness Protection Program.

Cash, Thomas V. Special Agent in Charge of the Miami Field Division of the Drug Enforcement Agency.

<sup>1</sup> This list includes all witnesses who appeared in public, or whose testimony in closed session has since been released by the Subcommittee in the four part edition of S. Hrg. 100-773, "Drugs, Law Enforcement and Foreign Policy." Additional witnesses who appeared before the Subcommittee in closed hearings or depositions not yet released are listed separately under "Depositions" at the conclusion of this list.

**Cesar, Octaviano.** A Nicaraguan living in Costa Rica who served as a political official of the ARDE contra organization on the Southern Front; brother of Nicaraguan Resistance director Alfredo Cesar.

**Chamorro, Adolfo Jose "Popo".** A Nicaraguan living in Miami, Florida; formerly the logistics chief and second in command of the ARDE contra organization on the Southern Front.

**Crone, William.** A U.S. citizen living in Costa Rica; a farmer and former business associate of John Hull.

**Feldman, Jeffrey B.** Former Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Florida, assigned to handle prosecution of Miami Contra Neutrality Act and weapons cases.

**Garcia, Luis.** A Miami-based narcotics trafficker who became a federal informant from 1984-1987.

**Gorman, General Paul (U.S.A.-Ret).** Former Commander of the U.S. Southern Command based in Panama (1983-1985); consultant to the President's Commission on Organized Crime (1985-1986).

**Gregorie, Richard D.** Former Chief Assistant U.S. Attorney (1987-1989), chief of Criminal and Narcotics Divisions (1982-1987), Southern District of Florida, Miami, Florida.

**Holwill, Richard.** Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Caribbean.

**Hood, Louella.** A resident of Bradenton, Florida who hired John Hull to manage farm property for her in Costa Rica.

**Kellner, Leon B.** Former U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Florida.

**Lawn, John C.** Administrator, the Drug Enforcement Agency.

**Loeb, Gerald.** A former pilot for Eastern Airlines; currently Chairman of Legislative Affairs for the Airline Pilots' Association.

**Lotz, Werner.** A Costa Rican who became the personal pilot for Robert Vesco, former Costa Rican President Carazo and Costa Rican President Daniel Oduber; owner of an air taxi service in Costa Rica; convicted in the U.S. for conspiracy to import drugs in 1985 and sentenced to four years in prison; deported at the conclusion of his sentence to Costa Rica.

**Marum, Thomas E.** Deputy Chief of Internal Security Division, Justice Department.

**Mayer, Martin P.** An authority on banking, and author of such books as "The Bankers and "The Fate of the Dollar."

**McCann, John H.** A federal prisoner convicted in 1987 for running a continuing criminal enterprise in connection with cocaine trafficking; sentenced to life without parole plus 110 years; formerly a lawyer and county judge.

**McNeil, Ambassador Francis.** Former U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica (1980-1983), and former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research (1984-1987).

**Morales, George.** A federal prisoner convicted in 1986 for running a continuing criminal enterprise in connection with cocaine trafficking; sentenced to 16 years.

**Morgenthau, Robert.** District Attorney for New York County.

**Murphy, Admiral Daniel P. (U.S.N. Ret).** Former Chief of Staff to Vice President George Bush; chief of the South Florida Drug Task Force; chairman, working group of the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System (all 1982-1985); currently president of Murphy & Demory Ltd., a Washington, D.C. consulting firm.

**Palmer, Michael B.** Former Delta Airlines flight engineer and copilot; became a narcotics trafficker in 1977 with the Carroll marijuana smuggling ring; later became an informant for the Drug Enforcement Agency; Vice President of Vortex, Inc., a company which provided services to the Contras as a contractor of the Nicaraguan Humanitarian Assistance Organization (NHAO).

**Prado, Karol.** A Nicaraguan living in Costa Rica who served as chief of communications for ARDE under Eden Pastora.

**Quintana, Osvaldo.** President of Ocean International Seafood of Miami, Florida; a federal witness in the 1988 grand jury indictment of Haitian Colonel Jean-Claude Paul in Miami.

**Rehman, Aziz.** A former employee of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International in Miami, Florida.

**Richard, Mark.** Former Deputy Attorney General, Criminal Division, Justice Department.

**Rodriguez, Felix Ismael.** A veteran of the Bay of Pigs and former officer of the Central Intelligence Agency; assigned by Oliver North in September 1985 to maintain Contra resupply operations at Ilopango Air Force base in El Salvador.

Rodriguez, Ramon Milian. A federal prisoner, convicted of running a continuing criminal enterprise in connection with laundering drug money and narcotics trafficking; sentenced to 43 years.

Sanchez, Nestor. A former Central Intelligence Agency Latin American Division Chief (1980-1981); former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs; Department of Defense (1981-1987) and currently consultant to the Department of Defense.

Sosa, Hon. Juan. Ambassador to the United States from Panama.

Vogel, Michael P. A federal prisoner, convicted of running a continuing criminal enterprise in connection with narcotics trafficking; sentenced to 25 years.

Zepada, Tom. A narcotics field advisor to the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters; formerly a Drug Enforcement Agency field director.

#### WRITS AND SUBPOENAS ISSUED DURING INVESTIGATION

##### WRITS (13)

Antonio Aizparua  
 Gary Wayne Betzner  
 Frank Camper  
 Floyd Carlton  
 Werner Lotz  
 John McCann  
 Ramon Milian Rodriguez  
 George Morales  
 Leandro Sanchez Reisse  
 Leigh Ritch  
 Michael Vogel  
 Zavala/Cabezas Wiretap Documents

##### SUBPOENAS (23)

Antonio Aizparua  
 Bank of Credit and Commerce International (4) [Awan, Shafi, BCCI Ltd., BCCI Intl.]  
 Gorman Bannister  
 Popo Adolfo Jose "Popo" Chamorro  
 Raoul Diaz  
 Jeffrey Feldman  
 Norman Faber  
 First City Foreign Currency Corp.  
 General Paul Gorman  
 Greenberg Bros.  
 Marta Healey  
 John Hull  
 Intercontinental Detective Agency  
 "Miami Attorney"  
 Oliver North Notebooks  
 Michael Palmer  
 Felix Rodriguez  
 Nestor Sanchez  
 Sarkis Soghenalian  
 Vortex Corp.

##### CLOSED DEPOSITIONS AND HEARINGS

Joe Adams  
 "Miami Attorney"  
 Kenneth Bergquist  
 Richard Brennecke  
 "Wanda Doe"  
 Michael Harrington  
 Leon Kellner  
 Thomas Marum  
 Mark Richard  
 Leandro Sanchez-Reisse  
 Jack Terrell