

Declassified Under Authority of the Interagency Security Classification Appeals Panel, E.O. 13526, sec. 5.3(b)(3) ISCAP Appeal No. 2017-190, document 10 Declassification Date: May 2, 2022

# Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 1/13/01 12:27:31 PM  
 FROM Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)  
 CLASSIFICATION ~~TOP SECRET~~  
 CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(b)(c)(d)(x5)(x6)  
 DATECLASSIFIEDON 01/12/2001  
 DECLASSIFYON 01/12/2026  
 SUBJECT FW: FW: south africa travel ~~{TOP SECRET}~~  
 TO Cressey, Roger W. (TNT)

CARBON\_COPY  
 TEXT\_BODY



-----Original Message-----  
 From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)  
 Sent: Saturday,  
 January 13, 2001 12:12 PM  
 To: Clarke, Richard A. (TNT)  
 Subject: FW:  
 FW: south africa travel ~~{TOP SECRET}~~

Does this sound operational  
 to you?

-----Original Message-----  
 From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)  
 Sent: Friday, January 12, 2001 8:49 PM  
 To: Haas, Dean J. (ADMIN)  
 Cc: Bradtke,  
 Robert A. (EXSEC)  
 Subject: RE: FW: south africa travel ~~{TOP SECRET}~~

Dean  
 --

The proposed trip is further to e-mails that follow below,  
 and the attached memo to General Kerrick. In sum, General Kerrick  
 asked last year that steps be taken to put the Victor Butt Organization  
 (VBO) out of business. As the memorandum describes, VBO is the  
 largest

supplier of large and small arms to Liberia, Sierra Leone, Congo and Angola.

@africa and @trans, in coordination with @nonpro and @multi, have since sought to implement General Kerrick's request. NSC, OVP and State have worked closely with the South Africans, which expelled Butt and his associates in 1998 and appears to have a legal basis for exercising criminal jurisdiction over VBO principals. Among other contacts, Secretary Albright and President Mbeki discussed the possibility of USG-SAG cooperation on this matter last month in Pretoria. Mr. Fuerth also recently raised with the South African Ambassador the possibility of US-SAG cooperation on this issue. As a result of these and other discussions, the South Africans have invited USG officials to visit Pretoria next week to discuss an international enforcement action targetting VBO principals.

Any such action would require the cooperation of the UAE, where VBO is based. We have worked closely with high-level UAE security officials on this matter, and we are confident on the basis of those discussions that UAE will expel VBO principals at the request of the US and South African governments. Custody of those individuals would then be transferred to South Africa for criminal prosecution.

The foregoing briefly describes steps we have taken to respond to the General's request. We are highly encouraged by this week's invitation from the SAG to engage in immediate discussions on this topic with the United States.

Regards,

Lee

P.S. -- Since our conversation, I have been in touch with State concerning travel orders, which should be issued tomorrow.

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

From: Haas,  
Dean J. (ADMIN)  
Sent: Wednesday, December 06, 2000 3:30 PM  
To: Wolosky,  
Lee S. (TNT)

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Subject: RE: FW: south africa travel ~~{SECRET}~~

thanks

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

From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)  
Sent: Wednesday,  
December 06, 2000 3:00 PM  
To: Haas, Dean J. (ADMIN)  
Subject: RE:  
FW: south africa travel ~~{SECRET}~~

Dean -- trip is off for now.

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

From: Haas, Dean J. (ADMIN)  
Sent: Wednesday, December  
06, 2000 9:05 AM  
To: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)  
Subject: RE: FW: south  
africa travel ~~{SECRET}~~

Thanks, Lee. Need you to carefully weigh it and let us know why it is a priority for NSC right now. It's appreciated, we have a lot of competing requests and the funds aren't there for all of them.

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

From: Wolosky,  
Lee S. (TNT)  
Sent: Tuesday, December 05, 2000 8:04 PM  
To: Haas,  
Dean J. (ADMIN)  
Cc: Joshlyn, Gay L. (ADMIN)  
Subject: RE: FW:  
south africa travel ~~{SECRET}~~

Dean -- will get back to you tomorrow with updated info. Lee

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

From: Haas,  
Dean J. (ADMIN)  
Sent: Tuesday, December 05, 2000 2:45 PM  
To: Wolosky,  
Lee S. (TNT)  
Cc: Joshlyn, Gay L. (ADMIN)  
Subject: RE: FW: south

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africa travel ~~{SECRET}~~

Lee,

Can you update me on the status on the issues which are requiring your trip to South Africa? Who are the confirmed travelers on the US side? Will DOJ be represented? What is your specific role as NSC rep on the trip?

I am faced with a heavy demand for NSC travel funds during a period in which we are operating under a Continuing Resolution. We have travel to accompany the President to budget for, which is always a non-discretionary priority, as well as other missions which involve high-level current negotiations.

Your South Africa trip will cost approximately \$8000. We need a very convincing and updated argument in order to use our NSC direct account money for this trip. Thanks for understanding our need to manage these scarce resources.

Please feel free to copy your email back to me to Bob Bradtke for his review along with the travel request.

I appreciate your assistance.

Dean

-----Original

Message-----

From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)

Sent: Thursday, November 30, 2000 12:51 PM

To: Harris, Grant T. (AF); Haas, Dean J. (ADMIN)

Cc: @AFRICA

- African Affairs

Subject: RE: FW: south africa travel ~~{SECRET}~~

systems

cleaning up my classification error -- they will ask you to delete from your system, etc.

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

From: Harris,

Grant T. (AF)

Sent: Thursday, November 30, 2000 12:47 PM

To: Haas,

Dean J. (ADMIN)

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

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(TNT)

Subject: FW: south africa travel ~~{SECRET}~~

Lee and I have been working on this project together, but for obvious reasons, I will not be making the trip to South Africa. Not only do I understand

that NSC travel money is extremely tight, but our office is not big enough to allow for trips.

Having said that, we have moved to a point in this initiative where the NSC needs to engage directly with the South Africans. Therefore, it is important that Lee make the trip.

Also, please note the classification change. (I raised this with Lee, and he is recalling his previous message.)

-----Original

Message-----

From: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)

Sent: Thursday, November 30, 2000 12:19 PM

To: Haas, Dean J. (ADMIN)

Cc: Smith, Gayle E.

(AF); Harris, Grant T. (AF); Clarke, Richard A. (TNT); Baum, Russell

A. (ADMIN); Joshlyn, Gay L. (ADMIN); Lieberon, Donna P. (TNT)

Subject: south

africa travel [UNCLASSIFIED]

Per Kerrick, @africa and @trans have jointly coordinated and are now implementing a strategy to put out of business the largest int'l arms trafficking organization supplying arms to conflicts in Sierra Leone/Liberia, Angola and DROC. South Africans are interested in moving forward with us with possible domestic prosecutions; will join DAS/AF Witney Schneidman (and possible DOJ reps) in discussing respective US-SA roles in a proposed near-term international enforcement action.

No CFR travel funding left (other than possibly a couple hundred dollars), so NSC funding will be necessary.

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

From: Haas, Dean J. (ADMIN)

Sent: Thursday, November 30, 2000 8:24 AM

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To: Lieberson, Donna  
P. (TNT); Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)  
Cc: Baum, Russell A. (ADMIN);  
Joshlyn, Gay L. (ADMIN)  
Subject: RE: Reminder: Today is Travel  
Requests deadline for all travel thru December 11 [UNCLASSIFIED]

Thanks,  
Donna.

Lee: do you have any CFR travel funding remaining?  
The  
trip justification must be particularly clear for a trip like this.  
If NSC funding is expected, we continue to operate under a CR and  
our travel account is very tight.

Dean

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

From:  
Lieberson, Donna P. (TNT)  
Sent: Thursday, November 30, 2000  
7:18 AM  
To: Haas, Dean J. (ADMIN)  
Cc: Wolosky, Lee S. (TNT)  
Subject: FW:  
Reminder: Today is Travel Requests deadline for all travel thru  
December 11 [UNCLASSIFIED]

Dean - Lee Wolosky wanted to bring  
to you attention that he is planning on going to South Africa the  
first part of December for consultations with senior South African  
officials on arms trafficking. We are still working out the logistics  
of this trip but I should have an approximate price on what this  
will cost later today.

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

From: Haas,  
Dean J. (ADMIN)  
Sent: Wednesday, November 29, 2000 9:58 AM  
To: Roundtree,  
Beverly (TNT)  
Cc: @TRANSNATIONAL - Transnational Threats; Baum,  
Russell A. (ADMIN)  
Subject: RE: Reminder: Today is Travel Requests  
deadline for all travel thru December 11 [UNCLASSIFIED]

Thank  
you, Beverly. We will cancel out the requests for London and Israel.

If you have the details you need to send forward the Dec 12-13 trip, please do so. If not, it can wait until later. If it is an invitational trip (they have already agreed to pay), please see if the inviting group will provide tickets and lodging 'in kind'.

Appreciate  
the notice.

Dean

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

From: Roundtree,  
Beverly (TNT)  
Sent: Wednesday, November 29, 2000 9:53 AM  
To: Haas,  
Dean J. (ADMIN)  
Cc: @TRANSNATIONAL - Transnational Threats  
Subject: RE:  
Reminder: Today is Travel Requests deadline for all travel thru  
December 11 [UNCLASSIFIED]

Dean, just wanted you to know from  
TNT purposes that the trip (travel package#7147) to London has been  
cancelled and also the trip to Israel has been cancel. I don't know  
if I mentioned this earlier but Mr. Clarke and Mr. Fenzel will be  
going to New York departing on the eve of December 12, with Mr.  
Clarke  
speaking on December 13 to Business Executive for National Security  
(BENS).

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

From: Haas, Dean J. (ADMIN)  
  
Sent: Wednesday, November 29, 2000 9:48 AM  
To: @SENIORS - Senior  
Directors  
Cc: @ASSIST; @NSCADMIN - Administration  
Subject: Reminder:  
Today is Travel Requests deadline for all travel thru December 11  
[UNCLASSIFIED]

Please remember that NSCADMIN needs to have all  
of your Directorate's travel requests/packages for the period  
November  
30 - December 11 in hand by COB today. It is better to put forward  
tentative trips rather than hold them back.

We understand that

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circumstances change and we stand ready to process urgent, unexpected requests during the coming days. Your cooperation in putting forward all planned travel, including invitational trips, is greatly appreciated.

Many  
thanks,  
Dean

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

From: Haas, Dean  
J. (ADMIN)  
Sent: Monday, November 27, 2000 9:44 AM  
To: @SENIORS  
- Senior Directors  
Cc: @ASSIST; @NSCADMIN - Administration  
Subject: Travel  
Requests deadline - for all travel thru December 11  
[UNCLASSIFIED]

Just  
another reminder that NSCADMIN needs to see all travel requests for trips commencing through Monday, December 11 by Wednesday, November 29, at COB.

This requirement includes all invitational as well as government funded trips.

We are making this request to ensure that your travel needs are met in advance of a week-long staffing shortage (Dec 4-8) in ADMIN. We will need to focus our travel resources that week on preparations for the President's expected trip to UK/Ireland. We do realize that sometimes travel comes up suddenly. We will do all we can to meet urgent, unexpected travel requirements that arise in the November 30 - December 11 time frame, but ask for your cooperation and understanding in meeting our request to process all known travel by COB this Wednesday.

Thanks very much.

Dean

(Seniors/Admin Assistants: please pass this notice on to other members of your staffs as appropriate.)

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TRANSLATED\_ATTACHMENT Butt -- Kerrick memo 102300.doc

October 26, 2000

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR DON KERRICK

THROUGH: GAYLE SMITH AND RICHARD CLARKE

FROM: GRANT HARRIS AND LEE WOLOSKY

SUBJECT: Strategy Update on Arms Trafficker Victor Butt

Following the DC on Sierra Leone on August 7, you asked what could be done to curtail the activities of international arms trafficker Victor Butt. This memo updates you on our efforts and requests your assistance in engaging the Justice Department in a coordinated international effort to shut down Butt and his organization.

BACKGROUND

The Victor Butt Organization (VBO) has been the largest supplier of illicit arms and air transport services in sub-Saharan Africa since the mid-1990's. VBO operates at least 60 aircraft (including IL-76s), has 200+ personnel, and maintains facilities in several countries. VBO's main base of operations is in Sharjah, United Arab Emirates, although the organization maintains regional hubs in Luanda and Kigali.

Butt, through the supply of large and small arms to conflicts in Sierra Leone/Liberia, Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, violates numerous UN sanction regimes and contributes significantly to human misery and the frustration of U.S. foreign policy objectives in Africa. Butt has delivered arms (including MI-8T helicopters and associated rockets) to Liberian President Charles Taylor; many of these arms quickly find their way to the RUF in Sierra Leone and threaten the security of UNAMSIL forces. In addition, Butt has violated UN sanctions against UNITA since early 1997 and transports arms and troops for rebels in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. He also appears to traffic in multiple rocket launcher systems, SAMs and anti-tank guided missiles, among other weapon systems. Finally, Butt trades in conflict diamonds across Africa and recently transported released ASG hostages to Libya from the Philippines.

STRATEGY

An NSC-led interagency working group is pursuing a three-pronged

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strategy with the objective of shutting down Butt's organization through the incarceration of its principals: Victor Butt and his brother, Sergey. <sup>1.4(c)</sup> absent Victor and Sergey, the organization will cease to operate in any significant manner). We are working closely with the British, who have recently pursued aggressive methods intended to protect their deployment in Sierra Leone. We are pursuing the three tracks described below simultaneously; the first option is the most developed, while the last one - the only option fully within our control - may not be being fully explored.

### 1. South Africa

We have approached the South Africans to explore their willingness to pursue criminal charges against Victor and Sergey. South Africa expelled Butt in 1998. It remains concerned about Butt's destabilizing activities in the region, particularly with regard to UNITA, and it recently approached the UAE to express these concerns. Upon issuance of a South African warrant, Butt can be extradited or expelled from UAE, and tried and incarcerated in South Africa. Earlier this month, State discussed this issue with the SAG, which has begun to explore a legal basis for an investigation, indictment and warrant.

### 2. UAE

We are working with senior UAE security officials to explore whether Victor and Sergey might have violated UAE law or whether UAE might be willing to extradite or expel the Butts to a third-party state such as South Africa. Although we are in the early stages of working with the UAE on this issue, we expect our close working relationship on similar matters to result in cooperation.

### 3. United States

We believe that the VBO's activities in the United States warrant close scrutiny by U.S. law enforcement agencies, and we have asked the Justice Department to consider whether those activities may have violated U.S. criminal law. On at least one occasion, Butt has received payment for arms shipments to Liberia out of a U.S. bank, he appears to have an operative based in Vienna, Virginia, and one of his lieutenants visited the United States in August. Butt operates a U.S.-registered aircraft that is owned by a U.S. carrier and is trying to purchase "stealth" telecommunications equipment -- possibly subject to export controls -- from a U.S. firm.

### NEXT STEPS

\* We are sending a small team to South Africa next week to discuss the political and legal plausibility of South African arrest warrants that

can then be executed in the UAE.

\* We will follow-up initial conversations with senior UAE officials (one of whom is now in the United States).

\* We would like your assistance in engaging DOJ, both to prioritize a possible U.S. criminal investigation and to participate in discussions in South Africa next week

#### RECOMMENDATION

That you convey, as soon as possible, the attached points to Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder.

Concurrence: Mary DeRosa

#### Attachment

Tab I Kerrick-Holder talking points

#### KERRICK-HOLDER TALKING POINTS

\* Want to raise with you several issues regarding USG response to the Victor Butt Organization, the largest supplier of illicit arms to Africa.

\* VBO is frustrating U.S. foreign policy objectives in Africa by fueling conflict in Angola, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

\* VBO is also contributing significantly to human misery; violating several UN sanction regimes; and jeopardizing the security of UNAMSIL forces by delivering small and large arms, including armed helicopters, to Liberia/Sierra Leone.

\* VBO appears to be operating in the United States; confident that DOJ is pursuing/will pursue all leads as appropriate.

\* An NSC-led interagency group has made good progress in coordinating an international enforcement action against VBO principals. Specifically, the NSC-led group is working with the South Africans, who are now considering issuing warrants for their arrest.

\* A small group is heading out to South Africa next week. We hope DOJ can join this group, and might consider possible TDY assistance to a South African criminal investigation in the longer term. Might be good follow-up to your own trip to South Africa this past summer.

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Limited Access

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Reason: 1.5(b)(c)(d)

Declassify On: 10/26/25

Derived From: Multiple Sources