



APR 3 PM 3:07
4/3/00

JAMES A. HARMON
CHAIRMAN AND PRESIDENT

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK
OF THE UNITED STATES

March 28, 00

Dear Mr. President,

Our annual conference is
4-3-00
two weeks a ^{Burkhardt} to be
Send to ^{Scheduling} in
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invitation to
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cal years,
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I have been cc: scheduling
rebuilding this agency and young
mission to create jobs through reports
concurrent with opening new markets in
Africa, India and the MIs.

Your participation in this



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4/3/00

JAMES A. HARMON
CHAIRMAN AND PRESIDENT

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK
OF THE UNITED STATES

March 28, 00

Dear Mr. President,

Our annual conference is two weeks away, and I continue to be hopeful that you will accept our invitation to speak.

In the past three years, I have been highly focused on rebuilding this agency and fulfilling our mission to create jobs through exports concurrent with opening new markets in Africa, India and the A.S.

Your participation in this

event will recognize the good work done
by the E-Ju Bank. It will mean
a great deal to me.

Thank you,

John

THE WHITE HOUSE

Betty

This is the
draft note
you wanted.
Mr. Bureau
wishes to use
this letter
towards college
admission's
ms
cp

3.31.00

3.31.00

Caroleyn-

Discuss!

b

4-3-00

This is the young man
who spoke w/ the
President in Selma -
Send to Burkhardt?

Yes

No

cul

'00 APR 3 AM 9:31

April 5, 2000

Mr. Antar Breaux
5311 Berkley Drive
New Orleans, Louisiana 70131-7203

Mr. Breaux:

It was a pleasure meeting you at the 35th Anniversary of the 1965 Voting Rights March in Selma, Alabama on March 5, 2000. I am always delighted when young leaders, like yourself, articulate a clear vision towards building a nation whose strength is built upon its diversity. Your speech not only inspired me, but it also had a profound impact on those who attended that historic event.

I am extremely pleased that you have engaged in numerous community service activities throughout your high school career. Both you and your family should be proud of the amount of time that you have given back to your community. Again, please accept my gratitude for your willingness to accept the call of action and I am confident that you will be successful in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

Antar Breaux
5311 Berkley Drive
New Orleans, Louisiana 70131-7203

March 21, 2000

Mr. Orson C. Porter
Midwest Political Director
Office of Political Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Porter:

It was good finally to get a chance to talk with you. I was afraid that we would play telephone tag forever. As you requested, what follows is some brief biographical information that covers my limited accomplishments, and my hopes and dreams for the future.

I was born November 1, 1981, in New Orleans where I later attended St. Paul Lutheran, and St. Leo the Great elementary schools. My entire High School career has been at Warren Easton Senior High with the exception of senior year which is split between Warren Easton and the New Orleans Center for Creative Arts where I study jazz piano. I enjoy studying and playing music, writing poetry, short stories, and essays. Most of my accomplishments stem from my writing, and public speaking abilities. In 1996, I was elected vice-president of the 21st Century Youth Leadership Movement for a one-year term. In 1999, I was named president of Interact, a community service organization.

Interact works with the homeless, a disabled group of athletes called "The Hurricanes," and the international organization, Operation Smile. Operation Smile funds surgeries for children with physical disfigurements. I have been selected to go on a mission to Romania this summer to experience an Operation Smile medical trip first hand. Through Interact, I have worked over 325 service hours, in my community as well as others in the region.

Recently, I have been called upon to speak on several different occasions. Also, I have competed in local speech competitions. This past January, I won first place in a Martin Luther King speech and essay competition. As a result of that competition, I was asked to speak at an all male panel for African-American Studies in the school system, and at a meeting of the Orleans Parish School Board. My ongoing involvement with 21st Century prompted an invitation to speak at the 35th annual commemoration of Bloody Sunday.

I am looking forward to continued studies in the areas of Jazz piano (performance and composition), writing, and literature. In pursuing mastery of these disciplines, I hope to make a significant contribution to my community, and my nation.

Please thank President Clinton for his kind remarks in Selma. Thank you for your interest, and persistence. I look forward to seeing you and the president in our fair city soon.

Peace and Blessings,



Anita M. Breaux

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 4/3

To: SANDY BERGER / PODES-TA

From: The Staff Secretary

ANY COMMENT?

JEAN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 31, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL 

SUBJECT: Berlin Conference on Progressive Governance

For the Berlin conference on Progressive Governance, I would recommend that it differ from the previous conferences by offering a concrete statement on "The Agenda for the 21st Century." (The Germans and the British have already expressed their desire to issue such a communique.)

The sequence of events would include a dinner, followed the next day by a closed meeting among leaders, public presentation of the communique on "The Agenda," and a press conference.

1. The dinner would be an occasion for a speech by you on the issues of the future.
2. The following morning would consist of a private meeting with the other leaders on these issues and center-left politics.
3. In the afternoon, you and the other leaders would release a joint communique, "The Agenda for the 21st Century," on its key principles. These principles would include: (a) making the new global economy an opportunity for all, not a threat; transforming government and policies on education, employment and welfare so that citizens are empowered; (b) forging a new international social contract in which values and interests coincide on issues of the environment, trade, security, and debt; helping the developing world fulfill its potential by equitably playing a role in the new global economy; (c) creating strong civil societies based on rights and responsibilities, pluralism and community, tolerance and stability; a market economy but not, as Prime Minister Jospin says, a market society.
4. Finally, the international press corps would question the leaders about "The Agenda."

"The Agenda for the 21st Century" would be a substantive document broad enough to gather the support of all the leaders present, set a framework for policy and politics, and demonstrate the power and momentum of our ideas.

The list of participants needs to be negotiated with the Germans and others. We want more than they do.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 4/3

To: *PODESRA*

From: The Staff Secretary

Any Comment?

- Sean

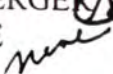
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 31, 2000

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER 
NEAL LANE 

SUBJECT: Future Management and Use of U.S. Space Launch Bases and Ranges

Purpose

To summarize the report and recommendations resulting from an interagency review we conducted on the future management and use of the U.S. space launch bases and ranges, and to request your approval of our plan to implement the national strategy and recommendations contained in the interagency report.

Background

We initiated this interagency review last March in light of the dramatic growth in commercial launch activity since your National Space Transportation Policy was signed in 1994. Commercial launch rates have more than tripled since the early 1990s and now make up about 40 percent of the activity at the primary U.S. space launch bases and ranges at Cape Canaveral Air Force Station, Florida and Vandenberg Air Force Base, California. We tasked the interagency team to examine the appropriate division of roles and responsibilities between the federal government and the U.S. commercial space sector; to develop a national strategy for the future management and use of the U.S. space launch bases and ranges; and to recommend any changes to policy, law, or budgets that would be required to implement the national strategy.

The interagency review was co-chaired by NSC and OSTP. It included representatives from all relevant agencies and we received extensive inputs from the U.S. commercial space sector. The executive summary at Tab A describes the recommended national strategy and recommendations of the interagency working group. A brief summary is also included below.

The working group received approval of its report from the involved Cabinet Secretaries, the DCI, and the NASA Administrator, and delivered its report to us in early February. On February 8, we announced the completion of the review and released the report at a space launch conference sponsored by the FAA. Prior to the release, we informed almost 20 interested members of Congress representing the states and districts where the launch bases are located and the Committees that oversee DoD, FAA, and NASA space launch activities. Since then, we have briefed and received positive feedback from Senator Lott's staff and from the Florida and California spaceport authorities, both of which report to the state Governors.

The interagency working group reached the following broad conclusions:

- The U.S. government is already sharing substantial responsibilities with the U.S. commercial space sector and state governments, and is pursuing a path to share even more in the future.
- The major launch bases and ranges should continue to be owned and operated by DoD because there is, and will continue to be, a significant level of national security activity and interest in maintaining the nation's ability to access space.
- Although the basic legal and policy framework is adequate to support the current level of government and commercial space launch activity, the framework may require revision in the future if the commercial satellite and launch market continues to grow.

Based on these conclusions, the working group recommended a national strategy that allows commercial launch markets and capabilities to develop and grow without pre-determining a future management structure. For now, the future of commercial markets and developments is too uncertain to define a single future end state. Market forces and the pace of commercial developments should help determine the future role of states and industry with respect to the ranges. However, should commercial markets and capabilities develop such that states or commercial entities can generate a viable and sustainable business case for managing the launch bases or ranges, the U.S. government should seriously consider the merits of such a transition.

To implement this strategy, the near-term recommendations focus on expanding the federal-state-industry partnership to enable more direct involvement of states and commercial space sector users, including spaceports. The recommendations address the following:

- Alternative management processes to allow U.S. commercial and government users to have a greater voice in improving operational flexibility and efficiency of the ranges.
- Use of nonfederal funding where appropriate—especially from states and spaceports—for the maintenance and modernization of the launch bases and ranges to meet national needs.
- Options for replacing the “excess capacity” construct in the current law to allow a more complete federal-state-industry partnership to develop.
- Common range safety requirements for government or commercial launches at any U.S. site.
- Next-generation range technology to improve safety, increase flexibility and capacity, and lower costs for reusable and expendable launches.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the implementation approach that begins with NSC and OSTP requesting that the Secretaries of Defense, Transportation, and Commerce and the NASA Administrator implement the recommendations.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

cc: The Vice President
The Chief of Staff
The Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Space launch is important to U.S. national security and economic well-being. As such, it has been a policy goal of the U.S. government to foster a strong, internationally competitive, U.S. commercial space launch industry and to enhance cooperation between the federal government and the commercial space sector. Good progress has been made toward these policy goals, most notably through the public-private partnership conceived and supported by the Air Force in the Evolved Expendable Launch Vehicle (EELV) program. U.S. commercial space launches enhance national security by lowering costs and improving reliability, and this connection will be even more important with the advent of EELV.

The majority of U.S. expendable space launches are conducted from two major launch bases operated by the Air Force at Cape Canaveral Air Station (CCAS), Florida, and Vandenberg Air Force Base (VAFB), California. Human space flight missions are launched from NASA's Kennedy Space Center (KSC), adjacent to CCAS. The space launch facilities and range complexes associated with these bases are national assets employed by a wide variety of national security, civil, and commercial users. These multiple users have diverse technical and support needs.

Until recently, the bulk of the expendable launch missions (and, therefore, the bulk of the activities at the major bases and ranges) have been related to national security. However, since the mid-1990s, commercial space launch activities have grown as U.S. commercial companies responded to the increase in global demand for commercial satellite launch services.

In the spring of 1999, the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and the Assistant to the President for Science and Technology formed an Interagency Working Group (IWG) to review the future management and use of the primary U.S. space launch bases and ranges at CCAS and VAFB. This review was undertaken in response to issues raised as a result of the successful growth of U.S. commercial space launch activity since 1994 and the increasing reliance of government agencies on commercially provided launch services. This review was to include an assessment of the roles and responsibilities of the government and U.S. commercial space sector with respect to the operation and modernization of the two major launch bases and ranges.

The Report of the Interagency Working Group on Future Management and Use of the U.S. Space Launch Bases and Ranges examines the current roles and responsibilities of federal government agencies and the U.S. commercial space sector and the major policy and management issues resulting from the shift in launch base use from its historic government-dominated basis toward more commercial, market-driven activities. Following discussion of the issues, the report presents alternatives that outline several possible paths along which U.S. space launch capability could develop over the next one to two decades. Finally, the report offers recommendations, which represent the appropriate next steps in the nation's evolving management of the U.S. space launch bases and ranges.

Roles and Responsibilities

Figure 1 illustrates the current and planned division of management and funding responsibilities among federal government agencies, government contractors, the U.S. commercial space sector, and state-sponsored spaceports operating at CCAS and VAFB. Each of the five major elements that make up the U.S. space launch bases and ranges is highlighted.

As shown, prior to 1990, most responsibilities for the major U.S. space launch bases and ranges belonged to the federal government (particularly the U.S. Air Force), though much of the operation and maintenance for base infrastructure and range support was performed by government contractors and safety analysis and system maintenance were supported by government contractors.

Today, commercial launch operators and spaceports have environmental responsibilities for their own activities at the launch sites. Similarly, commercial operators and spaceports are responsible for operating and maintaining the satellite and launch vehicle processing facilities and launch complexes that they lease or license from the Air Force or construct on property leased from the Air Force. Commercial operators are also responsible for some aspects of ground safety for their own employees and operations at these locations.

A number of changes will take place over the next few years. DoD plans to transition the operation and maintenance (O&M) of the utility systems on the launch bases to commercial companies. Additionally, when the EELV family of vehicles becomes operational in 2002, the basic concept behind launch operations will change. Most notably, the EELV operators will be responsible for building and maintaining the EELV facilities and launch pads (using real estate

	PAST <1990	TODAY	WITH EELV OPERATIONAL (2002)	WITH RANGE STANDARDIZATION & AUTOMATION COMPLETE (2006)
BASE OWNERSHIP	USG Responsibility	USG Responsibility	USG Responsibility	USG Responsibility
SUPPORTING INFRASTRUCTURE	USG Responsibility USG Contract	USG Responsibility USG Contract	USG Responsibility USG Contract	USG Responsibility USG Contract
SPACE LAUNCH OPS FACILITIES AND SYSTEMS	USG Responsibility	USG Responsibility	USG Responsibility	USG Responsibility
RANGE FACILITIES AND SYSTEMS	USG Responsibility USG Contract	USG Responsibility USG Contract	USG Responsibility USG Contract	USG Responsibility USG Contract
SAFETY RESPONSIBILITY AND SYSTEMS	USG Responsibility USG Contract	USG Responsibility USG Contract	USG Responsibility USG Contract	USG Responsibility USG Contract

Figure 1. Current and Planned Division of Responsibilities

and some facilities leased from the government) and the government will purchase launch services. As a result, the government will maintain only a few unique satellite processing facilities and those launch facilities unique to national security and national test and evaluation needs.

Spaceports in Florida and California are also more directly involved under the EELV concept. Not only have the spaceports arranged hundreds of millions of dollars in financing to assist the EELV operators, but also they will manage some of the facility construction. As a result, while the heritage launch systems are retired over the coming years, a larger fraction of the launch operations conducted on the launch bases will be performed by commercial EELV operators. Much like today's commercial operators, the EELV operators will also be responsible for the ground safety of their own employees.

As shown, the U.S. government is already sharing responsibilities with the commercial sector and spaceports and is pursuing a path to share significantly more responsibilities with state governments and commercial operators. The Air Force plans to continue the Range Standardization and Automation (RSA) program to improve operability, reliability, and supportability of both the Eastern and Western Ranges while reducing operations and maintenance costs. Simultaneously, the government will continue to restructure and competitively source range O&M, improvement and modernization (I&M), and range sustainment workload in ways that improve efficiency and allow government agencies to share more of the direct costs with commercial range users.

Challenges

Although the basic legal and policy framework appears to be adequate to support the current level of government and commercial space launch activity, this framework may require revision in the future if the commercial satellite and launch market continues to grow. In particular, the IWG is concerned that the "excess capacity" constraints in the law may inhibit the future growth of the commercial space launch industry and limit the potential synergy between government and private sector interests. Regardless, other present symptoms indicate the current workload is straining management, operations, maintenance, improvement, and modernization processes at both major launch bases and ranges.

Recommended National Strategy

In response to these issues and other concerns raised by commercial industry during the course of the review, the IWG developed a recommended national strategy. This strategy (summarized in Figure 2) proposes building on the already planned changes in roles and responsibilities with a series of additional near-term steps that will enhance and expand the government-private partnership. The working group also defined a range of alternative paths that could be considered in the future if federal, state, local, and commercial markets or national needs require.

Finally, the working group developed a series of near-term recommendations regarding the management and use of these bases and ranges. Some of these near-term recommendations are achievable within current policies and statutes, and all of them focus on expanding the federal-state-industry partnership to enable more direct involvement of civil and commercial space sector users, including spaceports. These recommendations include the following:

Near-Term Recommendations in Chapter 5

- Propose alternative management structures to provide greater user voice and improve operational flexibility
- Pursue improved efficiencies in range operations
- Encourage, permit, and maximize use of non-federal funding sources
- Explore options for replacing the "excess capacity" constraint in law
- Develop common range safety requirements and ensure FAA resources for safety
- Develop Air Force-NASA plan for next-generation range technology development

Enable
and allow
markets and
capabilities to develop

INCREASING UNCERTAINTY →

Near-Term

Mid-Term

Far-Term

Figure 2. Recommended National Strategy

- Propose alternative management structures to allow commercial and government users of the U.S. space launch bases and ranges adequate opportunity to communicate their requirements so they can be actively considered and factored into decisions on improvements and operations with the goals of providing greater user voice and improving operational flexibility.
- Pursue means of achieving improved efficiencies in range operations.
- Encourage, permit, and maximize use of nonfederal funding sources (especially from states and spaceports) for the continued maintenance and modernization of the space launch bases and ranges to meet national needs for space transportation.
- Explore options for replacing the "excess capacity" constraint in the current policy and legal framework, while retaining priority access for national security and critical civil sector missions, to allow a more complete partnership to develop between the federal government and the U.S. commercial space sector, including States and spaceports.
- Develop common range safety requirements for government, civil, and commercial launches at federal and nonfederal launch sites and ensure that Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) resources are commensurate with its statutory requirements and safety responsibilities.
- The Air Force and NASA should develop a plan to examine, explore, and proceed with next-generation range technology development and demonstration, with a focused charter to

improve safety, increase flexibility and capacity, and lower costs for reusable and expendable launch vehicles. NASA should designate KSC as a National Center for next-generation Reusable Launch Vehicle (RLV) range technology development and demonstration.

The midterm step in the recommended strategy is to pursue changes to law to eliminate constraints and enable a transition path to let market forces and the pace of new developments help determine which future scenario makes the most sense to pursue for the far term, while retaining priority access for national security and critical civil sector missions.

The uncertainties associated with potential demand for commercial satellite and launch services, coupled with the need for flexibility and agility as we move to an uncertain future, leads the working group to recommend that the federal government should take no actions now that would either select or preclude any of the possible alternative futures in Figure 2. The working group believes the U.S. government should let market forces and the pace of new developments help determine which future scenario makes the most sense to pursue for the far term.

THE FUTURE MANAGEMENT AND USE OF THE U.S. SPACE LAUNCH BASES AND RANGES

REPORT OF THE INTERAGENCY WORKING GROUP
FEBRUARY 8, 2000

CO-CHAIRS:

**Office of Science and Technology Policy
National Security Council**

WORKING GROUP MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS:

**Office of Management and Budget
Department of Defense
Department of Commerce
Department of Transportation
United States Air Force
Federal Aviation Administration
National Aeronautics and Space Administration
National Reconnaissance Office**

**Report of the Interagency Working Group on the
Future Management and Use of the U.S. Space Launch Bases and Ranges**

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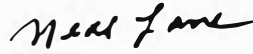
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 29, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
DIRECTOR, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
ADMINISTRATOR, NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE
ADMINISTRATION

FROM: SAMUEL R. BERGE 
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

NEAL F. LANE 
Assistant to the President
for Science and Technology

SUBJECT: Future Management of U.S. Space Launch Bases and Ranges

The President's 1994 National Space Transportation Policy states that "Assuring reliable and affordable access to space through U.S. space transportation capabilities is a fundamental goal of the U.S. space program." Clear and appropriate roles and responsibilities of the government and the private sector, including management and operation of the U.S. space launch bases is critical to the ability of all four U.S. space sectors—military, intelligence, civil, and commercial—to access space. Over the past few years, commercial sector launch activities have begun to outpace government activities at the U.S. space launch bases and their supporting ranges at Vandenberg Air Force Base, California, and Cape Canaveral Air Station, Florida. Based on industry projections, this trend will continue, with the majority of launches per year being commercial. At the same time, we realize the Air Force is diligently trying to maintain and modernize its launch base and range infrastructure to meet the nation's needs now and in the future.

We understand the Air Force is developing options and recommendations to be considered regarding the future posture of its space launch bases and ranges. We would like this Air Force effort to be a primary element of a White House-led interagency review of U.S. policy affecting launch base and range activities, which could result in recommendations to the President on the future management and use of the U.S. space launch bases and ranges.

The staff points of contact for this review will be Jefferson Hofgard (Office of Science and Technology Policy) and Betsy Pimentel (National Security Council). They will be in contact with your staffs to arrange the first meeting of the interagency working group in April. The purpose of this meeting will be to establish the scope and plans for the interagency review based on presentations by the Air Force regarding the status and plans for completing their current efforts. Thank you in advance for your assistance in addressing this important issue.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-3-00

Sawyer
FBI - Mead
Wojtyla
Katz

copied
NSC (for
reply)
Podesta

President William J. Clinton,
Parliament House of India,
Camp: New Delhi

INDER JIT

Ex - Member of Parliament
(Lok Sabha)

India News and Feature Alliance

Founder :
DURGA DAS
Editor :
INDER JIT M.P.
1989-96

Jeevan Deep Building, Parliament Street, New Delhi - 110001

4-3-00

21 March 2000



Dear Mr President,

Greetings and good wishes.

Kindly go through 5 minutes of the enclosed reading matter on Kashmir before you meet Gen. Musharraf. It is based on my talk with Prime Minister John Major and is entitled: Resolving Without Mediating!

Also, enclosed is a copy of an earlier article I syndicated some time back on the basis of a candid exchange on Kashmir with Benazir Bhutto in Washington.

It was my privilege in 1986-87 to bring about peace to trouble-torn Himalayas through the Darjeeling Accord between the Gorkhas and the Marxist regime of West Bengal! Thereafter, the Gorkhas elected me twice to the Lok Sabha (India's House of Commons) in gratitude!

Best wishes for glorious success in your endeavours to promote peace and eliminate terrorism in our world.

Yours sincerely,

Inderjit

President William J. Clinton,
Parliament House of India,
Camp: New Delhi.

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R. N. NO. 39437/82

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Clinton And Kashmir

By Inder Jit

India, Pakistan and top world leaders, especially President Bill Clinton, presently visiting the sub-continent, need to take a good, fresh look at the Simla Agreement. It contains certain key words and phrases, the crucial import of which has regrettably not received the pointed attention it deserves. In fact, the Indira-Bhutto accord encompasses what all of us and our friends abroad have been longing for and yet have missed spotting: an agreed solution of the Kashmir issue which renders Bill's recent offers of mediation, wholly unnecessary, apart from being unacceptable. At any rate, Bill has yet to win India's trust and confidence, which are a must for any successful mediation, as my own experience as a negotiator of the Darjeeling Accord in 1987 shows. Alas, Bill is no Roosevelt, who played a historic and heartwarming role in helping India win its freedom through unrelenting pressure on Churchill.

I say this having tested my interpretation of the Simla Accord on Prime Minister John Major in January 1993 in New Delhi at a dinner hosted in his honour by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao at Hyderabad House. Introduced to John by Rao as a member of the Lok Sabha and invited to join a small pre-dinner group around him, I asked: "Mr Prime Minister, English is not my language. May I, therefore, seek a clarification from you?" He smiled and I asked: "Is there a distinction between 'settlement' and 'final settlement?'" Visibly perplexed, he queried: "What have you in mind?" I replied: "The Simla Agreement? It talks of a 'final settlement' of Jammu and Kashmir and not just 'settlement', which would have been more than enough. Hence my query." John asked: "What distinction do you see?" I explained: "The words 'final settlement' imply some prior settlement which requires to be finalized." John smiled and said: "I think you have a point. But then what, according to you, was the understanding."

I explained: "The understanding is implicit in the Simla Agreement. It accorded the Line of Control resulting from the cease-fire the status and sanctity of an international border. This line was not to be violated under any circumstances whatsoever -- 'irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations.' Only one thing remained. Finally settling the formal border by rationalising the LoC on the basis of geographic, linguistic and other relevant factors." Bhutto, I added, had pleaded for time to persuade his people to accept the settlement. Indira Gandhi had generously acceded to the request as the victor. "In fact, she did not thereafter stake afresh India's claim to Pak Occupied Kashmir. That was part of the understanding and supports my contention. Mr Prime Minister, we are not fools to have stopped demanding the return of POK without any reason, when we know that morally and legally it belongs to India."

John smiled once again and remarked: "Most interesting." I then told

him about my identical talk with his Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, some months earlier at a dinner hosted by the British High Commissioner, and how he, too, had found my interpretation "most interesting". In fact, he had added: "Why has no one made these points before!" The visiting Prime Minister thereupon remarked: "I shall have a word with Doug on return." I added: "Please take a good look at the Simla Agreement — especially its concluding para. Kindly do spot the key words 'final settlement'..." As we moved towards the banquetting hall, Narasimha Rao turned to me and said: "I am glad you have made your point".

Seven years later, we need to draw the specific attention of Bill and the G-8 leaders not only to the two key words 'final settlement' in the concluding para of the Simla Agreement but to the whole para itself, which conveys its own message. It states: "Both Governments agree that their respective heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and, that, in the meanwhile the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civil internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations." Establishment of durable peace between the two countries was given top priority and agreement reached on the steps to be taken to initiate the process...

Indira Gandhi wanted the Kashmir issue resolved once and for all after the 1971 war. "Enough was enough", as she told me later. Bhutto, for his part, went along, agreeing that war was indeed no solution. Bhutto also agreed in principle to "settling" the dispute along the line of control. But he pleaded for a little time — "a few months" — to sell the pragmatic solution to his people. "We can then take steps to finally settle Jammu and Kashmir and ensure durable peace." As a victor, Indira Gandhi graciously relented and agreed to give Bhutto time. Little did she then know that Bhutto would betray her trust... Nevertheless, one basic fact stands out. A broad understanding was reached in regard to a solution of the Jammu and Kashmir issue and the two leaders agreed to meet again to finalize the settlement at a mutually-convenient time.

Both also provided for the representatives of the two sides to meet meanwhile to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the "establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations." Mark you, the precise order in which this was to be achieved was significantly spelt out. Establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations was to be achieved as follows. First, repatriation of the prisoners of war and civilian internees. Second, a "final settlement" of Jammu and Kashmir. Third, resumption of diplomatic relations. A "final settlement" of Jammu and Kashmir was to follow the repatriation of 93,000 Pak POWs but precede resumption of diplomatic relations. Much time was not required for it in view of the understanding already reached at Simla.

President Clinton needs to understand that he can help resolve the Kashmir issue without mediating by simply realising that there is no solution of the Indo-Pak imbroglio other than the one pragmatically reached by Indira and Bhutto at Simla. In July last year, he got Nawaz Sharief to join him in declaring that "the sanctity of

the line of control" must be respected. He should now candidly tell Gen. Musharraf during his stop-over in Pakistan that the only solution of Kashmir lies in rationalising the Line of Control and acknowledging it as the international border, as provided for in the Simla Agreement. (Importantly, not many know that the people of POK do not speak Kashmiri.) Simultaneously, steps should be taken to improve mutual relations to a point that the border between our two countries becomes soft as between Canada and the US. Any other course would only result in India and Pakistan continuing their nuclear cold war and insanely bleeding each other white.--INF7.

NEW DELHI,
ak

A talk with Benazir

Inderjit on Indo-Pak relations

NOW that the whole world wants New Delhi and Islamabad to hold talks on Kashmir, it is time to make public an informal but brutally frank conversation I had with Benazir Bhutto on Indo-Pak relations in the fall of 1991. Equally interesting was its unexpected fallout — an exchange of letters. Importantly, she confirmed India's basic interpretation of the Simla Agreement. What we talked seven years ago still holds good.

The occasion was a two-day "Global Dialogue on the New World Order", organised by the New York-based Parliamentarians for Global Action at Capitol Hill in Washington. Benazir was there as the former Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Leader of the Opposition and I as a member of the Lok Sabha. It was my privilege to chair the session on "Democracy in a New World Order." Benazir and I met at a luncheon which preceded the session and was hosted by US Congressman Bill Green with Benazir as the guest speaker on the subject.

"How do you view the Indo-Pak scene", I asked her once we sat down for our meal. She replied: "You tell me first." I then said: "One thought greatly troubles me. Must India and Pakistan insanely continue to bleed each other white? Britain played havoc with us through its diabolical policy of divide and rule. Tragically, that continues even today. We now allow the US and others to play the same vicious game. They divide us and make billions... Why should we allow this to go on and on..."

Benazir responded: "I agree. We should stop bleeding each other white. Insanely as you put it. But then it is up to you in India. It's all because of Kashmir. Why don't you people resolve the problem?"

"What you say is fine", I remarked. "But we must first face the facts and the harsh realities. You have tried your best to snatch Kashmir from us by force. You have waged three wars and failed. You can wage another three hundred wars. But you will never succeed. In fact, I earnestly hope you are not thinking of another rounds. God forbid, if you are. This time we shall not stop at the outskirts of Lahore..."

Benazir's face turned angry. I feared she might abruptly end our talk and prevent me from candidly telling her more. So, I hurriedly

add: "Please, don't mind what I have said. I am not speaking for our Government. I am only reflecting the popular Indian mood. Our people feel enough is enough... Kindly, therefore, try and understand one crucial point. You cannot take away Kashmir from us by force. And, we are not going to gift it to you either on a silver platter, to recall Nehru's famous quip. So, for God's sake let us face facts and work for a realistic solution."

My plea worked. She cooled down. However, she shot back: "Why don't you implement the UN resolutions? Let us have a plebiscite. Let the Kashmiri people decide — in all fairness. But you don't agree. You are afraid to hold a plebiscite. Because you know you can't win..."

"OK", I said. "Let us honestly talk about the plebiscite resolution. We were prepared to implement it. But the resolution provided two pre-conditions which had to be satisfied first. You will recall these were: (a) Pakistan must withdraw from the State all its forces, regular and irregular and (b) India should thereafter withdraw a bulk of its forces. But you calculatedly chose to mix up your alphabet and insisted that (b) preceded (a)! The result? You succeeded in your game. You stalled the plebiscite even as you loudly clamoured for it. Why? Because you knew that India would win hands down because of Sheikh Abdullah!"

"Well, India can implement it now", she interrupted. "Sorry, not any more", I said and added: "For three good reasons. First, the clock can't be put back, to recall another assertion by Nehru. Second, since you blocked the plebiscite, we went ahead and held elections to the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly to ascertain the peoples' wishes. The people of the State massively voted for their beloved Sher-i-Kashmir. Thereafter, the Constituent Assembly unanimously endorsed Jammu and Kashmir's accession to India..."

"That was an absolute farce", she interrupted. "If you Indians are so confident, why don't you hold a plebiscite now. Let the people decide..."

It was my turn again. "Benazir Sahiba, allow me to give you my third reason and finish — something no one would have ever told you." "Yes, what?" she queried. I replied: "It is not in Pakistan's own interest to have a plebiscite — and win it..." Once again, she butted in: "Absolute nonsense. I haven't heard anything so absurd..."

I smiled and pleaded: "Kindly hear me first. Yes, it seems absurd. Nevertheless, it is not in Pakistan's own interest to have a plebiscite and win it... Why? Because, the consequences of such a victory may no doubt hurt India. But they will destroy Pakistan. You will then force India to become a Hindu State. Will you then be ready to take a hundred million Muslims or even more...?"

"Wait a minute. Why should you drive out your Muslims? India is their homeland too." I replied: "Right. No one should drive them out. Remember, you did not throw out the Hindus from East Pakistan. But you created an environment in which no self-respecting Hindu could honourably stay on... Well, this could happen again. Some times things just happen — as in a classic Greek tragedy. People drift to disaster — helplessly!"

My argument went home. She finally asked: "What then is your solution?" I replied: "There is no solution except one. We must put the Kashmir issue into deep freeze, as once informally advocated by UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld. We should then steadily improve our relations to a point where our border becomes soft as between the US and Canada and we can approach Niagara both from the American and Canadian sides!"

She shook her head, smiled and, looking at her watch, said: "I must now leave. I am sorry I am unable to attend the afternoon session you are chairing. I would have liked to hear you. Unfortunately, my people have fixed some other engagements..."

We parted. Leaving me wondering about the impact of my candid, even blunt talk. Would she ever want to see me again? Happily, however, January brought me a charming answer in

the shape of an attractive New Year card from Benazir and Asif Ali Zardari "wishing a Happy New Year to your family from ours."

I responded with a warm letter on January 16, 1992. Apart from thanking her for the "pleasant surprise", I expressed the hope that the New Year would "usher in happier times for Pakistan and India and see an end to the growing confrontation between our two countries." I added: "It is time to be earthy and wise and somehow bury the proverbial hatchet."

Not just that. I also enclosed with my letter two of my nationally-syndicated INFA columns, about which I had spoken to her. The first, written in 1984 on Indo-Pak relations was entitled: "Bleeding Each Other White". The second, written two years earlier, was entitled "From Simla to Islamabad." I added: "I hope you will find the latter of some interest even today as it sought to set the record straight in regard to mutual commitment in the Simla accord on bilateralism. I shall be glad to get your response."

Some four weeks later I received from Benazir an equally warm reply dated February 13, 1992 in which she not only thanked me for the letter and my greetings, but stated "Pakistanis of different shades of political opinion share your hope that 1992 will see an end to the growing confrontation between India and Pakistan."

Sadly, the fond hope of happier times continues to be belied, year after year. Nevertheless, what Benazir said in the second para of her letter deserves to be reproduced. She said: "I have read with great interest your two articles 'Bleeding Each Other White' and 'From Simla to Islamabad.' Bilateralism is the essence of the Simla accord. Indeed, bilateralism continues to be the cardinal principle of the Pakistan Peoples Party dating back to the Simla accord."

The last para was warmly personal and set at rest the fears raised by our sharp "exchange" in Washington. She was glad I had enjoyed reading her book: "Daughter of the East." She said she had read the memoirs of my late father, Durga Das, entitled "India from Curzon to Nehru and After" and added: "The book is indeed seminal. The Sind library has a copy". She concluded: "Please do let me know in case you visit Pakistan."



Cavite Association of America

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00 MAR 30 PM 4:24

Dear Ms. Currie,

I am sending a copy of my previously sent letter to The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton regarding a message and a photograph for our souvenir program, as per instructions of Mr. Fred Sanchez. Please mail the requested message and photograph to me at: 913 S. Home Ave, Oak Park, IL 60304. If you have any questions, I can be reached at home, 708-383-4965 or at work, 708-202-2201.

Thank you for your attention in this matter.

Respectfully,

Angelina N. Cochon
Angelina N. Cochon

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

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Aris Topacio

February 21, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President, United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

The Cavite Association of America is composed of Filipino-Americans who hail from this historic province of the Philippines. Cavite was one of the eight provinces that initiated the revolution against Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines at the turn of the century. Many of the revolutionary leaders, notable General Emilio Aguinaldo, were native sons of Cavite.

When the United States defeated Spain in the Spanish-American War, the Philippines became an American colony and the Filipinos learned the lessons of liberty and democracy. A stream of immigrants have been coming since then to America, where we have tried to maintain our links to our Philippine roots through associations like the Cavite Association of America.

Twenty-five years ago, we established this association, and in celebrating this momentous silver anniversary, we are publishing a souvenir program. This program will be distributed to our members all over this great country of ours, but also in our homeland, the Philippines. Our silver anniversary celebration will be held on July 15, 2000 at the Marriott O'Hare in Chicago.

In this connection, we would like to request you to send us a message together with a photograph, which we shall print in our souvenir program.

I hope that this request merits your favorable consideration.

Respectfully,

Angelina N. Cochon
Angelina N. Cochon
President-Cavite Association of America

* Need by June 1 for Printer.