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RESTRICTION CODES**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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Labor and Gore

Next week brings an unwelcome conjunction of events for the AFL-CIO hierarchy in general and Secretary-Treasurer Rich Trumka in particular. At the labor federation's executive counsel meeting Oct. 11 in Los Angeles, Trumka will press hard for an immediate presidential endorsement of Vice President Al Gore. On the next day, when a labor-Democratic Party federal corruption trial begins in New York City district court, Trumka will be praying just as hard that he is not involved.

The offstage actor in both events is Teamsters President James P. Hoffa. The reason the AFL-CIO brass has to work so aggressively for the Gore endorsement is that the Teamsters support that would have gone automatically to the vice president was withdrawn immediately when Hoffa was selected president nearly a year ago. The New York trial charges a mon-

ey-laundering conspiracy aimed at keeping Hoffa out of power.

Hoffa and his friends, occupying the Teamsters palace on Capitol Hill, threaten the cozy partnership between the Democratic Party and big labor. Indeed, they are still bitter about plotting between the White House and AFL-CIO that rigged the 1996 election to keep Hoffa out of power. The Teamsters don't figure they can block the Gore endorsement, but they want no part of it.

Gore is desperate for help from his friends in labor. Moving his headquarters to Nashville and challenging Bill Bradley to a series of debates betray weakness. AFL-CIO President John Sweeney wants to endorse the vice president, and the heat has been applied to recalcitrants by Trumka and Gerald McEntee, head of the big government workers' union.

But the United Auto Workers have not been charmed by Gore's long-standing vendetta against the internal combustion engine, and its president, Stephen Yokich, has held back from endorsing the vice president. So have the painters and electricians.

Trumka's high-profile activity for Gore pins down Teamster non-support. In November 1997, a court-appointed master ruled that Trumka had improperly raised \$50,000 for then-Teamsters President Ron Carey's 1996 reelection, which defeated Hoffa but was voided by court order. Trumka then invoked the Fifth Amendment in refusing to cooperate with the federal government's investigation. Sweeney did not ask for Trumka's resignation, reversing an AFL-CIO practice of 40 years.

According to Justice Department sources, Trumka has been in the investigative spot-

light, and though not officially targeted, he could become involved in the New York City trial scheduled to begin Oct. 12.

Just how far afield that trial goes is up to the defendant: William Hamilton, the Teamsters' political director during the Carey regime. He is charged with orchestrating the money-laundering conspiracy intended to swap inflated contributions to the Democratic Party in return for funds to reelect Carey. He has been under intense pressure to make a plea bargain by testifying against other conspirators. The master's report also has McEntee improperly sending \$20,000 to the Teamsters, but he is not a prosecutorial target.

A government source says that if Hamilton is to avoid the possibility of a prison term, his best bet would be to "give up" Trumka. If he did, it might be too late to save from prosecu-

tion even someone so close to the Clinton-Gore political apparatus as Trumka.

Thus, the voiding of Carey's 1996 election and Hoffa's victory in the 1998 special election pose long-term consequences for the labor-Democratic marriage. The new Teamsters leader rejected a feeler from Pat Buchanan to be his vice-presidential running mate on the Reform ticket. But Hoffa has signaled he likes Buchanan because they share the same views on NAFTA and Mexican long-haul trucking.

The Republican front-runner, Texas Gov. George W. Bush, also has good relations with Hoffa and opposes a continuation of court-ordered supervision over the Teamsters. So the Teamsters say no to Al Gore and secretly hope the money-laundering case actually does go to trial.

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Bob Kerrey

To Liberate Iraq

Throughout this century, American support and determination have helped liberate many countries. But we have unfinished business, none more urgent than the regime of Saddam Hussein. Later this month, members of the united Iraqi opposition will meet in New York to hold their first national assembly. This is an important step toward liberation, which is not only inevitable but also may be imminent. Yet a certain amount of Iraq fatigue exists among policymakers. This fatigue is based on false presumptions and delays a fuller commitment to Iraq's liberation.

The first presumption is that dictators bring stability. The Arab world proves this notion's falsity. Dictators bring stasis. Stasis freezes things. And because frozen things inevitably thaw, dictatorships end not with stability but uproar. A variation on this is that without a dictatorship, Iraq would dissolve into ethnic mini-states, threatening its neighbors' stability. The performance of Iraqi soldiers in the war with Iran and the polyglot composition of Baghdad demonstrates Iraqis' strong sense of nationality.

A second presumption is that Iraq cannot practice democracy. The notion that Iraqis are deficient, that the democracy lines are missing from their DNA, is racist. Because I am a democrat with a small as well as a large D, I believe Iraqis can rule themselves better than others can rule them. I believe this based on elections in Jordan, Kuwait and Lebanon, as well as Israeli-Arab participation in Israeli politics and the participation of Arab Americans in American government.

A third presumption is that Saddam is strong. Iraq is almost certainly developing more weapons of mass destruction. But in terms of current capability against a well-armed rebel force, Saddam looks weak. He may have enough capability to terrorize lightly armed Kurds or Shia rebels—but not enough to conquer them. Iraq's air defenses are daily proven ineffective. Also, we saw in the Gulf War that few wanted to make the supreme sacrifice to follow Saddam's orders, and the many ensuing desertions suggest that little fighting spirit is to be found in the Iraqi military.

Saddam is also weak in terms of subordinates who can enforce his authority. Saddam has eliminated not only his rivals but also his more effective lieutenants. Family ties provide little insulation from Saddam's wrath; he murdered his cousin and two sons-in-law. His leadership circle has shrunk to himself and two sons. This is not a coalition that could withstand a unified, well-financed rebel movement. This is leadership that will topple.

Behind the arguments for inaction is the notion that no one cares. Some of our allies suggest we accept the Iraqi regime as it is, drop the sanctions, and accept a "less confrontational" inspection system. French Foreign Minister Hubert Vedrine says that we are "insensitive to the human disaster underway in Iraq."

We have been callous, but not through sanctions. We have been more interested in avoiding risk than in ending the regime that used chemical weapons on its own people, invaded two of its neighbors, fired ballistic missiles at Israel and which even today embroils our military in combat operations.

The Iraq Liberation Act counters false presumptions about Iraq that have shaped the safe-sided U.S. approach. I praise the administration for putting the United States on record as opposed to Saddam's regime. I also appreciate the efforts of Frank Ricciardone, the special representative for the transition in Iraq, to unite the Iraqi opposition and coordinate U.S. policy. At the same time, I encourage the administration to act with greater boldness, especially with regard to the draw-down of defense articles for the Iraqi opposition authorized under the Iraq Liberation Act.

The liberation of Iraq is inevitable. When it comes—and the truth about Saddam's regime spills out—we will be proud of the stand we took. And if our subsequent support of Iraq leads to democracy, our pride should double. Democracies do not wage war against one another. Democracies do not allow their people to starve. A democratic Iraq will transform the Middle East, where ethnic rivalry, poverty and excessive armaments will be supplanted by security, prosperity and creative diversity.

The writer is a Democratic senator from Nebraska.

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Heavy Debt Erodes United Germany's Prosperity, Power

By WILLIAM DROZDIAK
Washington Post Foreign Service

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BERLIN, Oct. 2—When its 82 million people bridged the Cold War divide to become a reunited nation nine years ago Sunday, Germany seemed poised to emerge from the shadows of Nazi and Communist dictatorships and blossom into a new superpower whose political influence would be commensurate with its clout as the world's third-largest economy.

Yet nearly a decade after the fall of the Berlin Wall signaled a new era of German ascendancy, the foundations of the nation's prosperity are rapidly eroding. There is broad agreement among politicians, economists, labor leaders and businessmen interviewed that Europe's most pivotal state is living perilously beyond its means and has failed to achieve a consensus on how to solve the crisis.

"We simply cannot go on living the way we have been doing," Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder said in a recent debate in the newly refurbished Reichstag. "We have built up a mountain of debt that is placing an intolerable burden on the backs of our children. We are dealing with nothing less than a challenge to the nation's future as one of the world's most affluent democracies."

Acknowledging a crisis, Schroeder has staked his government's survival on what he describes as "the biggest reform package in postwar German history." He plans to trim the budget by \$18 billion next year and raise gasoline taxes to stop the hemorrhaging debts caused by Germany's runaway spending on entitlements.

But the stinging defeats he and his ruling Social Democratic Party have suffered in recent state elections suggest that voters are not willing to make even token sacrifices to redress imbalances in the nation's social contract.

How Germany copes with the challenge of modernizing its economy will also shape its neighbors' destinies. As the continent's largest nation west of Russia, surrounded by nine countries and endowed with an economy twice the size of Britain's, Germany has become more critical than ever as an anchor of stability in the heart of the continent.

As a regional power that, in Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer's words, "prefers to lead from the second row," Germany has made impressive gains toward shedding past inhibitions while facing up to historical responsibilities. In Kosovo, it dispatched peacekeeping troops beyond its borders for the first time since the Nazi era; it has welcomed more refugees from the Balkan wars than all other European nations combined; and it took the lead in promoting early European Union membership for new Eastern European democracies, such as Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

But the future of its political ambitions, German officials say, will depend on the nation's ability to put its economy in order. "A prosperous Germany is necessary to ensure stability not just at home but also beyond our borders," said Michael Stuermer, a foreign policy expert and adviser to former chancellor Helmut Kohl. "If Germany continues to slip into serious decline, it will bring a lot of other countries down with it."

For now, the situation is bleak and getting worse. A study published last week by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development showed that in terms of growth and jobs outlook, Germany languishes at the bottom.

The basic problem is clear: The terms of the generous social contract drawn up in the days of Germany's postwar economic boom have become too expensive. The high cost of subsidizing 4 million unemployed workers and their families, paying pensions sometimes equal to full salaries and lavishing almost \$100 billion a year on the east have caused the national debt to triple in less than a decade. It is running close to \$900 billion—a burden of \$11,000 for every German.

Just when Germany requires more investment, the enormous price of doing business here is driving away domestic and foreign companies. With average wage costs running close to \$30 an hour, nearly double that of the United States, many flagship companies like Siemens AG and Volkswagen find it more profitable to shift production abroad. More than a million jobs have been lost since 1995, and the trend is accelerating.

In addition, much of the state's treasury is being wasted on preserving jobs in antiquated industries, such as coal and steel, rather than building up a strong technology sector. Despite such occasional success stories as the SAP software firm, Germany's economic power is largely concentrated in three sectors: automobiles, chemicals and machine tools.

Meanwhile, the tax base is shrinking. A growing number of jobless people means that fewer are paying taxes and more are drawing state benefits. Hefty taxes have encouraged a flourishing underground economy worth \$350 billion, about one-sixth of total output. And many large companies in Germany still find legal ways to avoid taxes. A government study found that corporations in Germany pay only 8 percent of total tax revenue, compared with 24 percent in the United States.

Having one of the world's lowest birth rates also threatens Germany's future. Soon, one in five Germans will be retired and drawing a large pension, yet the imploding demographic pattern—coupled with an aversion to accepting more immigrants—means that a much smaller core of working people will support them.

"We are in the process of becoming an old people's home and an industrial museum," says Arnulf Baring, an economics professor at Berlin's Free University and the author of a bleak prognosis titled "Is Germany Failing?" He says the combination of Germany's low birth rate and heavy welfare costs is a ticking time bomb that frightens politicians and voters so much that no one is willing to touch it.

"Are the people to blame for demanding no cuts in subsidies and benefits, or are the politicians to blame for our stagnation?"

Either way, the result is the nation's most fundamental problem has not been addressed since unification," Baring said.

Upon taking office, close associates say Schroeder was stunned by the ruinous state of the nation's finances that he had inherited from Kohl. As a master of consensus, the chancellor of German unity had tried to please everybody by pouring huge sums of money into the east while fueling an economic boom in the west.

"We now realize we should have used reunification as an opportunity to push through reforms needed to modernize Germany and prepare the nation for the 21st century," said Wolfgang Schaube, the Christian Democratic Union leader who was Kohl's most trusted lieutenant. "But we had campaigned on the promise that it all could be achieved without any pain."

Schroeder also promised a bet-

ter life and thus shirked from making a dramatic bid for economic reform. During his first months in office, he even reversed the modest steps Kohl had taken toward reducing the growth of pensions and sick leave.

As the U.S. and Britain pruned the role of government, Germany's dependence on the state expanded when West Germany absorbed 17 million people born and raised in a cradle-to-grave

communist society. Schroeder now proposes to reduce the state's role in the German economy from 48 percent to 40 percent, but his loss of support in the east testifies to deep anxiety about such a move.

"We are not ready to make the jump into a market society like the United States," said Lathar de Maiziere, a lawyer who served as the last prime minister of the defunct German Democratic Republic. "History took such an amazing and sudden turn for us that the social problems of adapting to a new society were badly underestimated. How much freedom can someone bear who is not prepared for it?"

As Germany confronts the pressing challenge to streamline the welfare state and adapt to the competitive pressures of a global economy, it seems less prepared than at any time since reunification to undertake the wrenching changes needed to revitalize society and make people more responsible for their own welfare.

"The whole nation may be reunited, but it is in a bad mood," says Guenter de Bruyn, an eastern German novelist whose latest book explores the widespread feelings of disenchantment felt nearly a decade after the wall came down. "Few people are happy about the way things turned out and the direction they are going." The westerners, de Bruyn said, are disgruntled because they resent having to subsidize the east with their high taxes. And the easterners dislike the patronizing attitudes they encounter among their rich cousins in the west.

Indeed, one-eighth of Germans say they would like to restore the

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Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain that once sundered their nation. "The wall in people's minds"—often evoked to describe the disparity between east and west—still remains so formidable that only one in 10 says it is correct to speak about a single German people, added Dr. Bruyn.

"We are still a long way from seeing the light at the end of the tunnel of reunification," says Rolf Schwanzitz, the chancellor's chief adviser on rebuilding eastern Germany. "Despite all the subsidies that have been provided, the problems we face in bridging the gap remain gigantic."

With former Communists established as the second-most powerful party in the east and xenophobic right-wing parties gaining a foothold in state parliaments, there is mounting concern that successive failures of centrist governments led by Social Democrats and Christian Democrats will fuel the rise of fringe parties.

Kurt Biedenkopf, the Christian Democratic premier of Saxony, said Germany suffers from the "Buddenbrooks phenomenon," a reference to the Thomas Mann novel that describes the rise and fall of a German family.

"The first generation were the founders, the second enlarged the wealth and the third squandered it," he said.

"Many Germans, especially in the west, are part of that third generation that became spoiled because they grew up knowing only good times. Now that we are spending far more than we can afford, nobody is willing to tighten belts because they still think the government is obliged to care for them."

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The President Sees Consensus, While Religious Leaders Disagree About the Church-State Divide

By E.J. DOWNS JR.

Two of our leading presidential candidates, Texas Gov. George W. Bush and Vice President Gore, are talking enthusiastically about what government can do to help "faith-based organizations" solve social problems. At a White House prayer breakfast with religious leaders last Tuesday, President Clinton embraced what he called "an emerging consensus about the ways in which faith organi-

zations and our government can work together." Pastors dealing with social problems are landing on the covers of national magazines and scholars are predicting a new "great awakening" of religious fervor in the country.

What's going on here? Is the wall between church and state tumbling down?

Not at all. But the turn of the millennium in America may well be remembered as a time when the country renegotiated the relationship between religion and public life, faith and culture. Don't be scared by this: We are not about to attack religious freedom, impose censorship or herd everyone into a church, synagogue or mosque. Indeed, it is partly because of advances in religious freedom—the result of court deci-

sions and cultural changes that occurred during the 1960s—that it is even possible to talk about increased cooperation between the religious and governmental worlds.

There is no consensus yet on how church and state are supposed to work together, let alone how much. This is nothing new. Arguments for strong barriers between religion and government have waxed and waned through American history, for radically different reasons in different times.

Separation between church and state never meant that religion had no place in American life; remember, this is a nation that still stamps

"In God We Trust" on its currency. But the rise of the religious conservatives and the culture wars of the past two decades sharpened the debate over separation and aroused both sides.

On the one side, religious conservatives decried the growing "secularization" of America and engaged in what sociologist Nathan Glazer has called a "defensive offensive" meant to restore the consensus on values that existed—or at least seemed to exist—before the '60s. On the other, those dismayed by the religious right saw separation as a bulwark against the growing influence of organizations such as the Christian Coalition and the Moral Majority.

Many rank-and-file evangelical Christians found themselves as turned off as the rest of the country by polarization around political issues related to religion. "There's a certain backlash against the whirl, partisan warfare they've heard," Nathan Hatch, the provost at Notre Dame and a historian of evangelical Christianity, told a conference organized by the Ethics and Public Policy Center last week. "A lot of evangelicals are suburban people, and they much more easily identify with a George Bush than a Jerry Falwell or a Gary Bauer. They're people of values. They're also tolerant. There's a sense that the attack mode is counterproductive."

The church-state divide has often been cast as a fight between religious people and their secularist foes. But out of the public eye, there is a lively argument taking place among religious leaders themselves about the wisdom of allowing any breach of the church-state wall.

There was once a time when the separation of church and state was a cardinal commandment of Southern Baptists and nearly all evangelical Protestants. For most of these Protestants, spending even a dime of public money on religious schools or church programs was to assault the Founders, destroy religious freedom and turn God into a servant of the state.

"Most people think church-state separationists are ethicalists or humanists or just bad people," said Derek Davis, director of the J.M. Dawson Institute of Church-State Studies at Baylor University. "It's just not that way at all."

Davis's center at Baylor, one of the country's premier Baptist institutions, speaks for the old separatist tradition that still finds many adherents in the pews of Baptist churches. He offers useful reminders

that the current argument over the role of religion in public institutions—especially in the public schools—has its roots early in American history. In 1844, he notes, six people were killed in a riot in Philadelphia over what version of the Ten Commandments should be posted in the public schools. Whatever one thinks of today's battles over whether to post the Ten Commandments in government buildings, nothing that disturbing has happened yet.

If all evangelical Christians thought like the old-line Baptist separatists, Clinton and other politicians probably wouldn't be talking so rapturously about a new relationship between church and state. But the culture wars changed the church-state argument by moving many Baptists and evangelicals to a new view: that separation was promoting secularism and turning once-friendly public institutions into environments hostile to religion. The Rev. Richard John Neuhaus captured this sense in his 1984 book, "The Naked Public Square."

Thus, on church-state issues, says Richard Clark, director of the Washington office of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), his organization has "really done a 180 [degree turn]" over the past 40 years. Once opposed to state aid to religious schools, Clark said, the NAE now supports private school vouchers and has endorsed the "charitable choice" provisions of the 1997 welfare bill promoting government aid to faith-based charities.

Earlier in our history, arguments over separation were just as fierce, but had different inspirations. When Catholic immigrants began flooding America from Ireland in the 1840s, there was strong Protestant opposition to any government assistance to the schools the Catholics were establishing. Here, separatism was less about protecting government or religion than in opposing any expansion of "Popery."

Similar fights broke out from the late '40s through the '60s over government aid to parochial schools. Eleanor Roosevelt carried out a famous and bitter public argument with New York's Cardinal Spellman on the issue.

"Certainly there's been a regrettable history of animus toward Catholics," says Melissa Rogers, associate general counsel at the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, whose group is separatist and spun off from Southern Baptist Convention after Baptist conservatives defeated moderates and liberals.

Davis agrees that separatism was often "fueled by this anti-Catholic bias." But both

Davis and Rogers insist that anti-Catholicism was less important historically to separatists than a general fear of the effect of state involvement in religion on both government and the religious institutions themselves.

What's striking now is that conservative Protestants who long opposed aid to Catholic schools now find themselves allied with Catholics on the voucher issue. "One of the most remarkable changes of the 20th century is the virtual evaporation of hostility between Protestants and Catholics," says Grant Wacker, a professor of religious history at Duke University Divinity School. "I don't think it's because Baptists have come to have a great respect for Tridentine theology. It's because they see Catholics as allies against graver problems. There's a large reconfiguration going on now."

Indeed, in the separatist wars, Baptists find themselves allied with Jews and many mainline Protestant churches. But

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even more relevant are liberal/conservative splits within the denominations and faiths themselves. On some church/state questions, Reform Jews are on the opposite side from Orthodox Jews. In the Christian churches, liberals and conservatives (or, as some would have it, modernists and traditionalists) ally against each other across denominational lines, creating a new politics.

What sense can be made of this, and in particular of the turn toward faith-based institutions? Is a new national consensus on church-state questions possible?

A consensus is possible—even if it will be hard to achieve—if the current arguments are understood as the third stage in a long national debate.

While Protestant hegemony in America—the first stage—began to erode with the end of Prohibition, arguably the last political project to unite mainline and fundamentalist Protestants. But the formal dominance of Protestantism was largely repealed in the 1960s, often with the strong support of progressive Protestants themselves.

The second stage involved a hard push for separation, including many of the relevant court decisions. It was no accident that this occurred as the country was coming to terms with its historic treatment of minorities. "I see the '60s as a time when we began to grow up a little bit," says Davis, director of the Baylor center. "If we want to be a democracy that supports the rights of minority groups, including religious minorities, we can't have a government that stands behind and supports one world view."

John F. Kennedy's election as president marked the full entry of Roman Catholics into the mainstream of American life. The civil rights movement sought to right historic wrongs done to African Americans. The era swept away long-standing barriers to Jews, the effective end of restrictive covenants and new movements to defend the rights of Latinos and Asians. All brought the pervasively white and Protestant ethos in government-financed institutions and society into question.

Today's commotion is rooted in a new fear—that the combination of legal decisions and cultural trends has marginalized religion more than is either necessary for religious freedom or desirable for the country. In creating what Yale Law School professor Stephen Carter called "The Culture of Disbelief" in his book of that title, the country seemed to replace old prejudices (of race and religion) with a new prejudice against belief itself.

The current renegotiation of boundaries—the third stage—has already borne fruit. In 1995, new federal guidelines to school administrators were designed to make clear that while the state cannot impose religion, students cannot be forced to be secular against their will or silenced in their personal expressions of religion. Individual students could not be stopped from praying, Jewish students could not be barred from wearing skull caps, any kid who wanted to talk about religion on school grounds had the right to do so. As the president said at the time, the Constitution "does not require children to leave their religion at the schoolhouse door."

In 1997, the administration issued guidelines requiring government supervisors to respect individual expressions of faith by religious employees. Christians, the guidelines said, can keep Bibles on their desks, Muslim women can wear head scarves, Jewish workers should be accommodated as much as possible in scheduling so they can honor the High Holidays. This may all seem like common sense, but it reflects an awareness that a desire to preserve religious freedom entails both keeping the government out of the way and protecting the free expression of belief.

The battle over expanded government aid to faith-based institutions will not be so easy. Rogers calls it "the wrong way to do right." She means that the admirable efforts by faith-based charities should get much more private and corporate support, but not government help. Yet Gore's endorsement of what has come to be known as "charitable choice" suggests a slow shifting of the boundaries being drawn by moderate and even liberal Democrats who have come to see the churches as indispensable allies to government in solving problems.

The NAEP's Cizik thinks the rise of religious feeling in America and a decline in the hostility to religious institutions may be a sign that "a new, more acceptable consensus would replace partisan religious fights." Even active participants in the culture wars, he says, are tired of them.

Amen to that. And if a new consensus still involves some contention, that's neither surprising or disappointing. What else do you expect in a country where people have rioted over the Ten Commandments? But somehow, precisely because every generation has been willing to argue about it, we have managed to preserve religious liberty.

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Emotions Run High as Israeli-Palestinian Talks Hit a Snag

By DEBORAH SONTAG

JERUSALEM, Oct. 3 — Israel and the Palestinian Authority, marching forward to carry out their latest peace deal, hit a snag this weekend on an issue fraught with emotions, politics and history for both sides.

They delayed opening a safe-passage route connecting the Gaza Strip and the West Bank today after a fundamental disagreement about security procedures.

While officials called the disagreement technical and said it would be resolved within days, it brought to the surface some of the distrust that gets suppressed in the name of peacemaking.

The Israelis and the Palestinians essentially clashed over who would control the flow of human traffic on a 28-mile route that is to link the two Palestinian territories. They also disagreed about whether the route, along existing Israeli roads, would be considered "extraterritorial," as the Palestinians demand, or would remain under Israeli sovereignty.

Specifically, the Palestinians insist that they, rather than the Israelis, issue the magnetic cards that will serve as border crossing permits. And they demand that Israel let all travelers be safe from interception — and arrest — by the Israeli police for prior offenses or for questioning.

"Should Israel be able to seize people using the safe passage, it will turn into a trap for the Palestinians," said Jamil Tarifi, the Palestinians' Minister for Civilian Affairs.

The route, connecting Erez in Gaza and Tarqumiya near Hebron in the West Bank, was scheduled to open last Friday under the peace agreement signed on Sept. 5. Because of the Jewish and Muslim days of rest, it was postponed until today by mutual decision but then got mired in a discussion of details that went deeper.

As negotiations wended into the night, officials said they expected to reach a compromise and open the safe passage by the end of this week at the latest. After four hours of talks, negotiators for both sides said they would reconvene on Monday.

It was clear today, though, brought into relief by the delay, that this is a tender subject for both sides, bringing to the surface the Israeli fear of terrorism and the Palestinian fear of having the Israelis control their destiny.

Even though the opening did not take place, a few hundred Israelis, both for and against, went ahead today with previously scheduled demonstrations along the route.

At Qiryat Gat right-wing Israeli demonstrators — some costumed as supposed terrorists, with Arab scarves, toy guns and Palestinian flags — protested that the route would allow "safe passage" for guns, bombs and terror. Israeli doves, on the other hand, traveling in a convoy, applauded the long-awaited "route to peace," even though it had not actually opened.

In the Gaza Strip, many Palestinians voiced disappointment that their isolation had not ended on schedule — and deep suspicion of the Israelis and their own leaders.

The debate over security and sovereignty caught some by surprise. They had not realized just how regulated the route would be, thinking it would return their lives to the way things were a decade ago, when movement was freer and Palestinian license plates were commonplace on Israeli roads.

"I feel really let down," said Khaled Khader, 36, a bank officer in Gaza City. "How can the safe passage be safe if Israelis have the right to arrest our people when they cross

A disagreement over a corridor brings Arab-Israeli distrust to the surface.

the border? How can it be free if the Israelis have the right to define who can use it or not."

Ahmed al-Dali, 49, a shopkeeper, said, "The Israelis as usual want to dictate all the terms to the Palestinians, and unfortunately the Palestinians usually end up accepting them in the end."

The safe passage — promised under a 1995 interim peace agreement and then stalled by successive Israeli Governments for fear that it would abet terrorists — was meant to reestablish a lifeline between the two Palestinian regions.

Thousands of families are divided between the West Bank and Gaza, just as many Palestinian businesses and universities depend on a reliable link. Without safe passage, the new Palestinian national soccer team awkwardly held separate practices for its West Bank and Gaza Strip players, although it captured the bronze medal in the recent Arab Games anyway.

Between 35,000 and 40,000 Gazans hold crossing permits that allow them to enter Israel. Most are day laborers, and some are merchants and politicians. Women who seek to visit relatives in the West Bank are often given permits that last several days. Many men do not have Israeli security clearance to visit at all.

Those types of permits will supersede the privileges of those who will be allowed safe passage. Holders can enter Israel and drive on any roads; they are not limited to traversing Israel to get to Gaza or the West Bank.

For the purposes of travel on the safe-passage route, the Palestinians would be divided into two groups, each elaborately monitored by the Israelis.

Those Palestinians who do not have security clearance would be allowed to travel between Gaza and the West Bank on special buses escorted in both directions by the Israeli border police.

Those with Israeli security clearance would be issued magnetic cards to present at Israeli checkpoints. They could travel by bus or car. All vehicles would undergo inspection by the Israelis at the checkpoints. Cars would be marked with dated, timed stickers, which would be monitored by computers.

The New York Times

MONDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1999

Those who did not arrive at the checkpoint at the opposite end within an allotted length of time would be declared missing, and the Israeli police would go after them.

"What's the difference between this kind of safe passage and the present situation?" said Mr. Dali, the Gaza shopkeeper. "People can go in and out with permits and magnetic cards now. Maybe it will be even worse: two checkpoints rather than one."

But Israeli officials predicted that the trip, even with its security requirements, would become routine after a while, especially when the Palestinians came to see that Israeli intentions were good. "This road is not meant to be an ambush for Palestinian citizens," said Moshe Debby, an adviser to the Israeli Internal Security Minister, Shlomo Ben-Ami.

"This is a new Government," Mr. Debby said. "We want peace. The big majority of Palestinians will have no problem. But if we have information that there is suspicion of a car with a bomb or somebody who wants to make an explosion, we have the right to stop these people."

In the long term, Prime Minister Ehud Barak hopes to resolve the passage issue by creating a way that Palestinians can move across — or under, or over — Israeli land without having any contact with Israelis. He has asked Shimon Peres, the Minister for Regional Cooperation, to examine the possibilities of an elevated causeway or tunnel or train, any of which would take years to finance and develop.

Don't Jettison Russia Just Yet

By Boris Nemtsov and Ian Bremmer

With the year 2000 bringing presidential elections in both the United States and Russia, the emerging scandal over the possible laundering of billions of dollars from Russia through the Bank of New York has, predictably, already prompted a politically tinged search for scapegoats. And in both countries, the leading culprits are the same — the Democrats and the "democrats."

In Russia, President Boris Yeltsin's administration, through inept governance and suspected corruption, has managed to give reform a bad name. The opposition, frustrated in its efforts to break Mr. Yeltsin's power, has taken to blaming "democrats" and their accomplices in the West for the country's many troubles.

Money-laundering allegations vs. the big picture.

different, but the tactic of the opposition is the same. A strong economy, victory in Kosovo and the nagging suspicion that Monicagate may have helped more than hurt the Democrats have left the Republicans in a quandary: how to set upon the Clinton record without seeming priggish, pharisaical and small? The answer of the moment seems to be to focus on the Administration's fascination with and support for a limping Russia, particularly the prominent role of Vice President Al Gore.

Is this the end of the entente between the United States and Russia? Should the West continue to provide aid? Won't International Monetary Fund dollars end up in the hands of Russian mobsters?

Before we write off the relationship, we should remember that the Russian economy is moving very slowly to a free market. The billions of dollars that have left Russia in the past decade will never come back if Western governments bury their heads in the sand, and they will come back only if and when Russia becomes an integrated part of the global economy.

Western governments should recognize this and focus spending where it can make the greatest difference. The West could finance institutional support through Western nongovernmental organizations — NGO's — and

Boris Nemtsov is a former First Deputy Prime Minister of Russia. Ian Bremmer is a senior fellow at the World Policy Institute and president of Eurasia Group.

multinational corporations operating in Russia, keeping money out of the hands of the corrupt elite while providing the intellectual and physical infrastructure of a market-based economy. The I.M.F. could take the money earmarked for defending the ruble and use it to finance a micro-loan program aimed at building a middle class, creating a tax base so that the Government can meet its debt obligations (finally putting the horse in front of the cart). Russia's Soviet-era debt could and should be forgiven.

But at the same time, there must be accountability. The I.M.F. has made clear that it hasn't the ability to follow money once it goes overseas. The American and Russian intelligence communities should form a joint investigative body to track Western money — through Russia, through the West and through offshore sources.

Yuri Skuratov, who was dismissed as Russian Prosecutor General earlier this year after pressing an investigation of Mr. Yeltsin's inner circle, has said that the Russians will not cooperate in such an effort. Certainly there is little reason for President Yeltsin to initiate it. But if an official proposal comes to Moscow from the Clinton Administration, it would be politically difficult for Mr. Yeltsin to say no.

The investigation now under way in the United States will, it is hoped, determine where the money that went through the Bank of New York came from. Our theory is that Russia's ill-fated treasury bills — the G.K.O.'s — will account for much of it.

The bills were canceled after the fiscal crisis in August 1998, but convertibility continued for several months. Russia's elites knew that they needed to get their money out fast, and as insiders they knew exactly what to do. Insider trading is deplorable, especially given its compounding effect on the long list of ills brought upon Russia's economy by its oligarchs. But there is a big difference between the politically savvy flight of capital and money laundering. Russia simply doesn't have the institutions in place to regulate these transactions properly. This should be a priority for the future.

All of this is very different from the allegations of corruption involving those in and around the Yeltsin family. Here America's role must be carefully balanced. The United States has been remiss by supporting the first democratically elected head of the Russian state instead of the processes and institutions of democracy. The corruption allegations surrounding the Yeltsin family should be discussed frankly and with vigilance. This does not mean Russian reform is at an end.

We should keep our heads about us. Michel Camdessus, the I.M.F.'s managing director, has stated that in its initial scrutiny of the Bank of New York case, the I.M.F. has found no indication that loan money was involved. Russia's relationship with the West is much more important than presidential politics in either country. Let's not blame the D/democrats for that.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-5-99

Samuel
Some good ideas here — should be whether we can do some of B's then
TC

The New York Times

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1999

Copied
Berger.
Podesta

10-5-99
99 SEP 26 PM8:02

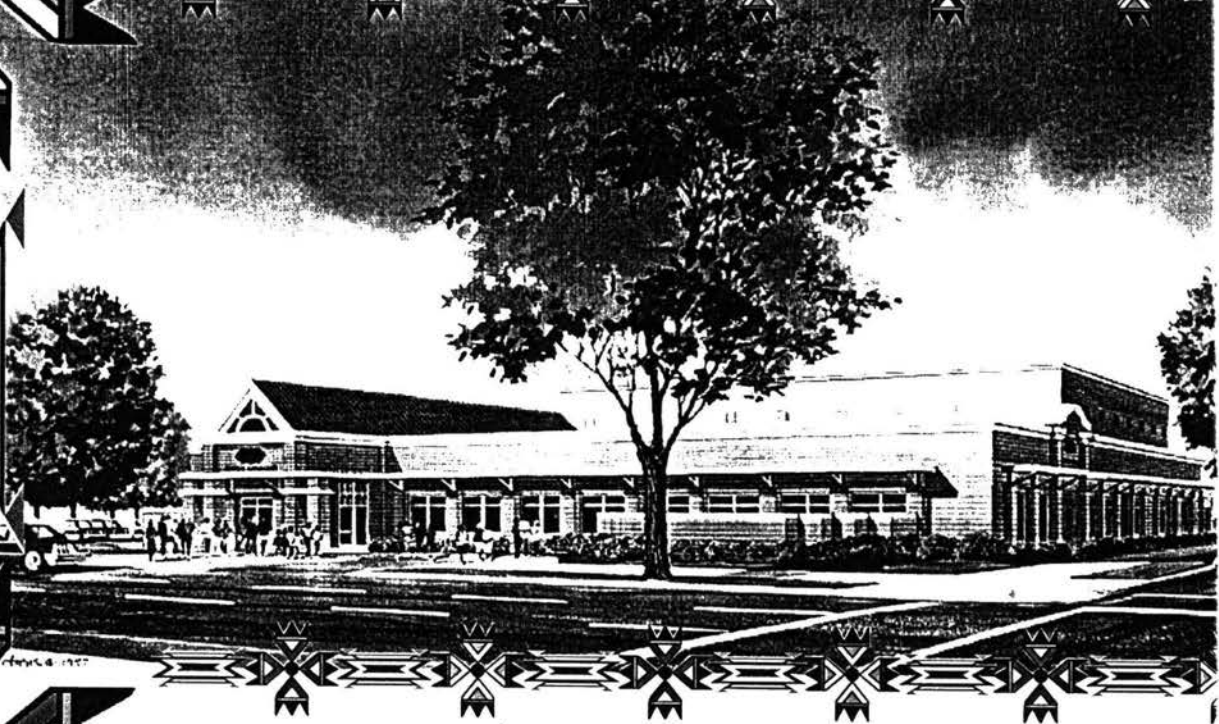
C Cutler

This is wonderful -
from we can break
ground while the
skin here -

BC

copied
Cutler
Podesta

Pine Ridge



Youth Wellness and Opportunity Center



BOYS & GIRLS CLUBS
OF AMERICA



Pine Ridge Youth Wellness and Opportunity Center

OUR VISION

The Oglala Youth Coalition is seeking \$5 million dollars to build a youth wellness and opportunity center in Pine Ridge Village on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. The lead entity will be the SuAnne Big Crow Boys and Girls Club, which was the first Boys and Girls Club on an Indian Reservation in the United States. Once this first center is built, we plan outreach activities in each of the other eight districts of the reservation. The Center will provide space and a focal point for wellness, education, training, recreation, and social development of reservation youth up to the age of 21.

OUR NEED

The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in southwestern South Dakota is the second largest in the U.S. The Oglala Lakota (Sioux) are the people of Crazy Horse and Red Cloud. Of Billy Mills and SuAnne Big Crow. Of Dances with Wolves and Thunderheart. Of Black Elk Speaks and The Broken Cord. Of Wounded Knee and the Badlands.

When President Clinton visited Pine Ridge on July 7, 1999, the media called the reservation the "ground zero of poverty in America." The 150-year history of the Lakota since contact with the encroaching settlers and gold seekers is a familiar story of wars with the United States, the taking of lands, the confinement to a reservation, the breaking of treaties by the U.S. government, and past attempts to stamp out Lakota language and culture. The designation of the Oglala Sioux Empowerment Zone and President Clinton's visit are indications that the new century will be a positive turning point. During his visit, President Clinton told the Oglala people, "Give us your vision, we will work to attain it".

The 1990 U.S. Census shows that Shannon County, which constitutes the majority of the Reservation, has the following national statistics:

- lowest per capita income
- highest percentage of families below poverty level (57%)
- highest percentage of persons below poverty level (63.1%)
- 2nd highest percentage of children under 18 below poverty level

The social and economic environment of the Reservation is a grave problem, as shown by the following indicators:

1991 Average Annual Per Capita Income:

National	\$14,421
South Dakota	\$12,500
Pine Ridge	\$ 3,417

1991 Single Parent Households:

National	20 %
Bronx, New York	49 %
Pine Ridge	52 %





The Health of the Oglala Sioux People:

A Turning Point, (11/92 IHS Aberdeen Area) shows that the Pine Ridge Reservation has a higher rate of diabetes, alcoholism, heart disease, road accidents, other accidents, and suicide than the American Indian population as a whole, and all other races. The infant mortality and suicide rates are three times higher than the national average and the tuberculosis rate is eight times higher. Alcoholism affects nearly every family on the reservation. A recent study by The Diabetes Project shows that 15% of our Pine Ridge youth are at risk for diabetes. USA Today published an article in December, 1997, based on a Harvard School of Public Health study, that found the life expectancy of Lakota men and women living on Pine Ridge to be the lowest in the U.S. and the second lowest in the Western Hemisphere. In June 1997, The New York Times said of the Pine Ridge Reservation:

It is as poor as America gets. A visit to Pine Ridge is a striking reminder that most reservations remain places of bone-crushing poverty. And things are likely to get worse as the government cuts some of its welfare payments that are crucial to their economies.

The Indian Service Population and Labor Force Report of 11/16/98 by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) shows the following for the Pine Ridge Market Area (on or near reservation)

Population	- 39,321
Tribal Enrollment	- 39,734
Unemployment Rate	- 73%
High School Dropout Rate	- 68%

Fifty-percent of the population of the Pine Ridge Reservation is under age 21. Sixty-nine percent of these youth live in poverty. From 1992 to 1996, there were **360 births to single teens**—those teens represent 21% of the teenage population. From 1992 to 1996, there was a 244% increase in the teen violent death rate. Since November 1998, there have been 17 suicide attempts by youth and six deaths of youth that are either suicide or alcohol-related.

The Oglala Nation Education Coalition, made up of the majority of schools on the reservation, chose the development of education and recreation facilities as a priority goal in the Oglala Sioux Empowerment Zone Strategic Plan.

The backlog of facility needs on the reservation is staggering. There are no recreation facilities outside of the schools, except for the SuAnne Big Crow Boys & Girls Club in Pine Ridge, Wakanyeja Youth Club in Kyle, and a small recreation center being built in Wanblee by Crazy Horse School. The existing facilities in Pine Ridge and Kyle are woefully inadequate to meet the needs of our youth.

Although the Pine Ridge Reservation is the economically poorest area in America, it is one of the culturally richest. The schools are working on preservation of language and culture. The culture has helped the Oglala to survive, but we owe it to our children to give them a chance to thrive as we enter the 21st Century.





OUR PURPOSE

The Youth Center will allow the SuAnne Big Crow Boys & Girls Club to expand wellness activities, attract older teens, and serve more youth. The Center will become a one-stop Youth Opportunity Center where in-school and out-of-school youth can come for counseling, job training, recreation, and wellness activities, tutoring, life skills, entrepreneurship education, etc. The preliminary site selected near the Pine Ridge High School is also near the new Lloyd Eagle Bull Center of Oglala Lakota College, which provides GED tutoring, vocational training, college classes, and higher education counseling. The Center will become a focal point for all programs having to do with youth and their families.

At the present time, the Oglala Sioux Tribe, Oglala Lakota College, SuAnne Big Crow Boys & Girls Club, ONEC, and Oglala Sioux (Lakota) Housing are putting together a major proposal for a 5-year/\$20,000,000 Youth Opportunity Grant that targets Empowerment Zones. If the Youth Opportunity Grant is funded, the Center will become a one-stop youth center which will provide enrollment, assessment, service strategies, personal planning, work experience, training, personal skills development, mentoring and follow-up. The focus will be holistic and will include physical, intellectual, emotional, and social development of youth as individuals, as members of a family, and as citizens of the tribe and of the United States.

The Oglala Youth Coalition is committed to developing a center for one-stop, seamless services for youth. The Youth Center in Pine Ridge Village will be the start of this, with other centers being developed in other reservation communities. The Center will address the problems of youth through a comprehensive approach of programs and services. Some of the specific problems and programs are:

Problem:

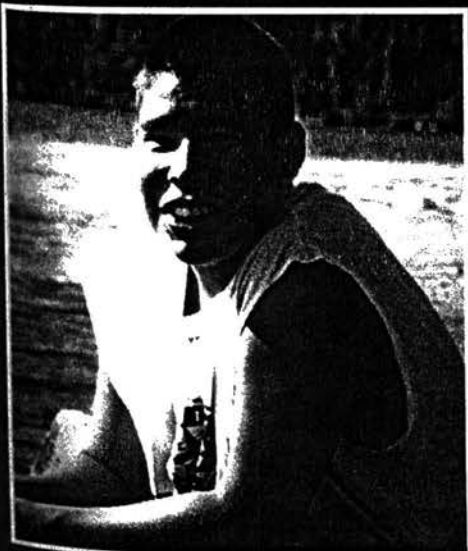
Fetal Alcohol Syndrome/Teen Pregnancy
 Gangs /Violence
 School Completion
 Suicide/child abuse and neglect

Service/Program:

Smart Moves
 P.L.A.Y./
 Tournaments/Respect
 and Protect
 Mentoring/Tutoring
 Counseling/
 Community Service

We will measure our success in the success of our youth by examining:

- ☛ high school graduation rates
- ☛ college and other postsecondary training matriculation rates
- ☛ reduction of births to single teenage mothers
- ☛ reduction of youth suicide, car accidents, and other accidents
- ☛ increase in youth fitness and health
- ☛ reduction of alcohol and drug use
- ☛ participation of youth as members of families and communities
- ☛ increase in youth employment rates
- ☛ increase in youth taking leadership roles



OUR PARTNERS



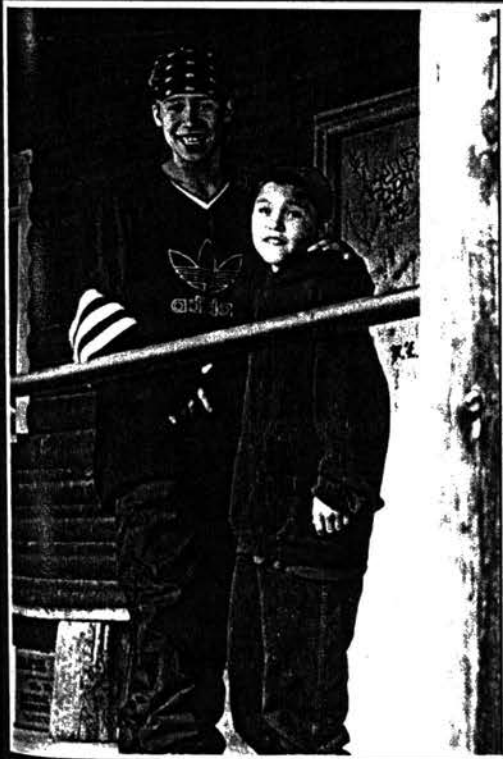
When President Clinton visited Pine Ridge, he spoke to tribal leaders and community members, and heard of the tremendous needs. Shortly after his visit, he expressed his desire for Secretary of Agriculture Glickman and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Cuomo to develop a youth recreation facility for Pine Ridge Village.

During July and August, an Oglala Youth Coalition created to plan the facility and program. The Coalition was spearheaded by Tribal Youth Coordinator Frances "Pigeon" Jack at the behest of Oglala Sioux Tribal President, Harold Salway.

The local partners include: The SuAnne Big Crow Boys & Girls Club, Oglala Lakota College/Welfare to Work Program, Pine Ridge Indian Health Service, Pine Ridge Agency/Bureau of Indian Affairs, Oglala Sioux Tribe, Oglala Sioux (Lakota) Housing Drug Elimination Program, Oglala Sioux Tribe Education Department, Oglala Nation Education Coalition, and the Oglala Oyate Woitanacan (Empowerment Zone) Board.















The lead national partners are the U.S. Department of Agriculture Rural Development Program and U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Native American Programs. Other partners include the U.S. Department of Justice, Boys & Girls Clubs of America, the Northwest Area Foundation, and other foundations.

The Youth Coalition partners decided during three meetings that the recreation facility was needed, but the Center must do more. To help youth and their families break the chains of poverty the Center must be the hub of educational, work experience, personal skills development, and wellness. The Coalition put together a plan for a facility that could accomplish this.



THE FACILITY

The building will contain the following:

- | | |
|---|---|
|  multipurpose gymnasium |  auditorium |
|  ten offices |  kitchen/concession |
|  library/technology center |  multipurpose rooms |
|  conference room |  day care space |
|  wellness room |  locker rooms |
|  swimming pool |  20 guest rooms |
|  exercise/fitness room |  individual counseling rooms |

THE COSTS

Design

Boys & Girls Clubs of America has agreed to provide the technical assistance for design, bidding, etc.

Construction

Based on similar buildings constructed recently in the region, the estimated construction cost is \$5 million dollars for approximately 50,000 square feet; a per square-foot cost of \$100.

Operations and Maintenance

Costs for building operations and maintenance will be a minimum of \$300,000 per year.

Program

Basic salaries for activity directors, etc. will cost about \$200,000 per year. Expanded program services will be available as programs are obtained. The plan is to put into place a professional management team for the seamless delivery of youth services and a resource development team to assist with fiscal management and the raising of funds for programs through an annual fund and endowment campaign.

OUR RESOURCES

Planning/Fundraising

Boys & Girls Club of America
USDA Rural Development
HUD Office of Native American Programs
Oglala Lakota College Development Office
Oglala Sioux Tribe Grantsmanship Center

Construction

USDA Community Facilities Grant
(\$300,000)
Possible Congressional Line Item Funding
Foundations
Corporations
Federal and State Programs

Operations and Maintenance

Boys & Girls Club of America
Memberships
Rentals
Endowment

Programs

Youth Opportunity Grant
SuAnne Big Crow Boys & Girls Club
Oglala Sioux (Lakota) Drug
Elimination Project
Indian Health Service Wellness Promotion
Department of Justice Circle Project
Oglala Lakota College Welfare to
Work Program
Oglala Oyate Woitancan
Empowerment Zone

One of our goals is to obtain development resources to research funding sources, organize data, and develop quality proposals to foundations, corporations, State and Federal agencies, and other potential funders. The Oglala Youth Coalition and Youth Center focus on this effort. Poverty has forced us to neglect our youth for too long. All of our efforts for economic and tribal development will fail if we do not help our children and grandchildren achieve wellness and the opportunity to reach their full potential. SuAnne Big Crow was an all-state high school basketball player, honor student, and ambassador of the Oglala people. The Youth Coalition is working to achieve her vision of all Oglala youth being physically and mentally healthy, academically successful, and prepared for a productive life.



HOW YOU CAN HELP

For more information, contact one of the following core group members:

Leatrice "Chick" Big Crow 605-867-1011
SuAnne Big Crow Boys & Girls Club, Pine Ridge, SD

Terry Albers 605-867-1503
Oglala Lakota College/Welfare to Work, Porcupine, SD

Dallas Tonsager 605-352-1100
U.S. Department of Agriculture/Rural Development, Huron, SD

Jackie Johnson 202-401-7914
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, DC

DONATIONS

Private or Corporate donations may be forwarded to:

Boys & Girls Clubs of America
c/o Pine Ridge Building Fund
600 Jefferson Plaza, Suite 401
Rockville, MD 20852



CCG Raupm
Babbitt

When are
we on all
this?

BC

Edgar Wayburn H
Pres
9/28
cleared by
Spillford / CEO

copied
Frampton
Babbitt

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Edgar Wayburn, M.D.
Honorary President
Sierra Club
Second Floor
85 Second Street
San Francisco, California 94105-3441

Dear Edgar:

Thank you very much for your letter. I was honored to present you with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, and I'm glad that you followed up on our conversation regarding the creation of new national monuments.

I agree that the Antiquities Act of 1906 has played an important role in our overall effort to safeguard our country's natural resources and that it presents us with a unique tool for preserving our national treasures. I was pleased to use it as the mechanism to designate the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument in 1996. Be assured that I will carefully consider your recommendations for the creation of new national monuments. I value your wise counsel, and as we continue working to protect national and historic lands across our country, I'm glad to know I can count on your help.

Thanks, too, for passing along your daughter's letter. It was good to hear from her, and I have responded to her concerns directly. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Tru

316238



August 25, 1999

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Let me thank you for the great honor you have conferred on me by the award of the Presidential Medal of Freedom. It is a source of lasting satisfaction to me to have been able to participate in the preservation of some of America's magnificent natural heritage.

You will remember that at the reception following the ceremony, I suggested that the use of the Antiquities Act to preserve additional treasures of the American heritage would be an outstanding gesture with which to close your Administration in a memorable way.

You were kind enough to ask me to send in my recommendations for possible new national monuments. I list below my suggestions.

My first choice would be protection of the Giant Sequoias in California. This world class ecosystem in the southern portion of our great mountain range, the Sierra Nevada, is grievously threatened. Because we have a Sequoia National Park many people erroneously assume the giant sequoias, those ancient, massive trees that inevitably awe the human viewer, are well protected. Unfortunately, fewer than half the groves of these noble giants are in national parks or wilderness. The majority, which are in the Sequoia National Forest, have been and still are subjected to logging. While today the Forest Service does refrain from logging within the actual confines of the groves *per se*, the entire surrounding areas -- on which the majestic Sequoia trees, as the center of a complex interrelated ecosystem, depend for their continued life and vitality -- are subject to continued cutting. The Sierra Club, working with the late Congressman George E. Brown, has advocated the Sequoia Ecosystem and Recreation Preserve Act -- legislation to preserve a 370,000 acre area in the Sequoia National Forest--the heart of this extraordinary ecosystem. What an appropriate gesture it would be for your Administration to protect the awesome groves of giant sequoias and at the same time honor the memory of environmental champion George Brown by setting aside 400,000 acres in a Giant Sequoia National Monument!

A second area worthy of consideration as a national monument is Steens Mountain in Oregon -- considered the "crown jewel" of Oregon's high desert. Less known than the coasts, the forests,

AUG 30 1999

and volcanos of western Oregon, the eastern Oregon high desert is breathtaking in its vastness and its solitude. Rising more than a vertical mile from the floor of the Alvord desert in Harney County in southeastern Oregon is Steens Mountain, a lofty fault block mountain 40 miles long north to south and 20 miles wide east to west. Near the northernmost boundary of the broad Great Basin ecosystem, Steens Mountain provides an ideal study area for basin and range topography and wildlife. With its dramatic silhouette against the sky, it offers great contrasts. It engenders its own weather, wringing the last moisture from the Pacific clouds as they blow east. The severe rain shadow at the foot of its eastern escarpment created the Alvord desert, a true playa, which receives less than 7 inches of rain a year. Truly a geology textbook, the mountain records millions of years of successive layers of flood basalts that poured over the region. The adjacent valleys, Kiger, Little Blitzen, Big Indian gorge, and Wildhorse Canyon, are from 1500 to 2000 feet deep, and vividly show the power of glacial carving. The gorges reveal the striking beauty of the huge glacial cuts with their basalt spires and cliffs, shimmering groves of aspen and cottonwood, and silvery bunchgrasses and wildflowers of all colors. Wildhorse Lake, in the uppermost cirque of Wildhorse Canyon, is the largest alpine lake in the Great Basin. Many species of raptors soar over the wet meadows and the rimrock of the canyons, while on the ground bighorn sheep dance among the rocks, and deer, elk and coyote roam the mountain slopes.

A third area deserving consideration is the Shivwits region in Arizona and a small portion of Nevada. This is one of the remotest spots in the Lower 48. A large area, about 2 million acres of public land adjacent to the northwest boundary of Grand Canyon National Park, it is almost entirely intact; its towering cliff faces, vast vistas and mountains and valleys that make it a paradise for high-desert and mountain wildlife and recreationists. In March, 1999, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt proposed protecting 550,000 acres. The Sierra Club and other conservation groups supported the concept, but we urged that a much larger area be designated as a "Shivwits National Monument". This land has survived a uranium claim staking boom in the 70's and 80s, but the potential for a mineral comeback poses a threat to the area unless it is protected for the future. The most notable feature is the Grand Wash Cliffs, running north from the existing BLM Paiute Wilderness to the south into Lake Mead National Recreation Area and Grand Canyon National Park. Wildlife include desert tortoise, pronghorn, deer and turkey. It is most extraordinary because of the area's solitude, the unspoiled hills of pinon-juniper and, in places, ponderosa pine, and the unbroken view of northern Arizona and parts of Nevada and Utah.

In any program for national monuments, Alaska must be remembered. Recently, the door was opened to oil and gas leasing in the vast northern expanse of the National Petroleum reserve-Alaska. While allowing for exploration in some portions of this 23-million acre wilderness, the Administration could establish a protected reserve of the most sensitive and crucial wildlife rich areas. Most appropriate would be a national monument of approximately 3.7 million acres, comprising the Teshekpuk Lake and the Colville River Areas in the northeast quadrant of the National Reserve, long recognized as areas of special biological importance. The Teshekpuk Lake area -- about 1.7 million acres -- includes important nesting, staging, and molting habitat for a large number of ducks, geese, and swans. The Colville is the largest northward flowing river in Alaska, and the Colville River Special Area -- more than two million acres in size -- includes the river bluffs and riparian habitats -- unique both biologically and geologically in the

Alaskan Arctic. This system has been recognized since the 1950's as one of the most significant regional habitats for raptors in North America. As the BLM states, "Nowhere else do raptors enjoy such favorable juxtaposition of abundant nest sites with diverse and abundant prey." The Teshekpuk Lake area also contains critical calving habitat for the Teshekpuk Lake caribou herd, which, without additional protection, is now at risk. The present leasing proposal opens a significant portion -- sixteen percent -- of its critical calving area to development via surface occupancy. The calving area is the most critical habitat for the herd and should be fully protected from all development.

Other areas that deserve mention for potential protection are the Owyhee Canyonlands in Idaho, the stunning San Rafael Swell area of Utah, and of course, the extremely worthy but endangered Everglades ecosystem of Florida. I cannot close without mentioning one of the world's premier -- perhaps the world's premier wilderness and wildlife area: The Coastal Plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in northeastern Alaska. The Sierra Club has been most grateful for your steadfastness in preventing the oil industry from opening up this unique, remote, wildlife-rich area to unnecessary, unwise oil exploration and drilling. Use of the Antiquities Act, now, could assure this irreplaceable, precious Arctic ecosystem remains off-limits to rapacious development.

Mr. President, I would be most happy to send you further information on any of these areas, should you desire it.

Thanking you once more,

Sincerely,



Edgar Wayburn, M.D.
Honorary President



INC

George L. Bristol, President

10-7-99

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes

no

CT 7 AM 9:57

Letter to Reed Hawn (see page 2) - Swann

October 1, 1999

The Honorable and Mrs. Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President and Hillary:

I just returned from a two-week journey into our national parks with a board meeting of the National Park Foundation in Olympic National Park and then over to my beloved Glacier National Park. It was a splendid meeting with many exciting new programs in the offing which is as good a way as any to segue into this letter which in part will be a report to you as I begin my final year on the National Park Foundation Board.

First, again and again let me thank you for the great honor you bestowed on me allowing me to serve my country in a way uniquely suited to me. At all times I have tried to honor that trust, and I think that on balance I can report to you that my stewardship has been successful. At the outset I wrote a letter to a number of friends asking them to join us in supporting the work of the National Park Service. One of those letters caused an immediate, and to date, lasting effect. A friend of mine took up the cause of the parks and the Foundation and went to Canon USA with a proposal that they consider supporting the Foundation's work. Through a series of negotiations, Canon, I and others hammered out a program that became so meaningful to Canon that they have extended their initial \$1 million gift each year (4 years) for Expedition grants and \$2.5 million for Science Scholars for a total of \$6.5 million. That result in and of itself would have made that letter successful, but there was even a more extraordinary response which will take a moment to explain.


Another friend, Reed Hawn of Austin, called me immediately, asking if I were interested in trying to work with the U.S. Mint, Congress and others on the Yellowstone Coin. For your information, Reed Hawn, at my recommendation to Secretary Bentsen, became a member of the Citizen's Commemorative Coin Advisory Committee in 1993. I told Reed that, of course, anything pertaining to the parks was of vital concern to me, but I saw no direct benefit to the National Park Foundation. The initial thought was that the all profits would flow to the Yellowstone Fund. Reed explained to me at that point those concerns were a moot question, as there appeared to be little support and much competition for coins that would be minted at the close of the century. He also opined that he though there was room to effectuate some changes

and compromises including directing some of the funds to the Foundation. With that objective, Reed and I went to work and after a great deal of maneuvering, including a personal visit from me to Secretary Bentsen, Congress approved the minting of the Yellowstone National Park Commemorative Coin Program with one-half of the profits flowing to the National Park Foundation. The coin was struck on July 15, 1999 and to date has benefitted the National Park Foundation in the amount of \$1 million. Based on initial projections and sales to date, I think it is safe to say that the National Park Foundation will benefit from this program in excess of \$2,000,000 at a minimum.

Holding that thought a moment I have a favor to ask of both of you. While I made a number of strategic calls throughout the legislative process, ~~Reed Hawn was absolutely faithful~~ in his commitment to working to insure that the coin fell into this century and profits shared with the National Park Foundation. I hope that you will take the time to drop ~~Reed~~ a note thanking him for his service on the Committee. ~~His address is 3005 Scenic Drive, Austin, TX 78703.~~ In closing I hope by the end of my final year there will be more to report on other exciting programs that we are about to initiate including an entire new message concept for the parks and the National Park Foundation. On the completion of these vital innovations, I know in August of 2000 I can, without fear of contradiction, say that I have honored the trust you bestowed on me.

With every best wish, I remain

Sincerely,



George L. Bristol

GLB/lm



GLB Incorporated
4201 Speedway
Austin, Texas 78751



The Honorable and Mrs. Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

20500-0005



Nancy V. Hernreich

10/12/99 03:01:00 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Justin L. Coleman/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: letter .5

I know him but we do not do recs. to the military academies. Maybe you can pull from our past policy if they have it- we need it to reply to this letter.

Dean-

Per Nancy / We have a policy of never recommending to Military schools. We should do a letter explaining this policy and wishing him the best, etc.

10-5-99

Who should handle?

Send to Dan B

check w/ Nancy
on well POTUS
knows him?

↓
B. check w/
Debra



111 EAST BOND STREET, POST OFFICE BOX 459, WEST MEMPHIS, ARKANSAS 72303, 501/735-1010 FAX 501/735-1020

Alexander P. Coulter
President, Publisher

99 OCT 5 PM 6:17

September 30, 1999

William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 29500-0001

Dear Bill,

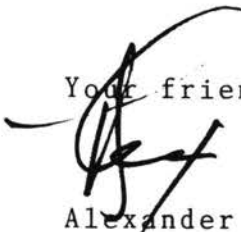
My nephew Nicholas Alexander Coulter is most inter-
ested in attending the U.S. Naval Academy upon graduat-
ing from West Memphis High in the year 2001.

It is customary to solicit the endorsement of our senators and congressmen, which I have correctly done. However, I understand a letter of recommendation from the President, which would be included in his portfolio, is most valuable in obtaining an appointment.

I'm confident he can meet the academic challenge and he possesses the personal drive to meet the challenge.

Your letter of recommendation addressed to me and included in his file would be personally appreciated. Thank you.

Your friend,



Alexander P. Coulter
President, Publisher

APC/dd



111 EAST BOND STREET, POST OFFICE BOX 459, WEST MEMPHIS, ARKANSAS 72303, 501/735-1010 FAX 501/735-1020

Alexander P. Coulter
President, Publisher

September 30, 1999

William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-0001

Dear Bill,

I am very envious and proud of my friend Glen Fenter and what he has done for MSCC and the Delta.

Through his leadership and vision, he has packaged a plan that I consider to be both economically and politically correct for the Delta.

Bill, your interest in this part of the state through Rodney and others in your administration is most evident. However, we both know it dates back to the mid seventies and for that reason I'm confident your support of this project personally and financially is a natural and most deserved.

Your friend,



Alexander P. Coulter
President, Publisher

APC/dd

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 18, 1993

Alex Coulter
Evening Times
Post Office Box 459
West Memphis, Arkansas 72303

Dear Alex:

Thank you for your letter of November 14 and for reminding me of our efforts in Crittenden County over the years. I was so happy about the millage election, and I know you and others are working hard to put the money to good use.

Your kind and encouraging words in support of what we seek to do here mean a great deal to me. ~~We're making progress every day.~~

With regard to federal money available for the new school, I have shared your letter with Education Secretary Riley.

Sincerely,

*Bill
This New
Project gives
opportunity
real*

*Bin
at the
with
values*

Bob

EVENING
TIMES
Serving Crittenden and Surrounding Counties
111 EAST BOND ST., P.O. BOX 459, WEST MEMPHIS, AR 72303-0459

President Clinton

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	10/00/1999	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Sean Maloney (Chron File (Oct 99))
OA/Box Number: 14868

FOLDER TITLE:

Tuesday, October 5, 1999

2016-0970-F

rs3012

RESTRICTION CODES**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

DAN B

They will be in Washington the 22,23 and the 24th of November

PARENTS:

Adrienne L. Wynkoop
Leonard A. Wynkoop
12909 SW Derby Court
West Linn, Oregon 97068

(b)(6)
BD 3.14.26 SS# 542.20.1776

Married November 24, 1949

NEED POCUS SOFT
ANNU. LETTER
NEXT MONTH

THANKS

AM

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Chronology During the Clinton Administration

- March 3, 1993: Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (APNSA) Lake orders completion of an interagency Presidential Review of U.S. Policy on Nuclear Testing and a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).
- April 4, 1993: Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin agree at the Vancouver summit that negotiations on a multilateral nuclear test ban should commence at an early date and that the two governments would consult with each other accordingly.
- April 23, 1993: President Clinton releases a White House statement on advancing U.S. relations with Russia and the other New Independent States stating his intention to begin consultations with Russia, our allies and other states on the specific issues related to a CTBT negotiation within the next two months.
- July 3, 1993: President Clinton announces in his Saturday radio address to the nation the conclusion of the Presidential review on nuclear testing and a CTBT and states his intention to extend the U.S. testing moratorium and seek to negotiate a CTBT.
- August 10, 1993: The Geneva Conference on Disarmament (CD) decides to give its Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban a mandate to begin negotiations on a CTBT in January, 1994. The Chairman of the AHC is authorized to proceed with intersessional consultations on the specifics of the CTBT mandate and other issues.
- October 5, 1993: China conducts first nuclear test since President Clinton's appeal for a global moratorium. White House issues statement regretting China's decision to resume nuclear testing.
- December 16, 1993: United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) passes resolution 48/70 by consensus supporting the multilateral negotiation of a CTBT. This is the first time that a consensus resolution in support of a CTBT has been adopted by the UNGA.
- January 25, 1994: The CD reconvenes in Geneva and directs the Ad Hoc Committee to negotiate intensively on a universal and multilaterally and effectively verifiable comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, which would contribute effectively to the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons in all its aspects, to the process of nuclear disarmament and therefore to the enhancement of international peace and security. Negotiations begin in the Ad Hoc Committee.
- December 15, 1994: UNGA passes resolution 49/70 by consensus reaffirming its support for multilateral negotiations on a CTBT.

- January 30, 1995: APNSA Lake announces that the President has decided to extend the moratorium on U.S. nuclear testing until a CTBT enters into force (assuming signature before September 30, 1996). Lake also announces that the U.S. will withdraw its proposal for a special "right to withdraw" from the CTBT ten years after it enters into force, noting that the President considers the maintenance of a safe and reliable nuclear stockpile to be a supreme national interest of the United States.
- May 11, 1995: The NPT Review and Extension Conference agrees to extend the NPT indefinitely and without condition. The Conference adopts "Principles and Objectives for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament" calling for the conclusion of negotiations on a CTBT in 1996.
- June 13, 1995: President Chirac announces he will resume nuclear testing in September, conduct eight tests, to be completed by May, and be ready to sign a CTBT in the fall of 1996. White House issues statement regretting France's decision to resume nuclear testing.
- August 11, 1995: President Clinton announces that the United States will support a true zero yield CTBT banning any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion.
- September 5, 1995: France resumes nuclear testing in the South Pacific. White House issues a statement regretting this action.
- September 14, 1995: The United Kingdom announces its support for a zero yield CTBT.
- October 20, 1995: The United States, France and the United Kingdom release a joint statement at the United Nations and in capitals stating their intent to sign the Protocols to the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone (SPNFZ) Treaty "during the first half of 1996."
- October 23, 1995: Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin agree at Hyde Park to work together to succeed in getting a zero yield CTBT in 1996.
- December 12, 1995: United Nations General Assembly passes resolution 50/65 by consensus calling on the CD to conclude the CTBT so as to enable its signature by the outset of the 51st session of the General Assembly.
- January 29, 1996: President Chirac announces the end of French nuclear testing in the South Pacific.
- February 29, 1996: Australia submits a 102-page draft CTBT text to the CD and calls on negotiators to reach an agreement by late June.
- March 19, 1996: UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali appeals to the CD to complete a global treaty banning all nuclear explosions by June 30.
- March 25, 1996: U.S., France and the UK sign three Protocols to the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty in Suva, Fiji.

- April 11, 1996: U.S. signs Protocols I and II to the African Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty in Cairo, Egypt.
- April 20, 1996: Moscow Nuclear Summit issues statement on CTBT calling for concluding and signing the CTBT by September, 1996.
- May 28, 1996: Nuclear Test Ban Ad Hoc Committee Chairman Jaap Ramaker of the Netherlands tables a draft "Chairman's text" stating he had concluded that the best way to meet the internationally agreed deadline was to "present a complete draft to show the way forward."
- June 28, 1996: Chairman Ramaker tables compromise draft text at the conclusion of the second part of the 1996 CD session. White House releases statement by the President from Lyon, France, applauding the compromise draft and calling on members of the CD to return to Geneva in late July prepared to agree to forward a CTBT to the United Nations, so that the Treaty can be approved and opened for signature in the United States in September.
- July 29, 1996: China conducts nuclear test and declares it will start a moratorium on nuclear testing effective from July 30, 1996.
- August 9, 1996: After consultations in the Ad Hoc Committee, Chairman Ramaker announces that he has confirmed that continuing negotiations on the draft Treaty as a whole would not likely yield further results. Announces one modification in the draft Treaty relating to the number of states required to approve an on-site inspection.
- August 16, 1996: Nuclear Test Ban Ad Hoc Committee meets and agrees to a report to the CD stating that "no consensus" could be reached either on adopting the text of the CTBT or on formally passing it to the CD, due to Indian objections.
- August 23, 1996: Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer announces Australia will sponsor a resolution seeking the endorsement from the United Nations General Assembly of the CTBT and its opening for signature at the earliest possible date.
- September 10, 1996: UNGA reconvenes and votes to adopt the CTBT and open it for signature at the earliest possible date by a vote of 158 in favor, 3 opposed (India, Bhutan, Libya), and 5 abstentions (Cuba, Lebanon, Syria, Mauritius, Tanzania).
- September 24, 1996: President Clinton is the first world leader to sign the CTBT.
- November 19, 1996: Meeting of CTBT signatory states adopted by acclamation the Text on the Establishment of a Preparatory Commission for the CTBT Organization, developed at the CD.
- November 20, 1996: Preparatory Commission convenes its first meeting to begin the process of developing Rules of Procedure, Financial Regulations, and other necessary measures for the future operation of the Organization in implementing the Treaty.

- July 2, 1997: The Department of Energy (DOE) successfully conducts a high explosive subcritical experiment ("Rebound") at the Nevada Test Site to obtain scientific data and technical information on the effects of aging and behavior of nuclear weapons materials.
- September 18, 1997: The DOE successfully conducts a high explosive subcritical experiment ("Holog") at the Nevada Test Site.
- September 22, 1997: President Clinton transmits the CTBT to the Senate for advice and consent.
- December 2, 1997: NATO Defense Planning Committee and the Nuclear Planning Group endorse CTBT.
- January 27, 1998: Four former Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff – Generals John Shalikashvili, Colin Powell and David Jones, and Admiral William Crowe – call for Senate to approve CTBT.
- February 3, 1998: President Clinton visits Los Alamos National Laboratory; the Directors of the nation's three nuclear weapons laboratories – Dr. John Browne of Los Alamos, Dr. Paul Robinson of Sandia and Dr. Bruce Tarter of Lawrence Livermore – affirmed "*We are confident that the Stockpile Stewardship program will enable us to maintain America's nuclear deterrent without nuclear testing.*"
- February 12, 1998: President Clinton forwards to Congress the annual certification from the Secretaries of Defense and Energy that the nuclear stockpile remains safe, secure and reliable.
- February 15, 1998: The American Association for the Advancement of Science, one of the nation's oldest professional societies, urges the Senate to give early and favorable consideration to the CTBT and its advice and consent to ratification as soon as possible.
- March 25, 1998: The DOE successfully conducts a high explosive subcritical experiment ("Stagecoach") at the Nevada Test Site.
- April 6, 1998: France and Great Britain become the first nuclear weapon states to ratify the CTBT, depositing their instruments of ratification in New York.
- May 11, 1998: Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee announces that India conducted three underground nuclear tests.
- May 13, 1998: India announces it has conducted two "sub-kiloton" underground nuclear tests, claiming tests are last in planned series.
- May 16, 1998: President Clinton, in his weekly radio address, proclaims that India is on the "wrong side of history" in conducting nuclear tests.

- May 27, 1998: Former Senators Hatfield, Exon and Mitchell urge the Senate to act on the CTBT without delay.
- May 28, 1998: Pakistani Prime Minister Sharif announces five nuclear devices detonated this morning.
- May 30, 1998: Pakistani defense officials say Islamabad detonated two more nuclear devices.
- June 4, 1998: P-5 Foreign Ministers meet in Geneva, issue Joint Communiqué urging India and Pakistan to adhere to the CTBT immediately and unconditionally.
- June 12, 1998: G-8 Foreign Ministers issue Communiqué calling on all states to sign and ratify the CTBT.
- July 13, 1998: Brazil ratifies the CTBT and accedes to the NPT. President Clinton issues statement congratulating President Cardoso and the Government of Brazil for taking this historic step, calls on U.S. Senate to ratify CTBT.
- July 29, 1998: Senators Specter and Biden urge Senate to schedule hearings on the CTBT.
- September 23, 1998: Prime Minister Sharif, in a speech to the UN General Assembly, commits to adhere to the CTBT by September 1999.
- September 24, 1998: Prime Minister Vajpayee, in a speech to the UN General Assembly, states that India is prepared to bring discussions with key interlocutors to a successful conclusion so that entry into force of the CTBT is not delayed beyond September 1999. President Clinton issues a statement strongly urging the Senate to give its advice and consent to the CTBT as early as possible in 1999.
- September 26, 1998: The DOE successfully conducts a high explosive subcritical experiment ("Bagpipe") at the Nevada Test Site.
- December 11, 1998: The DOE successfully conducts a high explosive subcritical experiment ("Cimarron") at the Nevada Test Site.
- January 12, 1999: APNSA Berger announces in a speech at Carnegie Conference on Non-Proliferation that ratification of the CTBT this year is a top priority of the Administration.
- January 19, 1999: President Clinton calls on the Senate to give its advice and consent to ratification of the CTBT in the State of the Union address, stating: *"It has been two years since I signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. If we don't do the right thing, other nations won't either. I ask the Senate to take this vital step: Approve the Treaty now, so we can make it harder for other nations to develop nuclear arms - and we can end nuclear testing forever."*

- February 4, 1999: Letter from the Committee to Support the CTBT, signed by Paul Nitze (Chairman), sent to Senator Jesse Helms urging Senate to ratify CTBT "as soon as possible."
- February 9, 1999: The DOE successfully conducts a high explosive subcritical experiment ("Clarinet") at the Nevada Test Site.
- April 26, 1999: President Clinton forwards to Congress the annual certification from the Secretaries of Defense and Energy that the nuclear stockpile remains safe, secure and reliable.
- May 24, 1999: Senator Byron Dorgan delivers speech on Senate floor on CTBT: *"...the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty is here in a committee without movement. There were no hearings on the treaty in the last session of the 105th Congress. We are now 5 months into the 106th Congress. ... I intend to work with a number of my colleagues to see if we are able, in the coming weeks, to speak with some aggressiveness on this issue here on the floor of the Senate and, on behalf of the American people, to make the case that we ought to have the opportunity to vote on the ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. We ought to do it soon. ...this is a critically important issue to our country and to the world."*
- July 20, 1999: 45 Democratic Senators write Senator Jesse Helms requesting hearings on CTBT: *"The United States must not relinquish its leadership in the nuclear non-proliferation arena. We respectfully urge you to hold all necessary hearings and to report the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to the Senate for timely consideration before the CTBT inaugural conference."*
- July 20, 1999: President Clinton calls on Senate Foreign Relations Committee to hold hearings on the CTBT this fall: *"Hearings would allow each side to make its case for and against the treaty, and allow the Senate to decide this matter on the merits."*
- July 20, 1999: Latest CTBT nationwide poll shows 82 percent of Americans support Senate approval of the CTBT.
- July 30, 1999: Nine scientific and military experts write Senator Trent Lott endorsing Senate ratification of the CTBT: *"Nuclear proliferation – aided by espionage or not – is one of the greatest threats to American security. U.S. ratification and entry into force of the CTBT will greatly strengthen the nation's ability to contain this threat, and thus enhance the national security interests of the United States."*
- August 9, 1999: President Clinton again calls for hearings on the CTBT this fall, and the full Senate to vote for ratification as soon as possible: *"This will strengthen [the] national security not only of the United States, but of people around the world."*

Sausey

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-5-99

You might want to give
this to serious people - It's
good to refute charges we haven't
done enough -

BI


10-01-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON


September 30, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Mary Beth Cahill 
 Assistant to the President and Director

Laura Efurud
 Deputy Assistant to the President and Director

SUBJECT: Asian Pacific American Outreach

10/5/99
 CC:
 CAHILL


Over the last two years the Asian Pacific American Community's perception of the impact of the Campaign Finance situation and the more recent Los Alamos espionage case, has caused this Administration to shy away from the Asian Pacific American Community. To address this concern OPL, has been working hard on outreach efforts to the Asian Pacific American Community. Including the following:

OUTREACH MEETING: June 7th POTUS participated in an outreach meeting with 12 Asian Pacific American leaders from around the country.

APA EXECUTIVE ORDER: June 7th POTUS signed an Executive Order to improve the quality of life of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. A signing ceremony and reception was held. This historic Executive Order, the first ever to improve the lives of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, has been well received in the community, and is perceived as one of the most significant accomplishments of this Administration that will impact the APA community. OPL has conducted the following outreach activities associated with the Executive Order.

- OPL developed and disseminated a Fact Sheet on the Executive Order to the APA community throughout the country.
- Deputy Director of Public Liaison spoke at a variety of meetings and conference on the Executive order including:
 - National Asian Pacific American Families Against Substance Abuse annual Conference (7/22- 24).
 - National Organization of Chinese Americans Annual Conference (7/30-8/1)
 - Houston Asian American Health Summit (8/26).
 - Asian American Government Executives Network (7/27)
 - Coalition of Asian Pacific American Federal Employee Organizations (8/29)

10-01-99

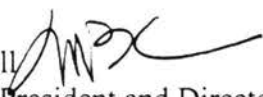
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Mary Beth Cahill 
Assistant to the President and Director of Public Liaison

Laura Efurd

Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Director of Public Liaison

SUBJECT:

Asian Pacific American Outreach

Over the last two years the Asian Pacific American Community has been concerned that the impact of the Campaign Finance situation and the more recent Los Alamos espionage case, has caused this Administration to shy away from the Asian Pacific American Community. To address this concern OPL, has been working hard on outreach efforts to the Asian Pacific American Community. Including the following:

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 - Houston Asian American Health Summit (8/26).
 - Asian American Government Executives Network (7/27)
 - Coalition of Asian Pacific American Federal Employee Organizations (8/29)

- OPL has conducted outreach activities to solicit recommendations for the APA Commission as authorized under the Executive Order. We received recommendations for over 200 individuals.
- OPL is working with Presidential Personnel to develop decision memo on the Commission for POTUS.
- OPL is working with HHS on an event to introduce the new Executive Director for the Commission and White House Initiative to the APA Community.

INTRODUCTION OF APA LIAISON: Mailed to over 1,000 APA community leaders a letter introducing the new Asian Pacific American outreach liaison at OPL. Letter included a copy of the APA Executive Order and Fact Sheet.

ONGOING COMMUNICATION WITH NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: OPL has ongoing communication with APA national organizations and key leaders, through bi-monthly meetings, weekly consultation by phone and email.

COMMUNITY MEETINGS: Deputy Director of Public Liaison held meetings with APA community leaders in Los Angeles, CA and Houston, TX.

POTUS STATEMENT ON CHANG LIN TIEN: OPL disseminated to the APA community copies of POTUS statements on the installation of Chang Lin Tien as a National Science Board member, which included strong statements that the patriotism of Asian Pacific American scientists should not be questioned in the wake of recent allegations of espionage at one of the national laboratories.

ACTIVITIES FOLLOWING THE HATE CRIME KILLINGS: OPL worked to address concerns of the APA community following hate crime incidents in Indiana and Los Angeles, including securing White House and Administration representation at memorial services. The Director of OPL participated in a memorial vigil in Washington DC for Joseph Ileto, the Filipino-American postal worker who was killed in LA. OPL also worked to produce messages from POTUS and VPOTUS for this event.

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN EVENTS: OPL continues to work toward scheduling POTUS, VPOTUS and FLOTUS at one major APA event this fall. The following events have been requested for POTUS' schedule, but due to previous commitments all have been regretted:

- October 22nd -- Groundbreaking ceremony for the Japanese American Patriotism Memorial (commemorating Japanese Internment during WWII) Norm Mineta has requested POTUS to attend. (Washington, DC) Note: you are participating in the WH Conference on Philanthropy that day and may travel that evening to a fundraising dinner.

- October 26th – Day of Remembrance Premiere of Film on contributions of Chinese Americans during World War II. (Washington, DC) Note: This is the First Lady's Birthday, you have the day and evening off.
- November 4th – Anniversary Gala Charity Dinner for A Magazine. The dinner will honor 100 top Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. (New York, NY) Note: You are scheduled for New Markets Travel on this day

OPL requested that FLOTUS attend the National Federation of Filipino American Association's 3rd Annual Convention on October 16th in New York City. This will be largest gathering of Filipino Americans this year. In the 2000 census, Filipino-Americans are expected to be largest ethnic group within the Asian Pacific American population. The First Lady's office has expressed interest in this event and we are pending a final response.

OPL requested VPOTUS to attend the National Asian Pacific American Bar Association Annual Convention in Los Angeles, CA on November 13th. VPOTUS has agreed to attend.

PROPOSED ACTIVITIES:

- **A meeting with the Asian Pacific American Caucus (Oct/Nov).** POTUS has only met once with the Congressional Asian Pacific Caucus during his term in office. A meeting with the APA Community leaders in Congress would signify that this Administration is interested in the concerns of this community.
- **White House Event Announcing the Asian Pacific American Advisory Commission Members** (from Executive Order). When the Commission Members are named or when they are in DC for their first meeting, we suggest that an event at the White House to recognize the establishment of the Commission would demonstrate strong White House interest in the success of the Commission and White House Initiative established under the APA Executive Order.
- **POTUS Participation on Asian Pacific Heritage Month Events.** Next May, during Asian Pacific Heritage Month, OPL suggests that POTUS attend the major dinner/gala sponsored by the Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies (Norman Mineta's group) and that the White House host an event for the APA community during that month.
- **Los Alamos:** The most immediate concern of the community is the impact of the Los Alamos espionage case on Asian American scientists at the Dept. of Energy National Laboratories, as well as the broader impact on Asian American federal employees in national security, technology and other sensitive posts. The Department of Energy has been conducting a number of activities to investigate complaints of discrimination at the labs and assure a non-hostile working environment of Asian Americans in the labs. However, the community is concerned that the impact of Los Alamos goes beyond the labs and that Asian American federal employees in other agencies are also impacted by racial profiling or

discrimination that will prevent them of obtaining security clearances needed to obtain jobs or job promotions. To address the issue at the labs and the broader issues OPL suggests the following:

- OPL to work with Dept. of Energy to outreach to the community on the positive steps Department of Energy has taken to address the concerns regarding treatment of Lab Scientists.
 - POTUS to issue a directive to all Cabinet Secretaries and heads of independent agencies that racial profiling or discrimination against employees on the basis of race will not be tolerated.
 - POTUS to direct OPM in consultation with EEOC and other appropriate agencies to issue guidance on what may constitute discrimination on the basis of race in conducting background investigations, security checks, or clearance determinations.
 - APA Community meeting with John Podesta or other high level White House Staff to discuss current concerns of the community and actions taken by the White House to address the concerns of racial profiling and discrimination of Asian Americans in the federal government.
- **Bill Lann Lee:** Bill Lann Lee continues to be a strong symbol for Asian and Pacific Americans representing this Administration's commitment to diversity and inclusiveness. The White House should continue activities to secure his confirmation in the Senate.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-5-99

Sauvegarde/USC
- forwarding letter
- Mrs. Nilsen reply -
Autzen delivered to
Sager - ISC



10-5-99

Do NSC for reply?
Yes No
S.

FORSETI ÍSLANDS
PRESIDENT OF ICELAND



*Barsarbæis
October 188
1999*

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House

From President Clinton

I would like to begin by thanking you for our very enjoyable and constructive meeting in Washington.

In our talks I mentioned the recent publication, for the first time, of the Complete Sagas of Icelanders in English translation. This publication is a major cultural achievement. Numerous American and Icelandic scholars collaborated on producing these translations of the sagas and presenting them in the new edition.

The set of books contains 40 dramatic sagas which recount the exceptionally democratic Icelandic commonwealth that lasted from roughly 900 to 1300, the settlement of Iceland by Vikings, power struggles, the establishment of a national legislative assembly at Iceland's "national shrine" Thingvellir and the laws passed there for centuries afterwards, along with poetry and tales of love and adventure.

The Sagas of Icelanders are a unique contribution to world literature and invite comparison with the classics of ancient Greece and Rome. Their action takes place 1000 years ago and spans the then known world from the Mediterranean and Russia, across northern Europe to Scandinavia and from Iceland to America.

Besides their outstanding literary qualities, the sagas are also remarkable records about politics of a democratic society, the establishment and activities of Iceland's national assembly, the Althing, at Thingvellir in AD 930, the oldest national legislature in the world. It was



therefore a highly appropriate gesture when, in 1930, to mark the 1,000th anniversary of Iceland's parliament, the US Congress presented the Icelandic nation with a gift of a statue of Leif Eiriksson, which now stands in a public square overlooking the centre of the capital.

In light of your interest in ancient and modern history, literature and politics, I mentioned at our meeting that I would be delighted to present as a gift the new Complete Sagas of Icelanders in English – both for your own enjoyment and interest and also to mark the approaching millennium of the discovery of America.

The first sagas in the set are those of Eirik the Red and the Greenlanders. Both were written shortly after 1200 and are unique records of the voyages made by Icelanders to Greenland, where they established a community that lasted until the 15th century. These two sagas also describe how explorers from Iceland ventured westwards from Greenland to a country that they named Vinland but is now known as America. Many voyages were made and those pioneers wintered in the new continent they had found.

Besides describing the life and voyages of Leif the Lucky and his family, these sagas include a fascinating portrait of his sister-in-law, Gudrid Thorbjarnardottir, one of the greatest female explorers of all time, who became the first woman in history to visit both America and Rome, shortly after the year 1000. Gudrid's son, Snorri, was the first child of European descent to be born on the American continent. Herself born in Iceland, Gudrid went to Greenland and America, then back to Iceland and on to Rome and southern Europe, before returning to Iceland where she died. Her transatlantic voyages were made just after 1000 and certainly no woman would surpass her as a traveller for the next five hundred years!

In fact, with their independence, rights, influence and distinctive attitudes and philosophy, women played an important part in the pioneer society described in the sagas. Present-day campaigners for female rights



and equality can certainly find much food for thought in the sagas, and have done so.

As pioneer literature, the sagas give people in Iceland a closer affinity than other European nation with the American nation, by providing us with invaluable accounts of our origins: the discovery of new territories, their settlement and the evolution of our society from its earliest days.

The sagas may even be claimed to share certain characteristics with American westerns, although Iceland's settlers did not clash with native inhabitants in the country where they made their home. Those who sailed the ocean to Vinland remained by and large on peaceful terms with the indigenous North Americans. Some movie directors who shaped the tradition of westerns knew the sagas well; John Ford, for one, is said to have been influenced by their characterization. Both these distinctive genres, the sagas and the western, portray bold and determined men of exceptional character who enter an undiscovered natural paradise, the vast expanses of a new world, virgin territory which needs to be explored and transformed into a human society. These men were pioneers, heroes and trailblazers.

Besides the Sagas of Eirik the Red and the Greenlanders, with their accounts of the discovery of America, I would like to draw your attention to a number of sagas in particular:

– Njal's Saga and the Saga of the People of Laxardal are masterpieces of epic writing, alive with human insights and momentous events that have inspired poets and thinkers for centuries. Men and women are swept by their honour and by fate into inescapable tragic action: many of the male heroes die brave and heroic deaths in the face of overwhelming odds, while the women are forceful characters, active manipulators of events, in every respect a match for the men.



– The Saga of Hrafnkel is a cleverly devised tale about a leader of men, his advancement and struggles, his authority and dealings with other leaders and his own supporters. In many ways a shrewder guide than Machiavelli's *The Prince* for leaders of nations and politicians at all times!

– The Sagas of Grettir the Strong and Gisli Sursson are powerful stories of ill-fated heroes, individuals who refuse to give way against insurmountable forces of man and providence.

The underlying theme of the sagas is how conflicts among individuals are resolved within a society which is evolving its own laws and codes of behaviour through a legislative assembly and courts, an ancient society which cherishes above all else law, rights and democratic processes. In effect they portray in detail the democratic society which, 1000 years ago, forged a pioneer culture that encouraged bold men and women to venture into the unknown and cross the ocean in search of new lands. This ancient heritage is still relevant to us today, at the dawn of a new millennium and all the uncertainty that this entails.

In general the sagas are set between the end of the settlement around 930 and the middle of the eleventh century, but their sharpest focus is on the events of the last quarter of the tenth century and the first quarter of the eleventh. Thus they also hinge on the turning-point in Icelandic history when the ancient pagan faith was peacefully abandoned in favour of Christianity almost 1000 years ago. The new era that dawned then had a far-reaching impact on the world of the sagas: new Christian ethics of forgiveness and reconciliation restricted the scope for heroics, the society of peaceful farmers became increasingly intolerant towards men of the sword.

The Viking settlements in the New World make the sagas one of the cornerstones of the American heritage. We in Iceland value the contribution by American scholars to realizing this publication of the sagas



in English, and also their decades of contribution towards a wide range of academic studies of this unique literature, these histories of a democratic society that spawned brave discoverers.

It would be a great pleasure for me, for the Icelandic government and in fact for the whole Icelandic nation if some kind of collaboration could be arranged with US government authorities, both in Washington and at state level, and with US universities and libraries, to launch a project involving a "Millennium Gift of the Icelandic 'Discovery of America' Sagas." Such a project, granting young people, scholars and the general public access to the sagas throughout the whole of the USA, would certainly be an interesting and important input to the Millennium celebrations. Although an Internet presentation is admittedly technically feasible, there is still nothing to compare with holding these ancient stories in one's own hands.

We have discussed with the Library of Congress plans for an exhibition in Washington at or just after the turn of the century, featuring the ancient Icelandic manuscripts in which the sagas are preserved. Such an event would be the first time that these ancient calfskin manuscripts describing the discovery of America one thousand years ago have ever been exhibited in the United States. Most of the manuscripts date from the 13th and 14th centuries.

I have also been engaged in developing ideas for a Multimedia-Internet-CD-ROM project linking the saga accounts of the discovery of the New World and descriptions of life in the year 1000 with the state of the Earth in the year 2000, which would also enable children and young people to compare both scenarios with their own ideal visions of the state of the planet in the year 3000 – firmly addressing conservation of the environment and biosphere, and including material dedicated to the sea and its importance for mankind's future.

When these proposals, which are primarily conceived as projects for multimedia corporations, have been developed further I would be delighted



to keep you informed of their progress. The interaction of a new century, a new millennium, with stories of explorers and the discovery of America, and issues involving our dreams and hopes for mankind's future on Earth, could prove an exciting challenge for young people in search of channels for creating a better world.

Various other ideas were aired at a recent meeting between the Leifur Eiriksson's Millennium Commission of Iceland and the White House Millennium Council, where a gratifying new stage was reached in developing cooperation between our nations to celebrate the millennium of our common heritage.

I wish you – and your wife and daughter – many hours of enjoyment reading the sagas of Icelanders, stories that my nation have taken a delight in for centuries.

I know that this letter is rather longer than is customary under such circumstances, but in effect it combines a formal message to accompany this gift with my own deliberations on a topic that has been discussed in Iceland for centuries and will doubtless live on well into the new millennium.

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House

Dear Mr. President,



10.5.99

Quoniam

your trip to Nevada was a success, in many ways. Your steadfastness on nuclear waste is for the history books. Nevada did the right thing in twice supporting you for president.

as I told you on AF1, I hope next to you a great choice for a 9th

HARRY REID
NEVADA

ASSISTANT DEMOCRATIC LEADER
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510-7022

99 OCT 5 10 50 AM '99

10-5-99

To Bunkerhardt for reply?

Yes - No ✓

cc: Nolan ? Yes ✓ No -

Podesta ? Yes ✓ No -

Stein Yes ✓

Put in blue folder for POTUS ~~PA~~

Circuit secretary, Steve Walter, your
staff has his fix. We can get him
through before the Congress adjourns.

In addition to being so good
to me, let me acknowledge with
appreciation, all you have done for me.

Sincerely,

Sperry

ASSISTANT DEMOCRATIC LEADER
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

*The President
The White House*

Hand Delivered

HARRY REID
NEVADA

10-5-99

Sunday



What about Sudan
is he too close to
U.S. Sudanese leader?
Bo

copied
Berger
NSC WW Desk
Podesta

LOS ANGELES TIMES

(first-edition) Page 1 for Tuesday, Oct. 5, 1999:

Top of page:

Col 1: Foreign newsfeature. Moving later with art.

Cols 2-5: Master Cheng Yen is Taiwan's version of Mother Teresa a woman ministering to the poor and hoping to educate the rich and the recent devastating earthquake in Taiwan has brought out the best of her highly regarded organization. (with art) (TAIWAN-CHARITY, moving Tuesday).

Col 6: An Illinois jury orders the nation's largest car insurer to pay \$456 million for allegedly cheating millions of customers by ordering body shops to fix their cars with low-cost generic replacement parts. (INSURE-TIMES, moved).

Above fold:

Col 2: Advances in medical treatment for radiation victims give hope that one or more of the three workers severely irradiated last week in Japan could survive, doctors say. (JAPAN, moved).

Cols 3-4: Newsfeature. Moving later.

Col 5: The Supreme Court clears the way for mandatory drug testing for school teachers, rejecting a constitutional challenge that called the program "an exercise in symbolism." (SCOTUS-TIMES, moved).

Below fold:

Col 4: National newsfeature. Moving later with art.

Bottom of page:

Cols 1-3: Foreign newsfeature. Moving later with art.

Cols 5-6: As recently as three or four years ago, if you spent your college career burrowing into English literature or Picasso's paintings and then went looking for a job in business, you might have had trouble getting the time of day with many top corporate recruiters, but not any more. (LIBERAL-ARTS, moving Tuesday).

With an Eye on His Legacy, a President Faces Aging Unashamed

By Jack Nelson

Los Angeles Times

ATLANTA Jimmy Carter, wearing faded, tight-fitting blue jeans and a white, yellow and blue polo shirt with the initials of the U.S. Naval Academy, relaxed in an easy chair and propped his loafers on a coffee table last week. In a few days, on Oct. 1, the former president would turn 75 years old. Now, in his spacious office at the Carter Center, he was spending an hour reflecting on questions about his presidency and post-presidency, his relations with President Clinton and three former presidents and even about life and death and his 53 years of marriage with Rosalynn.

Carter, who has been nominated several times for the Nobel Peace Prize, disclosed that he had expected to receive the award in 1994 for his efforts in North Korea, Bosnia and Haiti, but is now reconciled to never receiving that honor. He also voiced irritation that the Clinton administration has sometimes excluded the Carter Center from its international diplomacy. Yet, the former president was clearly at ease with himself and the life he has made since leaving the Oval Office in 1981.

He had just finished printing out a manuscript copy of his 14th book, a memoir about growing up in the South during the Depression. And he waxed enthusiastically about his 15th book, a novel-in-progress about the Revolutionary War that is three-fourths completed. He plans to write other books, he confides, but never another with Rosalynn because the tensions created by the one book they co-authored, dealing with health issues, almost wrecked their marriage.

The former president talks unabashedly about his deep love for his wife, and both of them say these are the best years of their lives. In his 1998 book, "The Virtues of Aging," Carter, writing about older couples continuing to enjoy sexual relations, observed that "well past 70, Rosalynn and I have learned to accommodate each other's desires more accurately and generously, and have never had a more complete and enjoyable relationship."

Question: You wrote about there still being a lot of prejudice against the aged, that it's like sexism or racism.

Answer: There is. A lot of that is self-criticism. It's the underestimation of people about growing older, about what they're still capable of doing, so they withdraw from active and expansive participation in life and lead an increasingly and unnecessarily restrictive life. ... In generic terms, America does slough away a tremendous reservoir of potentially beneficial human beings because they themselves, and the general society, put a limit on us. Like a mandatory retirement age of 60. Or almost all the major corporate boards require somebody to resign when they're 65. I'm fortunate in that that has not affected me. Rosalynn's mother had to retire from the post office when she was 70. She's now 94. She could have worked 15 more years, I think, and very beneficially. But I tried to outline in the book some things that might be used to accommodate that: part-time work, obviously beneficent work. We have people in their 90s that are still helping us build houses for Habit for Humanity.

Q: You're just turning 75 and you're as busy as you were when you were 65 or 55. I want to know your secret.

A: I spent a year or two studying other people's aging processes when I wrote "Virtues of Aging." I talked to people and analyzed my own habits and those of Rosalynn and how other people in my family have done. But I think I've just been blessed. So far, I've had good health. We are vigorous. Rosalynn and I do everything together, which is one secret. But we take up new habits, like climbing mountains or bird watching or fly fishing or downhill skiing. We do it together. We're always together, just about. We have unique responsibilities.

But I think that keeps us vigorous and interested in things. I've had the Carter Center as an almost unlimited menu from which I could choose. ... We have, for any particular day, maybe 50 things presented to us that we could select, and we choose the ones that we want to do. It's never boring. Negotiating peace and dealing with human-rights problems at the highest possible level. We monitor elections and promote democracy. We have health programs, agriculture programs in Africa. We have programs in 65 foreign countries. And with a former president, the opportunities to consummate a desire are almost unlimited. When I go to an African country it is a big deal. It's not as big as the queen of England, but it's a big deal.

Q: President Clinton recently presented both you and Mrs. Carter with the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Can you say something

about your relationship with Clinton? It's been a little bit rocky in the past.

A: It's been quite rocky in the past. But, I think, the last few months, at least, both of us have gone out of our way to be reconciled and to understand each other a little bit better. I'd say the exclusion of the Carter Center by the Clinton administration from issues and assignments that I thought were appropriate for us is what caused my problem. ... When President Clinton went into office and The Washington Post and others began to report all the people that he brought in around him, in foreign policy, were Jimmy Carter people at that time, I really had a very low reputation my stature in the country was lower six years ago than it is now. But, I think, there was just a general statement, OK, we will not use Carter.

Q: Any particular projects you can think of?

A: I have offered a number of times to be directly involved when I had an opening in the Mideast. In recent years, since I came back from North Korea, I have had direct invitations from the North Koreans to come back and help resolve a crisis, and (from) Sudan.

Q: But has the Clinton administration resisted your going back to North Korea?

A: Yes. Yes. All three of those places.

Q: Any other place?

A: That's the only three I want to mention. What we've done is to carve out for the Carter Center in the fields of foreign policy although we have no authority those areas of the world where it does not create a problem with the White House or the State Department. And that's primarily the forgotten kinds of nations. ...

His people know what I'm doing, and I have never been on a trip overseas that I didn't send him immediately, the day after I returned home, a full report on everything I did that I think is important.

Q: What is your relationship with Vice President Al Gore?

A: Friendly, I would say. After Gore and Clinton were re-elected, I realized that we had a problem in this Carter Center relationship. I never have had a problem personally with President Clinton or anyone else, but I wanted particularly to see if I had done things that aggravated the White House, and I know I'm pretty aggressive when I go overseas. Clearly when I went down to Panama

Tobacco Firms in Secondhand-Smoke Court Battle By Myron Levin

Los Angeles Times

LOS ANGELES Mobilizing against smoking bans and lawsuits that could cost them billions, tobacco companies are engaged in a far-reaching campaign to discredit evidence that secondhand smoke is harmful to human health.

Nowhere is the strategy more evident than in a legal battle over the evidence that has occupied at least 10 courts, including U.S. District Court in Los Angeles, where it appears likely to be resolved in the industry's favor.

In the latest phase of the discovery battle, Philip Morris is fighting University of Southern California researchers to get access to a single computer disk containing raw data from an influential five-city study, known as the Fontham study, that found a causal link between lung cancer and secondhand smoke. The company wants to scrutinize the data in hopes of casting doubt on the evidence, which is weaker for second-hand smoke than for some other environmental hazards.

Fontham and similar studies have provided the scientific bedrock for a small but growing wave of secondhand smoke litigation that the industry aims to head off. At the same time, cigarette makers are determined to slow the spread of California-style smoking bans to less-regulated areas of the United States and to foreign markets where smokers still light up wherever they choose. Research suggests that smoking restrictions reduce cigarette sales by inducing many smokers to cut down or even quit.

Researchers from USC and other institutions involved in the Fontham study say the industry's relentless pursuit of the data could have a chilling effect on future health research. Citing promises of confidentiality to subjects in the study, they have resisted demands to cough up the data, which cigarette makers say they need to defend themselves in court.

The industry has been largely thwarted in this long-running game of cat and mouse, obtaining but a sliver of the data. But its five-year quest may be about to pay off. In Los Angeles, U.S. District Judge Richard A. Paez will decide if USC must honor an industry subpoena, and he has already ruled for the industry once.

Although tobacco companies have their hands full with litigation over primary smoking such as the huge case filed last month by the Justice Department secondhand smoke is an emerging threat, in

part because the industry's standard defense that victims accepted the risk is not applicable.

Cigarette makers won the only two secondhand smoke cases to be decided by juries, but in 1997 they agreed to settle a class action by airline flight attendants for \$349 million. The money was for health research and legal costs, not damages, but the agreement gave flight attendants a one-year window to sue once the settlement was final.

It became final last month, when lawyers opposed to the deal withdrew their challenge. As a result, a flurry of suits by flight attendants is likely over the next 12 months. A handful of secondhand smoke cases already are pending, including class actions on behalf of casino workers.

The industry counterattack produced a big victory last year when a federal judge in North Carolina ruled that the Environmental Protection Agency had made procedural and substantive errors in a landmark report in January 1993, concluding that secondhand smoke is a significant cause of lung cancer in nonsmokers. Federal officials have appealed the ruling.

In fighting to secure the Fontham data, the industry is taking aim at a major piece of research that helped persuade the EPA and other health organizations to declare secondhand smoke a significant hazard.

Named for Elizabeth Fontham, a principal investigator and lead author, the project teamed researchers from Louisiana State University, Emory University, the University of Texas and the California Department of Health Services, along with USC, in a study of nearly 2,000 nonsmoking women in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, New Orleans and Atlanta including 1,253 subjects who were healthy and 653 with lung cancer. Their conclusion: Exposure to secondhand smoke raised the lung cancer risk about 30 percent.

The data sought by cigarette makers includes medical records and personal information on study subjects, such as work and marital histories, dietary habits and exposure to other toxic substances. But the researchers say they promised never to divulge that information, and that it will be hard to gain cooperation in future studies if they go back on their word.

But tobacco lawyers say it is perfectly natural they would want to examine the data. The Fontham study is "the No. 1 piece of evidence against us in any (secondhand smoke) lung cancer case," said Barry Davidson, a lawyer for Philip Morris.

Davidson called the confidentiality issue "a total red herring," noting that Philip Morris has sought a redacted copy of the data, with names, addresses and phone numbers of study participants deleted.

Patricia Buffler, one of the Fontham researchers, acknowledged some anxiety over the industry's intent to discredit the study. "If you know anything about statistics," she said, "adjustments can be made to produce conflicting results."

Indeed, secondhand smoke research may be uniquely vulnerable to the kind of torture test the industry would like to apply to the Fontham data. The reason is that even in the most incriminating studies, although the impact of secondhand smoke across the whole population may be substantial, the risk for each exposed person is low.

For a toxic agent to be deemed a proven risk to health, researchers typically insist that the rate of illness at least double, or increase 100 percent, for those who are exposed. Otherwise, other environmental factors or errors in classifying data might explain the difference.

The Fontham study, typical of research indicting secondhand smoke, found an added cancer risk of about 30 percent, well below the traditional threshold. By comparison, longtime smokers face a roughly twentyfold, or 2,000 percent, greater lung cancer risk than nonsmokers. Lifetime smokers have about one chance in eight of dying of lung cancer, compared with a risk of one in 200 for those who never smoked.

The industry's quest for the Fontham data began in 1994, when cigarette makers subpoenaed it from Louisiana State University as part of their defense of a secondhand smoke case in Texas. But Louisiana law provides sweeping protections against disclosure of confidential data in health studies, and the industry was turned down by three different state and federal judges when it tried to enforce its subpoenas.

Tobacco lawyers made two trips to state court in Georgia and finally got data from Emory University, but only for the Atlanta portion of the study.

In California, the first industry subpoena was quashed in 1997 by a San Francisco Superior Court judge. In Los Angeles, cigarette makers also subpoenaed the data from USC, first for defense of the flight attendants class action, and then in the secondhand smoke case of a Florida woman named Roselyn Wolpin.

10-5-99

Sandy

Some interesting
letters, articles here
Have to decide if we're
taking any citizens on trip

BC

Sandy

Some interesting
letters, articles here.
Have to decide if we're
taking any citizens
on trip

BC

10-5-99

To NSC for reply?

Yes No

B.

cc: Podesta?
Yes No

September 21, 1999

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-5-99

Copy to J 9/21/99
all ready
2. Photos.

Dear Mr. President,

I am writing you this letter to give you some first hand insight on what I experienced in Cyprus and Greece during my trip in August 1999. I feel there are some facts about the peoples of Cyprus and some official's attitudes that you may not be aware of, that could be of value to you.

The first four days of our trip was in Cyprus. We stayed in Nicosia (Leftcosia) and Limasol. We spoke to lots of people and saw many things.

I spoke with a taxi driver for an hour on many topics. He lives in a small village on the Greek side. There are several Turks in their village. They all live together with no problems. This man told me that he thought the Greek Cypriots made a mistake trying to force the British out of Cyprus when they did. He said they would have left anyway and would probably not have started the trouble between the Greeks and Turks. He loves his island and the history of the island. I asked him if he had bad feelings towards the Turks or if he felt if others did. He said his family lived with the Turks for many years with no problems and couldn't understand how anyone could think that Greeks could or would terrorize or massacre them. "Not even thinkable", he said. Mr. President, don't let anyone tell you that one. The Greeks do not have that in their blood.

I then met with George Paraskevaides. This man is a very successful builder. This company is named J & P. They are a worldwide contractor that builds large hotels, highways etc. I was thinking, "Oh here we go." But this guy was so nice and spoke of history and how much he loves his homeland. He built an airport on Cyprus for Churchill. The Cyprus connection during WWII made a big difference on the results of the war. He and Churchill had several conversations. He is so proud to have helped the cause of good during the war. His home is on the other side of the line and like the others in Cyprus would like to go back. This man has done much for the working class people in Cyprus and around the world. He has set up many programs for his employees to help them be happy productive people. He is a humanitarian that you would be proud to call your friend. He has seen the brutal attitudes of the Turks and is very afraid that all they want, when the U. S. is not looking or paying attention, is to take over the whole island. Many are very concerned about what it would be like with a Muslim ruled island located in a location so critical to that region of the world. With the history of brutality they have and their aggressiveness in taking lands over the years, many in Cyprus have this paranoia. Mr. Paraskevaides just wants to see the history of the island be honored and the Greek and Turkish Cypriots live together in one Cyprus as it had for hundreds of years. He is convinced that the economy on the Turkish side would improve and be strong with a free Cyprus. His company pays basic salaries twice as high as the average working class salary on the other side. You will find a letter from him attached.

We also met Captain Panagiotis Tsakos. He is another wealthy businessman. He is a ship owner and very successful. Again, I said to myself, "He probably just has selfish reasons for the solution of the Cyprus issue." But when you speak with him and see his eyes and listen to his concerns, you soon realize his sincerity. He is a real student of history and quotes much of it in his attitudes towards the resolution of this issue. I have also included a letter from Captain Tsakos for your information. Again, information that might be of some use to you, Mr. President.

I spoke with the Mayor of Nicosia, Lellos Demetriades, and he told me that he was working with the Turks on the other side of the line behind Danktosh's nose to get things accomplished that are good for the divided city. Lellos told me there was no way the Greek majority would terrorize the Turks on the island. They have worked together for years and will continue to. He has been Mayor for 28 years and is loved by most. After all he has helped make this divided city successful in a few short years since the division. Pretty amazing huh? I think he may run for Prime Minister of Cyprus next. To talk to this man and look into his eyes is incredible. He is so wise and calm and forgiving and confident. I wish you would go there and meet him, or at least call him and speak to him about the reality of Cyprus. I asked Lellos to write you a personal letter so you could hear right from his mouth, unfiltered by anyone. His letter is also attached.

Anyway I also spent some time with both foreign ministers and they were very articulate. They told me that they believed this can be solved but that no deal is better than a bad deal. They are willing to give and to be fair, however, since they are not the aggressor or the guys who did this deed, they will not tolerate more unfairness and more taking advantage the Greeks. They both told me the Greeks and Turks could really strike up a great economic relationship. It would be great for the whole region. They really have a lot in common from the business perspective and would love to get on with it.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-5-99

Did you know that:

The Turks are moving the outcasts from the mainland and to Northern Cyprus to increase the population so that over time they can use that as a bargaining tool?

Many of the Turkish Cypriots have moved out of Cyprus to London because they cannot tolerate those mainland Turks who have been moved there to create a false population balance? The Greek and Turkish Cypriots that live in London, live amongst each other. Using the same neighborhoods and restaurants, etc.? Does this sound like people willing to kill each other. I don't think so.

That the Turkish economy north of the Green Line is very depressed, while the Greek Cypriot economy in the south is flourishing wildly. Definitive proof that the Turks don't really care to be there for any other reason other than an occupation for a further agenda to take over the island.

That many successful Greek Cypriots would hire and pay large numbers of Turks, far more than they are making today in a free Cyprus.

To start trouble years ago Denktash had a bomb set in a Turkish office in Cyprus. When it went off, needless to say the Turks attacked the Greeks. Years later Denktash admitted doing this deed to get recognition for Turkish Cypriots throughout the world.

Anyway Mr. President, even without any of these facts, the right thing to do is to restore those who have been driven from their homes, graveyards, schools, businesses, churches, and land. You have set the correct, moral, ethical and just plain the right precedent by doing the right thing in Kosovo. You helped return these people to their homes, graveyards, businesses, schools, churches and land. This is the right thing to do and you should do it in Cyprus. The great thing is that it will greatly improve the overall economy in Cyprus. Seems to me if Cyprus has one Federal Government to represent all of the people as part of the European market, wow would that stabilize that part of the world. It would help Turkey and Greece enter into a lot of trade and maybe even Turkey would and could move towards trading with Europe. I think you would start a great domino effect of stabilization in that part of the world by doing the right thing.

This paragraph is fully my view, not anything buy my attitudes. Mr. President, you know a lot about history. You know the tendency the Turks have to be aggressive and that has not changed. You know they will not just throw up their hands and say, "Oh we did the wrong thing and we now want to make it right." It will take pressure, pressure no President has had the guts to place on them. It seems to me that a lot of things are coming into play to make it possible to prove to them it is the best for them to relent and do the right thing. Please don't let your State Department sell the Greeks out just to get a deal. Just to say we got an agreement. Seems to me that having two governments would be wrong, not letting the Greeks buy or get their land back is not right, basically anything that is not what we know democracy is, is wrong. Please don't let might and influence determine this result. Do what is courageous as you have so many other times during your Presidency.

You must be taking a Greek contingent with you on your trip. Will you be taking Andy Manatos and Andy Athens? They more than any Greek Americans I know have worked all over the world to keep sanity in the heads of the American Greek community. They don't jump from one extreme to the other about your administration. They keep a calm head about what is happening. They don't jump from one extreme to the other every time you open your mouth. A lot of Greeks listen to them. Andy Manatos has a lot of common sense and knows how Government works. They have never never asked me for anything. I consider them very honest and sincere.

Well, I hope this gives you some useful information. I love you and I love my heritage. It is a special thing that my good friend has the power to make the world a little better, a little stronger.

God Bless You, Mr. President,

David L.



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Nicosia Municipality

MAYOR'S OFFICE

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MARKING INITIALS: MI DATE: 8/20/16
2016-09-07

7th September, 1999

The President of the United States of America,
The White House,
Washington DC,
USA

Dear Mr. President,

I took the liberty of writing to you after meeting with your good friend Mr. David Leopoulos a few days ago in Nicosia.

I took David and his family around the town and we visited, of course, our famous or infamous "Green Line", which is in fact the United Nations demarcation line, cutting across the heart of the city and dividing it into two.

David was really moved by what he saw and he asked me to write a letter to the President (which he promised to deliver himself) and explain a few things about my town and what I am doing.

It is a demanding and difficult job to be a Mayor in any town, but it is even more difficult to manage a town which is divided, without freedom of movement of people, or, worse than that, of the possibility of sharing feelings and ideas.

If I look back over the years, I can see that perhaps the most important thing that I tried to achieve, was to build and maintain some bridges of communication between the two parts of the town and I speak, of course, metaphorically. As early as three years after the invasion of the Turkish army in Cyprus in 1974, I established contact with the Turkish Cypriot local leaders and since that time we continue to co-operate on the Local Authorities Level. The result of these endeavours was to start functioning our common sewerage system which is still working ever since May 1980, benefiting both sides of Nicosia. We also agreed and we implement up to this day a common Town Planning Scheme which enables both sides of the town to develop in a way which is not conflicting with the other side, avoiding in this way the creation of any obstacles, physical or otherwise which may delay or interfere with the smooth unification of the city. In previous years, before the issue of the latest directions of Mr. Denktash prohibiting contacts between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus, we had cultural and social gatherings, as well, between the two Communities in Nicosia.

...2/...

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In spite of the present difficulties we intend to keep on maintaining our bridges and I am sure that one day these bridges will be used by others, in an effort to reach a settlement on the Cyprus problem. This is because I strongly believe that towns can not possibly remain divided forever and I hope that your new attempt, Mr. President, for a solution of the Cyprus problem, will bring about better days for Cyprus.

I know that our problem is a difficult and complex one. I think that one way to solve it is to address the two main issues involved in this whole affair, beyond the issue of geographical demarcation of the two areas which will be inhabited predominantly by members of the same Communities, an issue which is more or less resolved. I feel that these two issues relate to security and keeping Cyprus as one Sovereign State. The security issue I think can be tackled now on the basis of similar cases. The sovereign issue may be resolved by the creation of a single Federal State, the inhabitants of which will have the same nationality and a common Issuing Bank, a Foreign Ministry enforcing a common foreign policy and with wide powers given to the two Communities. I believe that this can now be achieved if at the very moment of the creation of this new State, the European Union accepts it or agrees to accept it as its new member.

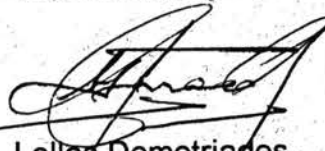
Having been actively involved in public affairs (I prefer that, than saying "being in politics", because I do not belong to any particular Party), for about 40 years, during which I served both as a member of the House of Representatives for ten years as well as the Mayor of the Capital of Cyprus for 28 years, I think the above basis will be accepted by the Cypriots as a reasonable arrangement, provided it is presented as a final solution and not as a stepping stone for further negotiations, between the parties. Needless to say that this expose is, certainly, an over-simplification of the Cyprus problem, but I hold the view that it is a solid basis for a possible solution.

I do apologise, Mr. President, for taking your time, but I thought it was my duty and, of course, my honour, to address myself to the President.

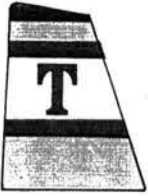
I remain,

Dear Mr. President,

Yours faithfully



Lellos Demetriades
Mayor of Nicosia



CPT. PANAGIOTIS N. TSAKOS

13th September, 1999

Mr William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington DC
U.S.A

Dear Mr. President,

I have much admired your resolute position on many issues, both the domestic and international, over a number of years. Your personal involvement in the efforts to solve many international problems, some of which were considered to be intractable, has been of great significance. It has been, Mr. President, not only the increasing influence of the USA, but your stature and skills which often carried the day.

As a Greek , I have been gravely disappointed that the problem of Cyprus remains unresolved. I have followed the developments on the problem for many years and I have discussed it with many personalities who were involved with the problem over the years.

The long history of the many attempts for its solution has taught us that only an initiative with the personal involvement of the President of USA can lead to a just solution, as the Turkish Governments perceive the personal effort of the President as evidence of high level interest on the part of the Administration.

This perception, Mr. President , fades out, when the Administration relegates the handling of the problem to Officials, and statements such as “ We support the mission of good offices of the UN Secretary General”, reflect the low priority accorded to the Cyprus problem by the Administration.

Mr. President,

The purpose of my letter is to beg you to launch your personal initiative and use your stature and skills for the solution of the Cyprus problem. The Peoples of Greece and Cyprus expect that the first power of the world can decisively act for the consolidation of the ideals of Freedom, Democracy and Peace in the area. It is evident to all that you are inspired by this high mission of strengthening of these ideals in the world. They think that the time has come for the United States to expect from Turkey actions on the Cyprus issue in the interest of Peace.

You will be visiting the area in November of this year. It is surely a golden opportunity for a new high level initiative, an initiative that will have excellent prospects of success, the President Clinton initiative.

MEGARON MACEDONIA

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Mr William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
U.S.A.

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Mr President,

I share and further support the above opinions and expectations of the common citizen of Greece and Cyprus. By having though, slightly better familiarised with the legal frame of the problem, I would like to be permitted to respectfully suggest that you bring with you to the area outline proposals on some of the principal parameters of the problem such as:

Territory : Proposals based on the Gobi or Ghali maps of 1992.

Security : The demilitarisation of Cyprus as envisaged by the two parties in Cyprus in the second high – level agreement (1979) and the deployment of an international force to foster peace and co-operation between the two Cypriot communities.

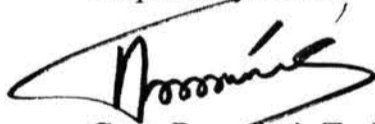
Constitutional Aspects : A bizonal, bicomunal federation with one international personality, one sovereignty, one citizenship (as provided for by all recent Security Council decisions) and with membership of the European Union. (The allocation of powers to the Federal Government).

Respect for Human Rights as provided for by the Universal Declaration of Human rights, the European Convention of Human Rights, and the law of the European Union.

Mr. President,

You have a real opportunity to resolve a long-standing problem, which has caused untold unhappiness to the Peoples of the countries involved. I beg you to consider favourably my suggestions for resolving the problem and for launching the Clinton initiative to resolve the Cyprus problem before the end of the Millennium.

Respectfully Yours

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Panagiotis Tsakos', written over a horizontal line.

Capt. Panagiotis Tsakos



George Paraskavalides O.B.E

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2-476289, 465918 (Gr 3)

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CYPRUS

7th September, 1999

The Honorable
Mr. Bill Clinton,
President of the United States of America,
The White House,
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President,

May I take the liberty with this letter to express my views on the very serious problem which my country Cyprus faces for the last 25 years.

Recently I had the opportunity to meet with your great friend Mr. David Leopoulos and his family, while they were on holiday in Cyprus. I am really very pleased and happy to have met and spent some time in the company of such a genuine and kind man.

Mr. Leopoulos was very kind to take an interest in the tragic Cyprus problem and to spend time looking into certain of its details. Before leaving Cyprus, he expressed his will that upon his return to the U.S.A., he would be writing to your Honorable goodself expressing his views on the Cyprus issue, formed during his visit to the Island. It is upon his request that I am also writing this letter to express my opinion on this tragedy that has befallen my country.

Honorable Mr. President, knowing your enormous responsibilities and your great wish on behalf of your great country to promote world peace, I am sure you will find of assistance the attached opinion and views of mine on this very important international problem.

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to you, Mr. President, for taking the time to consider my views as expressed herewith. My country and myself are eternally grateful to you and to the U.S.A. for your continuous efforts

.../2

I NEVER RECEIVED
THE ORIGINAL
HE FAXED IT FROM
CYPRUS.

DAVID

2

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2-476266, 466903 (Gr 3)

George Paraskevaldes O.B.E.

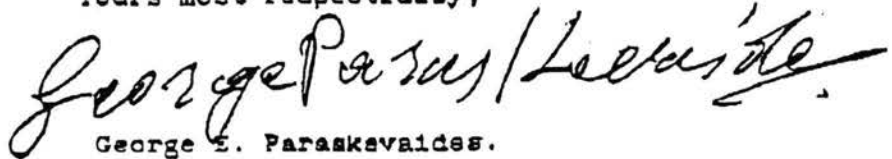
1, Byron Avenue
P.O. Box 1178
CY - 1503 Nicosia
CYPRUS

- 2 -

for a peaceful and just settlement of the Cyprus
problem.

God bless you and your family, God bless
America.

Yours most respectfully,


George E. Paraskevaldes.

GP/MTh/MS

THE CYPRUS QUESTION (The Framework for a Solution)

The framework for a solution already exists and is none other than the resolutions of the United Nations and the high-level agreements. The EU's own resolutions and decisions on Cyprus, which are fully in line with those of the UN, provide additional guidelines and express the Union's commitment to the principles involved.

The basic elements of the framework prescribed by these resolutions include the reunification of Cyprus, the removal of foreign occupation troops and settlers, the return of displaced persons to their homes under conditions of safety and safe-guarding the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

Additional elements are provided by two specific agreements reached between Presidents Makarios and Kyprianou on the one hand and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr. Denktash on the other in 1977 respectively. These agreements provide for the establishment of a bi-communal federation, the safeguarding of human rights of all Cypriots and the exclusion of union in whole or in part with any other state or partition in any form.

Unfortunately a solution according to these agreed principles has not been forthcoming despite the continuous efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General under his mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Security Council. As matter of fact the Security Council has had to condemn actions by the Turkish side which were contrary to those agreements, the United Nations resolutions and international law and which intended to dismember Cyprus by declaring an independent state on the territory of the Republic occupied by Turkish troops. Similar condemnations were expressed by the Council of Europe, the Commonwealth and other world bodies.

It is now universally realised and widely accepted that the only force that can induce the Turks to come to terms for a fair, just and viable solution of the Cyprus question is the Government of the United State of America.

"The war will be won by those who have the last drop of oil". Rommel in Cairo tried to capture Cyprus because of its strategic location for the control of oil supply in the Middle East and Arab countries

My opinion is that Europe, U.S. and the Middle East need Cyprus to safeguard the supply of oil from the Middle East to the rest of the world. I repeat a free united and democratic Cyprus for all it's people, is a diamond in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Europe and the U.S should spare no efforts to convince the two countries Turkey and Greece to be on friendly terms for their own interests and then there will never be a problem in the Easter Mediterranean. If this happens, that day will be written in golden letters in the world history.

MR. PRESIDENT,

BELOW ARE SOME THOUGHTS FROM
A PERSON HIGH IN THE GREEK GOVERNMENT.
SHE I BELIEVE IS AN AMERICAN.
WE HAD DINNER WITH HER. VERY INTELLIGENT.

MEMO
10.IX.99

Dear David,

As we discussed on that lovely evening in Athens, here are some notes referring to the Cyprus issue from Greek eyes. However, I must add that while the eyes may be Greek the positions are not less pertinent.

DAVID


- Rauf Denktash is in the winter of his political career. His primary political goal at this point in his life is to have history remember him kindly. As such, there is no incentive to be either compromising or forthcoming. Denktash will move only as much as he may have to, in order to appease the power-players. His agreement to come to the tables again as a "community leader" and not as a president will be his concession. Anyone expecting much more will be disappointed. Denktash sees history as describing him as a leader that "defended his people and fended off superpower pressure until his death." He sees no reason to jeopardize this.
- Both Greece and Cyprus are flexible, creative and sincere in their efforts to propose and resolve the issues on the island. By directly or indirectly yielding to Denktash, the prestige and authority of two governments is at stake. Clerides based his election campaign as well as this government, on imminent resolution of the Cyprus issue. He had hope in Holbrooke, but lead to a dead-end. He put hope in the S-300s, but that boomeranged and failed. Being unpredictable, Clerides will be so weakened in the eyes of his country that it wouldn't be beyond him to quit if he foresees failure once again. If so, what would be the next government? For another indefinite number of times, the entire process of seeking a solution for Cyprus begins from zero. The same would apply to the Simitis government. The attacks from the opposition, to include the internal opposition, were it perceived that the Greek government was not holding up to its obligation to protect Cypriot interests, would be relentless.
- Turkey is the key in resolution of the Cyprus question. Turkey tells the US that "Denktash" has the upper hand and they can't exert more pressure on him. This is not true, just as much as it's not true that the US can't exert more pressure on Turkey. There are always ways, provided there is the will. Turkey is the player in the Cyprus equation, and more specifically the Turkish military. If the US looks beyond a narrowly defined national interest presumably served by favored relations with Turkey, then the potential for extracting Turkish concessions become enormous.

- The German example of membership in the EU is well known. When West Germany joined the EU it was with the understanding that whenever the unification of West and East Germany were to be achieved membership to the EU was automatically for the entire unified state. This is the most logical application for Cyprus also. The umbrella of the European Union can give the guarantees that each side seeks. It is the only opportunity that offers a just and viable solution. What more security guarantees could the Turkish Cypriots seek other than those to be found in EU membership with all the benefits that a member state has?! The Turkish Cypriots would have all the advantages the EU has to offer to include employment, development, and better standards of living to only name a few. If their security were under question in a majority Greek Cyprus, if human rights as they fear would be violated, if opportunities would be minimal. Even Turkey stands to gain by one Cyprus is the EU-one of the official languages of the EU will become Turkish; Turkish products and collaboration with the T/C community would be promoted in Europe.
- While NGO level interrelations are good for atmospherics in Cypriot relations, it's not enough. High level politics sets the tone and makes or breaks these efforts. Take for example, when Holbrooke made a breakthrough and actuated a telecommunications link between the two communities, Denktash obstructed its function in practice. When the relations at the public level became more frequent and people got together on both sides, Denktash unilaterally created "TRNC passports" requiring visas, making crossings of the green line nearly impossible. He does not want the people to come together – it undermines his role of King in a Kingdom. However, relations in Cyprus have seen a roller coaster of hope-disappointment at that level.
- Demography of northern Cyprus:
 - 120,000 Turkish settlers
 - 40,000 Turkish military
 - 80,000 real Turkish Cypriots (from 160,000 in 1974)Migration of T/C has been enormous in the last few years. The demography of the island has changed immensely. We are about 2/3 of the population being Turkish and only 1/3 being Turkish Cypriot. In recent years the Turkish Cypriots migrated primarily to England – Now the majority are moving to Australia, Canada and the US. Unemployment amongst the T/C is much higher than that of Turkish settlers because the Turkish settlers are given incentives to go live in Cyprus. Naturally the first incentive is that of employment. With recent events, Turkish Cypriots have lost hope for development and a better standard of life in Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriot and Turkish cultures are different just as the Greeks and Greek Cypriots are. The fact that northern Cyprus is being 'taken over' by

Turks, and the fact that there is no solid promise of a solid future, they are seeking stability and quality of life away from their homeland.

- Clinton stated on national television that he would not rest until every single Kossovian refugee returned home. 250,000 Cypriot refugees ask why is it that after more than 25 years no one seems to be concerned with **their** going home. The latest 'argument' from people in State Department is "Cypriots refugees? It's not the same, they have villas and Mercedes" After twenty-five years, refugees of Kosovo will also have Mercedes and villas. This argument is insulting.
- Cypriots have been disappointed over and over again with "international interest". If the mediators complain (especially those from the US) that there is no "political will" on the part of the Cypriots to resolve the problems on Cyprus, it could be attributed to the fact that there have been so many beginnings, so many disappointments and so little ever accomplished. The question that should really be asked, however, is a different one: Is there really the international political will to find a just and viable solution based on the principles of international law? Or is the goal of the mediators actually to "stabilize the region" at all costs and in any manner. The motivation of the mediators is a major factor in the outcome of Cyprus. Is it international law that serves as the guideline to mediation or economic/political interests? If it's the latter then justice cannot be served and if justice is not served, then the chances are that a solution will never be found.
- There are risks if this problem continues to linger on and if the Cypriot question is not settled with accession to the EU serving as an umbrella of security and prosperity for all Cypriots. The sense of insecurity will continue to grow even for Greek Cypriots. Productive capital will start leaving the island. Cyprus can become the Switzerland-economic hub-for the Middle East, Southeast Europe but also the Caucasus. As the external borders to the east, the EU, but also the US, has enormous interests in making sure that Cyprus becomes secure as soon as possible.
- Ecevit's (and Denktash) repeated statements that "Cyprus is settled" there is nothing to be done anymore is an illusion. When there was momentum in Cypriot negotiations in 1996 two Cypriots were killed by Turkish troops. This didn't happen because the situation in Cyprus was still 'dangerous and explosive' as Turkey held. On the contrary, exactly because things were too 'peaceful' Turkey had to prove that security was still an issue, otherwise their arguments were invalid. The worse part of this incident was that suddenly the Greek Cypriots woke up from their slumber. They realized that the status quo was not security for them.

- Neither Turkey nor Denktash wants to change status quo. Denktash for the reasons noted above. The real obstacle, however, is that Turkey has no incentive to change status quo.
- 1. If Cyprus were settled, then Turkey would have no legitimate reason to be involved with Cypriot affairs. As a member of the EU, the role of "guarantor" would be meaningless. Even if Cyprus were simply an independent non-aligned state satisfied with its government, Turkey would not have any say on the internal affairs.
- 2. Cyprus has always been a bargaining chip for Turkey:
 - Access to Cyprus is defacto territorial extension for Turkey
 - Turkish relations with Denktash has made it possible to send goods to the EU
 - In geo-political terms, Turkey has a foot in the regional importance of Cyprus

 What incentive does Turkey have to settle the Cyprus question? They have, on the other hand, much to gain by continuing the impasse by virtue of involvement and intervention on the island's affairs. Accession to the European Union would solve all problems on Cyprus, but it would also mean that Turkey would no longer have that card to play.

- The US could exert more pressure on Turkey. It is understandable that the US perceives that many issues of American national interests can be served through Turkey. However, Turkey also understands this. As such, Turkey knows that the US will chastise on issues of human rights or on the Cyprus question, but will not go as far as to actually 'punish' Turkey for 'misbehavior'. Perhaps the US should try this once. Turkey has no where else to go. Fundamentalism is not really possible in Turkey-the State Department knows this. Barring a real threat to normal relations, Turkey has no reason to back off from its policy of 25 years.
- US interests in settling Cyprus:
 - Cyprus is an economic center-a rising star- and important crossroads to the Middle East, Caucasus, SE Europe and Africa.
 - Oil lines through Cyprus are sound and feasible through Cyprus.
 - Investments to from and to the Middle East
 - Russians are in Cyprus
 - Geographically and politically useful to purposes of west-If NATO bases were in Cyprus it would be even better
 - It would give more independence to the US if Cyprus were disengaged from Turkey. If there were instability in Turkey it would inevitably spread to the northern part of the island. The US would have more options-

policy options- if Cyprus were truly an independent state. By having all American eggs in one Turkish basket, the US risks a replay of Iran. The US is relying on an eggshell foundation in Turkey. This was especially seen in the aftermath of the earthquake, where for the first time public opinion openly and consciously challenged the all mighty Turkish State. The image has been cracked. While the military guarantees democracy in Turkey, and while the possibility of Turkey turning fundamentalist is minimal, instability still exists.

- If Cyprus is in EU then Turkey will undoubtedly be helped in its effort to join the EU
- The Balkans, Middle East are priorities for US foreign policy. Cyprus is in that arch of instability. If the link is broken, then the chain is useless. Cyprus is a rock of security that the US could rely on, were it settled with the EU context.

ORHAN SULEIMAN

Cyprus tensions revisited

True or false? NATO is to Kosovo as Turkey is to Cyprus. You decide. NATO's justification of its 1999 military intervention in Kosovo was twofold: to remedy the overthrow of traditional Kosovar autonomy within Yugoslavia; and to undo and punish ethnic cleansing and war crimes perpetrated by Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and his loyalists.

Turn the reel of history back 35 years to Cyprus.

In December 1963, a bloodbath commenced with a premeditated Greek Cypriot attack on the Turkish Cypriots in pursuit of their age-old dream of "Enosis" (union with Greece). The lethal and brutal assaults persisted for 11 years under the aegis of Archbishop Makarios, the "president" of the 1960 Republic of Cyprus. It was founded as a partnership state of the two peoples of the island guaranteed by international treaties. The Greek Cypriot leadership aimed to destroy the very same constitution and partnership that it had pledged to honor.

The 1960 partnership Republic erected safeguards against Greek Cypriot domination. The Turkish Cypriots enjoyed a fixed quota of executive, legislative, judicial, civil service and military representation, plus strong local autonomy in specified municipalities. The Turkish Cypriot vice president held a veto equivalent to that of the Greek Cypriot president. In its initial years, this partnership arrangement operated with minor bumps created by the Greek Cypriots. For example, Archbishop Makarios' bold vow that, "Even if the Constitutional Court says that what I am doing [on municipalities] is unconstitutional, I will not respect any of those things," provoked the resignation of the German president of the court.

In December 1963, Archbishop Makarios manufactured a crisis by insisting on amendments that would shatter the partnership Constitution and reduce the Turkish Cypriot people to servility. The Turkish Cypriots balked, and for the temerity of defending their constitutional rights, Makarios unleashed the notorious "Akritas Plan," a mini-version of the Final Solution.

From a population approximating 120,000, tens of thousands of Turkish Cypriots were slaughtered, plundered and driven from their homes into defensive enclaves by Greek and Greek Cypriot soldiers and guardsmen. More than 20 percent were made refugees or displaced persons, the proportionate equivalent of 70 million Americans. More than 100 villages and mosques were destroyed.

Was this genocide? This is the testimony of United States Undersecretary of State George Ball in his "Memoirs": "Makarios' central interest was to block off Turkish intervention so that he and his Greek Cypriots could go on happily massacring Turkish Cypriots. . . I said to him sharply . . . 'The world's not going to stand idly by and let you turn this beautiful island into your private abattoir.' I telegraphed the president. . . 'The Greek Cypriots do not want a peacekeeping force; they just want to be left alone to kill Turkish Cypriots.'"

On Feb. 17, 1964, The Washington Post reported that "Greek Cypriot fanatics appear bent on a policy of genocide." Former Greek Prime Minister Constantinos Mitsotakis recently acknowledged: "The attempt by Makarios to abrogate the very agreements he had signed was a mistake which constituted a crime. Because from that point on the situation dragged Cyprus into bloody events and led to crimes committed by the Greek Cypriot side against the Turkish Cypriot side which we cannot deny."

On July 15, 1974, the military junta ruling Greece overthrew the Greek Cypriot administration of Archbishop Makarios by force. Nicos Sampson, a malevolent

EOKA terrorist bent on immediate Enosis, and the extermination of Turkish Cypriots, replaced Makarios. And the bloodbaths began again.

When the Greek military coup promised a reprise of the 1963-64 horror story for the Turkish Cypriot people, Turkey intervened with military force as both a humanitarian mission and as a defender of international order. The dispatch of troops was expressly authorized under Article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee and was legally irrefragable; it was no lawless invasion.

The Athens Court of Appeal, no partisan of Turkey, explained in a March 1979 decision: "The Turkish military intervention in Cyprus which was carried out in accordance with the Zurich and London Agreements was legal. Turkey, as one of the Guarantor powers, had the right to fulfill her obligations. The real culprits . . . are the Greek Officers who engineered and staged the coup and prepared the conditions for this intervention." The Athens court echoed an earlier conclusion of the Standing Committee of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Since 1974, two equal and democratic political sovereigns have evolved on Cyprus amidst peace and general tranquility: the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus headed by President Rauf Denktas; and a Greek Cypriot administration led by President Glafcos Clerides.

The United Nations Security Council, the European Union and President Clerides, however, insist the Greek Cypriot administration hold the legitimate right to rule over the Turkish Cypriot people. That posture contradicts international law and morality and the facts on the ground, akin to denying the Pythagorean theorem.

Negotiations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot states that do not at the outset officially recognize their sovereign equality would build on a false bottom and instantly capsize. The withholding of that recognition is what is stalling a permanent agreement on Cyprus.

Orhan Suleiman is former president of the Maryland American Turkish Association.

* No Turkish Cypriots were attacked or killed. The junta killed approximately 200 Greek Cypriots overthrowing the Cyprus government.

Other parts of this article and much information that is presented on the Turks' behalf crosses the line of propaganda.

This article shows how ventriloquists ARE CIRCULATED TO CHANGE history. NO TURKS WERE KILLED BY GREEKS. IT WAS AN ALL GREEK HAPPENING. THERE IS HISTORICAL PROOF OF THIS - DAVID

Defense & Foreign Affairs

Strategic Policy



Pakistan's Bid For Leverage

Mountain Warfare, Trench
Tactics and Global Maneuver

7, 1999

**TURKEY at its Most Vital Strategic Crossroad ...
Learning the AIR POWER Lessons of Kosovo ...
and Washington, Too, Looks at Kosovo's Lessons**

Defense & Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy

The Journal of the International Strategic Studies Association

www.StrategicStudies.org

The Cover

An Indian Army Chetak helicopter flies between the mountains of Kashmir near Kargil. Strategic Policy Senior Editor Yossef Bodansky took the shot from a second Chetak, flying over Indian positions and Pakistan Army positions inside the Indian side of the Line of Control during the current fighting.

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This edition of Strategic Policy went to press on July 13, 1999.

Special Studies

- 4 **Turkey, So Close to the Promise of Atatürk, Sees Its Strategic Options Withering**

The end of the Cold War brought the promise that Turkey would be able to recapture its lost influence in Central Asia, among the Turkic nations newly freed from the USSR; that it would command, in a modern sense, influence over the Muslim world. And that it would be the massive Eastern anchor of Europe. The dream proved ephemeral.
- 11 **Air Power and the Kosovo War**

Dr Johnson remarked that men need to be reminded more often

than they need to be instructed. Human nature has not changed in the 200 years since he said it and the opportunities to demonstrate it have grown. Witness the recent air campaign over Yugoslavia. Before diving into the flood of detailed technical studies of what went right and wrong, it is worth looking back at the basic truths which emerged from air warfare early and have stayed true.

- 13 **Pentagon Report: Washington Looks at Kosovo's Lessons**

Did the Kosovo air war create a *de facto* new "doctrine"? Indeed, just what are "the lessons learned". The US is now starting to seriously look at the impact of the conflict, and its cost.

- 20 **The Kashmir War: Neither Safe Nor Ending**

Fighting in Kashmir between India and Pakistan continues, and it is a foreboding of a much bigger conflict to come. Strategic Policy Senior Editor Yossef Bodansky, in Kashmir to observe the conflict at first hand, has filed extensively on the events, following his report in the 5-6, 1999, edition of this journal. The new war, however, is far more than merely a revival of old fighting along the Line of Control (LOC). The war has been the key to Pakistan's moves to internationalize the Kashmir crisis, and involve the US in a resolution.

The international journal of national management

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1913-1995

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Early Warning

By Gregory R. Copley

Turkey's Time of Historic Decision

BRUTUS, IN SHAKESPEARE'S *Julius Cæsar*, in one of the verses which, to me, serves as a great warning against delay, notes: "There is a tide in the affairs of men / Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune; / Omitted, all the voyage of their life / Is bound in shallows and in miseries. / On such a full sea are we now afloat, / And we must take the current when it serves, / Or lose our ventures."

The fortunes of one of the pivotal states of the past thousand years — Turkey — are now at that flood tide. This most vital geopolitical entity, which serves as the crossroads between Europe and Asia, North and South, between Westernism and the Middle East, faces a critical series of choices over the coming couple of years. Failure to act appropriately will condemn the Turkish State and Turkish People to decline and perhaps erosion within, say, 20 years.

Turkey must decide almost immediately if it is going to accept the only real strategic option open to it — integration with the West, both the European Union and NATO/North America — or realize that, "omitted, all the voyage of its life is bound in shallows and in miseries".

There are those who will say that this is too harsh, or too dramatic, a portrayal of Turkey's options. In this edition of *Strategic Policy*, we have attempted to show why there can be no further delay in Turkey coming to grips with the challenge. It is a critical decision not only for Turkey, but also for all of Western and Eastern Europe, Russia and the CIS states, and for the United States. It is not overstating the case to say that it could also be critical for Israel, Egypt and the flow of East-West maritime trade through the Eastern Mediterranean.

But it is not an easy path for Turkey. The country faces many economic and political problems, domestically, at present, and these problems will certainly be made more difficult or challenging by attempting to move the country in the direction needed to attune Turkey to the West, once and

for all.

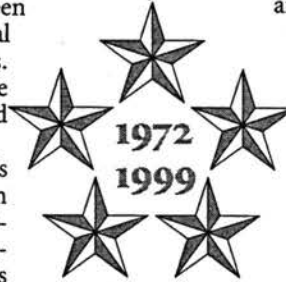
The cultural changes required — such as giving up the dreams of empire as Britain, France, Russia and others transformed their own dreams — seem more difficult for Turkey. Indeed, the dreams are perhaps more critical at a time when economic and political problems plague the average voter.

Part of the change will need to be transforming Turkish policy with regard to the Cyprus question. A quarter of a century ago, in 1974, the re-conquest of Northern Cyprus by Turkish forces came as a result of decades of dreaming, and seemed to answer a need among many Turks to reclaim not just part of Cyprus but their national pride. It was a brief meal, and it has caused prolonged indigestion.

Today, few could manage a credible strategic, economic or social argument to sustain Turkey's continued position with regard to Cyprus. Indeed, the political, strategic and economic costs of Turkey's present Cyprus position are now untenable and unaffordable for the country.

Many states have spent decades supporting Turkey because of its geo-strategic importance. The US, Israel, Germany, France and Britain, have all helped support Turkey, often overlooking political, social or economic problems which they would not overlook in others. Turkey's friends will continue to support her, but if Turkey fails to help itself, and fails to take the most logical path of integrating itself with the global trading community, then those states will not be able to save Turkey from the destructive forces which will beset it.

And at that time, perhaps starting a decade from now and maturing a decade farther on, Turkey's onetime allies will be guarding *against* the instability which will come from or via Turkey, rather than trying to help her. There is no easy path for Turkey's leaders today, but there is a right one. ★



Defense & Foreign Affairs
LEADERSHIP

India and Pakistan at a Dangerous Junction

WE HAVE BECOME ALMOST INURED to the news of renewed fighting in Kashmir. There always seems to be "renewed fighting" at this "roof of the world" battlefield. But today, there is something different. The Kashmir dispute has been, finally, internationalized by the deliberate and delicate military-political policies which Pakistani leaders have played out by opening a major military front against the Indian-controlled sector of Kashmir.

Significantly, the evolution of events had been conspiring to marginalize Pakistan's strategic importance of late. China, Pakistan's longtime ally and protector *vis-à-vis* India, had become less than ever dependent on Pakistan for routes to the south-west. The *rapprochement* suggested by Russia between herself, China (PRC) and India would totally have marginalized Pakistan. It is true that such an alliance might never become workable, but that it had been suggested

was a source of concern to Pakistan.

Pakistan's thrust into Kashmir could well have been an attempt, among other things, to open up the linking geography between Pakistan and China, thus obviating any need for Beijing to become too close to India. The move could also have been meant to placate an increasingly radical segment of Pakistani society as the "Talibanization" of Pakistan occurs due to the spillover of fundamentalism from the Afghan war and societal evolution.

The method of enhancing its significance internationally, however, may have been too risky and ill-considered, however. Pakistani leaders say (as noted in our report on page 20) that the initiative has internationalized the Kashmir dispute, at last, with the US Clinton Administration committed to a resolution within 18 months. So once again, we see Pakistan risking its survival over Kashmir.

Is this the most efficient way Pakistan can rebuild its security? ★

Turkey, So Close to the Promise of Atatürk, Sees Its Strategic Options Withering

The end of the Cold War brought the promise that Turkey would be able to recapture its lost influence in Central Asia, among the Turkic nations newly-freed from the USSR; that it would command, in a modern sense, influence over the Muslim world. And that it would be the massive Eastern anchor of Europe. The dream proved ephemeral. The question is, what can Turkey salvage of its strategic vision? Because it must decide quickly.

STAND BACK FROM THE issues of immediate concern clouding the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean and it is clear that the options for Turkey's strategic future are slowly, but inexorably, becoming increasingly limited. It is at a point where it must make choices, and make them soon, if it is not to slide into a decline of far greater significance than the loss of the Ottoman Empire.

Turkish political and (more significantly) military leaders will at first deny this reality, but the trends are ominous and seemingly unrelenting. The end of the Cold War changed Turkey's geopolitical and strategic realities and options in a quiet process which is continuing. The anticipated benefits of the end of the bipolar world have not materialized for Turkey.

The Central Asian Turkic states have not overwhelmingly embraced Turkey in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal; nor were they in a position to do so. The anticipated political and economic benefits have not materialized from Turkey's well-conceived and strong commitment to diplomacy, aid and trade in this region. It may have been that Saudi and Iranian competition and aid in the region proved more attractive, but those states, too, have not achieved any great strategic success in Central Asia. It is more likely that the states of Central Asia were not ready or able to commit to any great new alliance.

As well, the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Russia have a strong hold on the attention of the Central Asians, at present. The "New Silk Road" and the regional exploitation of fossil fuels and other resources holds, by and large, much more appeal.

Dreams of Samarkand remain just dreams.

And of the prospects of returning as a political and economic leader to the traditional Ottoman lands to the South and East, there also remains far less hope than originally anticipated. Egypt remains a viable trading partner, as does Iran (which was never in the grasp of the Ottomans), but neither would treat with Turkey other than as equals. The remaining remnants of the Ottoman Empire are, for Turkey, changed beyond return. None of them promise the hope of becoming part of a modern Turkish trading empire, but several hold the prospect of poisoning Turkey with radicalism which has no care for worldly prosperity.

For the followers of the late President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk — who believe as did his Young Turks when they overthrew the Ottoman Sultanate early in the 20th Century that Turkey's future lay with modernization, industrialization, and secular Westernism — what today seeps into Turkey from the Muslim world, along with the trade and investment, is radical politics, either of the Islamist variety or of the separatist Kurdish kind.

Even Turkey's most industrialized Muslim neighbor, Iran, holds no enormous promise of future mutual economic growth; rather, it remains a rival in Central Asia, a competitor for influence in the Balkans, a source of instability and a font of radical Islamism and even a haven for Kurds. Iraq is damaged beyond the hope of becoming a great market for Turkey in the coming decade or two; Syria is more rival and antagonist than market. And Iraq and Syria will increasingly become querulous and troublesome on the question of sharing the downstream waters which originate in Turkish rivers.

If the Turkish General Staff could seal Turkey's borders with the Muslim neighbor-states — perhaps leaving enough of a gap for the oil pipelines to flow up from the South — then in all probability it would. To the North, Russia, Ukraine and Georgia hold little promise of sufficient support for a revival of Turkish power and wealth. Reasonable trading partners, but not the stuff which

Turkish dreams of great prosperity and revival are made of.

All that remains is the vision which Atatürk painted for them: the West.

And it is in the West that Turkey has prospects: from trade, investment, industrial and technological partnership, political interaction, respect and acceptance. Turkey performed bulwark service for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for almost 50 years; it earned respect, and its geography guaranteed it a rôle in the West's containment of the Soviet Union and (in the minds of some Westerners) post-Soviet Russia.

And yet the West, too, is a poisoned chalice for Turkey.

If the North, South and East promise Turkey nothing but stagnation, or at best decline and emptiness, at least in the West there is the prospect of being part of the industrial, prosperous group of nations. But to achieve entry into the West — the European Union, in particular — changes must be made in the very way in which Turkey is governed and how it conducts its domestic, regional and international affairs. What has beguiled Turkish leaders and lulled them into a false sense of security is the fact that Turkey has been able to pursue its own path in the post-World War II years, without major interference from either the US or Western European states. On the contrary, even when its actions were seen as undemocratic (such as the military assumption of government at the expense of the democratic process), the US and the major European states protected the Turkish leadership from criticism.

Now, for the first time, Turkey is likely to face some changes in that regard.

For a start, the European Union (EU) will never consider Turkey a candidate for EU membership as long as the Armed Forces, via the General Staff, hold sway over the elected Presidency and Government and not the other way around. But in order for Turkey to qualify for membership on the grounds of economic stability and political and social stability, the General Staff feels that its hand alone is strong enough to suppress the nagging radicalism, irredentism and anti-progressive traditions of some aspects of the society.

In other words, if the General Staff agrees to suborn itself entirely to the wishes of the elected Presidency and Parliament, then the State will (the military believes) fall into chaos as the populism of politicians panders to religiously-oriented and ill-educated voters. Turkey would return to the internal wars of the 1970s when, basically, the secularists, the populist Islamic sector, the Kurds, Armenians and others all pitched into an unruly fray.

So there can be no sudden rush to take

the General Staff's hand off the levers of power, many secularists today believe. And there are many in the US and Europe (and Israel) who agree with this.

The problem is that unless *something* is done fairly quickly, Turkey will be increasingly isolated from Europe and the opportunity will pass. As it is, every year which passes is a year in which Turkey falls behind the economic growth of Western Europe. [Significantly, the strategic gap between Turkey and Greece, its major "rival" in the region, narrows each year, both in economic terms and militarily. This is a process which will certainly continue, given present trends.] Ironically, the leadership (as opposed to the general public) of most member states of the European Union themselves want Turkey to be able to join them, but only if Ankara can dispense with some of its baggage along the way.

Even among the Kemalists, however, the thought of Turkish membership of the European Union has what is almost too high a price: the subordination of the Turkish identity and the abandonment for all time of the revival of Turkish grandeur as a separate and sovereign thing. The same type of fear has plagued many in Britain, and many in France. And some in Germany who had hoped, finally, to see a united Germany fulfill the promise which Bismark held out to them. But these once-imperial powers gulped and shrugged off their scarlet and ermine cloaks to build a more prosperous world within a united Europe. That, at least, was the recompense for making an historical break with the past.

For Turkey, the choice is far more simple. The last hope of the revival of a Kemalist-led Ottoman-like empire, briefly glimpsed as a prospect at the end of the Cold War, has gone if it ever existed. The choice is between decline and chaos within two decades, or to find a way to join the West. Within "the West" there also remains the choice between the United States (say, North America) and the European Union, because at some stage in the future the EU and the US will become economic competitors, if not geo-strategic ones.

For Turkey, the most viable future, however, lies with the geographically more logical association with the European Union. This does not preclude a continued special relationship with the US but this has its limitations. As Ankara recently discovered, the US "recommendation" that the EU embrace Turkey was not well received by the EU. In the meantime, the present half-link between the EU and Turkey and the friendly support from the US combine to give Turkey a modest outlook for the next few years. Again, not without a price: the Interna-



Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit: Can he and the Turkish General Staff make the necessary changes to take advantage of new opportunities in the West?

tional Monetary Fund (IMF) in July 1999 clearly placed terms on its support for Turkey. The IMF said in early July 1999 that Turkey must take "strategic steps" before a new economic reform program can be agreed and a possible \$5- to \$10-billion loan package agreed. Turkey lost some \$7-billion in foreign capital during the Russian crisis of 1998, but to get in the new IMF funding the structural changes needed are likely to face enormous union and popular pressure.

Already the Turkish public deficit is expected to rise to 12 percent this year, from 7.7 percent last year. The pension system alone shows a deficit equivalent to three percent of the GNP. The plans by the three-party Ecevit coalition to raise the retirement age from 38 to 62 for women and from 43 to 62 for men have encountered strong union resistance, and the parliamentary bill for the plan was withdrawn in early July to be re-designed and re-presented in late July 1999. A national strike is possible.

How, then, can Turkey overcome its problems, enter into Europe, expand its special relationship with the US, and become, finally and forever, part of the leadership of the West?

There are many who say that Turkey could not in 50 years meet the criteria for joining the EU, and there is little likelihood that the rules would be bent too far to allow a non-compliant Turkey into the club. But those who say that Turkey cannot change sufficiently rapidly, nor bring its house to order, are reminiscent of those who felt that the decayed communist states of Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland could never break their molds and reshape them — as Omar Khayyâm said — "nearer to thy heart's

desire”.

Turkey has the base of educated, skilled workers and the capital base to make the transition within a reasonable timeframe, if given the opportunity. But there remain other problems: the Kurdish question and the Cyprus question.

Both relate to the fundamental question of respect for human rights, although Turkish leaders would balk at this. And Turkish leaders would also claim that these are both issues of domestic concern; indeed, that the Cyprus question is already “settled”. After all, the Cyprus invasion took place 25 years ago, in the Summer of 1974; it is ancient history.

Why would Turkish leaders not say this? The Western supporters of Turkey have consistently allowed Turkey to believe that these were issues which would not invoke penalties.

But the Turkish belief that these issues will not be the cause of their long-term isolation is a form of psychological denial. They yet will haunt the Turkish leadership.

The Turkish belief that the nation’s geopolitical importance to the West will outweigh these “small problems” will be proven false. What will happen, if Turkey fails to mend its problems, is that the EU and the US will continue to deal with Turkey as they deal with it today, and the Turkish economy will bump along as it does today, unable to make the breakthrough necessary to restore true stability and economic power.

How many analysts believe that Turkey’s stability will improve over, say, the next decade, unless Turkey has the internal resources, will and support to finally eradicate political unrest, raise living and educational standards and eliminate terrorism? It has been said by numerous observers of Turkey that the fatalism and ignorance of the majority of the population in the past was the key to the military’s ability to control the state and to perpetuate its secular ideals. But it has also been said that the fatalism and ignorance which still widely exist — although to a lesser extent than even a few decades ago — will lead to the downfall of Turkey.

This is the fatalism and isolationism which leads many Turks to believe that the world is against them; that the world, indeed, is jealous of Turkey’s pride. This, in turn, induces a belief among many that the pressures of an outside world to compromise — to give away that which had been won by blood — may safely be ignored.

There is, however, a harsh period ahead which Turkey cannot avoid. No matter what options are chosen (including making no major decisions), there is no escape from the coming hardship. The IMF has confirmed that 1999 GNP growth will be down by 0.5 percent against the Government’s modest 2.3 percent estimate, to 1.8 percent. The GNP fell 8.4 percent in the first quarter of 1999 after a 3.8 percent growth in 1998 and 8.3 percent in 1997.

In the face of this, the Cyprus issue seems unimportant to Ankara or, at best, an opportunity to distract Turkish voters from problems at home.

Among the more immediate concerns, however, are the ramifications of the capture, trial, and sentence of execution of Kurdish Workers’ Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Ocalan. The execution of Ocalan creates a Kurdish martyr. To compromise with Ocalan — who in July was still begging for his life in exchange for cooperation with the Government — may have some short-term advantages, but ultimately would probably lead to longer-term creation of an even more angry and vengeful PKK.¹

It is probable that there is a middle way: commuting his sentence to life in prison, but yet not using Ocalan as the conduit to the disenfranchised Turkish Kurds. Rather, taking the opportunity separately to politicize the Kurdish issue in such a way that it can be channeled into the mainstream. There is no easy answer, and the Turkish Government, committed to maintaining the dignity of its principles and the majesty of its laws, is unwilling to compromise.

The same is true of the Cyprus question. Turkish politicians know full-well that the electorate by-and-large views Cyprus through the prism of the maxim noted earlier: “Land which has been taken by Turkish blood cannot be surrendered”. What Turkish politician would retain his power base if he went against this sentiment? Indeed, what Turkish politician even feels the need to modify national policy on this issue: the US, Britain and even Greece (under the ill-fated *junta* of the colonels until 1974) had literally encouraged Turkey — at least *de facto* — to partition Cyprus in 1974.

Of course, in reality the entire Ottoman Empire was surrendered in various stages from the Balkans and the Mediterranean to the Arabian areas in the 19th and 20th Centuries. The Young Turks were able to accept this because the Otto-

man Empire was a cumbersome remnant of an inefficient and antique past. In other words, the loss of the territory could be accepted because its loss was at the hands of, or because of, the failed Sultanate and no blame could be attached to the Kemalists.

Today, the Prime Minister of Turkey is the same Bulent Ecevit who ordered the invasion of Cyprus in the Summer of 1974. [At that time, the Armed Forces made it clear that he would not survive, politically, unless he went through with the invasion; indeed, the Nixon Administration in the US and the Greek *junta* had given their blessings to it. Britain, a guarantor power of the 1960 independence, walked away from its responsibility, also clearing the path for Turkey’s actions.] Theoretically, it would seem that he would be the last to surrender what Turkey had planned so long to re-acquire.

And yet Ecevit also knows that the strategic realities which impelled the 1974 decision no longer exist. However, even though the strategic framework has changed, the structures put in place as a result of the 1974 decision *do* remain, and it is these structures which now impede the Ecevit Government from moving forward.

Now it is the Summer of 1999. Dust rises from the Cypriot plains; haze pastels the empty spartan hills. Cyprus bakes in a seemingly motionless and quiet afternoon siesta. Nothing seems to have changed; all appears as it was and will be. But the vision is false.

There has been substantial strategic change on the ground on the island of Cyprus over the past two years. Turkish militarization of the northern sector of the island — the 37 percent of the land-mass seized in the invasion and now claimed as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) — has increased substantially. Not only has the military infrastructure been modernized and enlarged, but so too have the numbers of Turkish forces deployed to Cyprus.

The Turkish invasion was approved by Ecevit in 1974, ostensibly because there was a security threat to the Turkish Cypriot minority on the island from the majority Greek Cypriot community. In fact, there is strong documentary evidence that there had been considerable planning afoot in Turkey and among those Turkish Cypriot leaders holding cabinet posts in Cyprus, well before the invasion. Indeed, as the Turkish Cypriot minority

¹ Turkish officials acknowledge that the death sentence imposed on Ocalan could lead to a deterioration in relations with its Western European and US weapons suppliers. A *Defense News* report from Ankara, published on July 12, 1999, said: “At the same time, Turkey’s relations with the United States are expected to fray over another controversial issue: Cyprus. Analysts in the United States warn that Turkey’s likely resistance to Western pressure for concessions on the Mediterranean island may complicate US arms sales to Ankara. ‘Disputes with Germany and Britain are [also] almost inevitable,’ one Turkish Defense official told *Defense News*, speaking of Ocalan’s death sentence. ‘The French, however, may remain rather pragmatic.’”

had been scattered throughout the overall community; it did not comprise a majority in any area of the island. The objective, to make viable a "federal" division — *taksim*, meaning "partition", in Turkish — of the island was to bring Turkish Cypriots into consolidated areas, where they could command a local majority, policed by its own officials.

Rauf Denktaş was later (and still) to say that the Turkish Cypriots were hounded into ghettos by the Greek Cypriots. But the documents which subsequently came to life, and signed by the Turkish leaders, disprove this. The US Johnson Administration had made it clear to the Turks that *taksim* could not be considered unless the Turkish Cypriots had territory identified with them. Hence the move to consolidate, often forcibly, the Turkish Cypriot minority into northern Cyprus.

Today, in any event, the 124,000 or so Turkish Cypriot community of 1974 has withered down to about 80,000 at most; possibly as few, in 1996, as 65,000. The remainder have left the island to seek new lives elsewhere. Dramatically more Turkish Cypriots left the island in the past 25 years of "protection" by Turkish troops than was the case in the 25 years leading up to 1974.

Now, these 80,000 remaining Turkish Cypriots are guarded by some 40,000 Turkish mainland forces, quite apart from the Turkish force contingent permitted under the 1960 Accords at the independence of Cyprus from the United Kingdom, and apart from the security forces of the TRNC Administration of Rauf Denktaş.

The Turkish Cypriots who have left did so because of the loss of opportunity and because the Turkish Government instituted a policy of bringing in mainland settlers from Anatolian Turkey. Now the settlers comprise the majority of the TRNC population: there are more than 100,000 of them in Northern Cyprus, some intermarried with the Turkish Cypriot population.

Turkish Cypriots have always had a separate identity and culture from mainland Turks. They share language and religion, but not necessarily in the same way. Some Turkish Cypriots undoubtedly have followed the same passionate pro-mainland line of Rauf Denktaş; most, however, have traditionally lived in harmony with their Greek Cypriot, Orthodox Christian neighbors. Denktaş

has even admitted in 1984 that a colleague had planted the June 7, 1958, bomb at the Turkish Consulate's Information Office in Nicosia.² This was undertaken "to create an atmosphere of tension so that people would know that Turkish Cypriots mattered", but clearly so that the Greek Cypriot community would be blamed for the incident. And it is true that in those days there were also Greek Cypriot extremists. The incident sparked the riots and subsequent intercommunal violence in which, in the short term, many died. Ultimately, it led to the polarization of the communities, which was in part used by Greece and Turkey for the Greek *junta's* abortive but violent coup against Cypriot President/Archbishop Makarios III in 1974, the consequent 1974 Turkish invasion, and today's stagnant separation.

This report does not have the scope to give the complete details of the background and rationale of the Turkish invasion. Clearly, the Greek-organized attempted coup against the Cypriot Government, ostensibly in order to achieve Cypriot *enosis* (union) with Greece, was the *casus belli* for the Turkish invasion, as both the Greek military *junta* knew it was to be and as the US Nixon Administration encouraged it to be.³

It is claimed now — to use the Croatian phrase invented for use against the Serbs in World Wars I and II — that Europe's first post World War II case of "ethnic cleansing" took place in the 1974 invasion: some 200,000 Greek Cypriots deprived of their homes and livelihoods; many were killed, raped and wounded. Many disappeared. And the Turks have never responded to requests for information about those who were swallowed up by their invasion.

Greek Cypriots were denied the right to return to their homes.

It is the same story of moral outrage which was claimed to have impelled the US and NATO to launch a war this year against Yugoslavia, except that in 1974 the deaths were more readily documented and the world community was silent. For Turkey, the matter was settled, and the world has not yet really complained. The various United Nations resolutions attempting to settle the matter have been ignored with impunity by Ankara. Why should Turkey not feel that the matter has been laid to rest and forgotten?

Clearly, however, the question of the application by the Republic of Cyprus for

accession into the EU brings the unresolved problem once again into the spotlight. And with this have come European Court law suits against Turkey for restitution of property to Greek Cypriots, and other EU comments on the problem.

The problem is only now, in reality, becoming an obstacle for Turkey's progress in its relations with the West.

But perhaps, also, the delay may mean that the issue could provide an opportunity for Turkey. It is probably the most significant bargaining chip in Turkey's diplomatic arsenal.

Firstly, Turkey's Government must evaluate the strategic realities surrounding the Cyprus issue, from its own standpoint.

THE MAIN OBSTACLES WITHIN CYPRUS

THE TOTAL SEPARATION of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities for the past 25 years, because of the policies of the Denktaş leadership of the Turkish-occupied areas, has meant that the two formerly integrated communities are now, to some extent, strangers to each other. However, it is fairly accurate to say that the Turkish Cypriot community still, in some ways, feels closer to the Greek Cypriots than to the Anatolian Turkish settlers who have been brought into the Turkish-occupied areas by the Turkish Government.

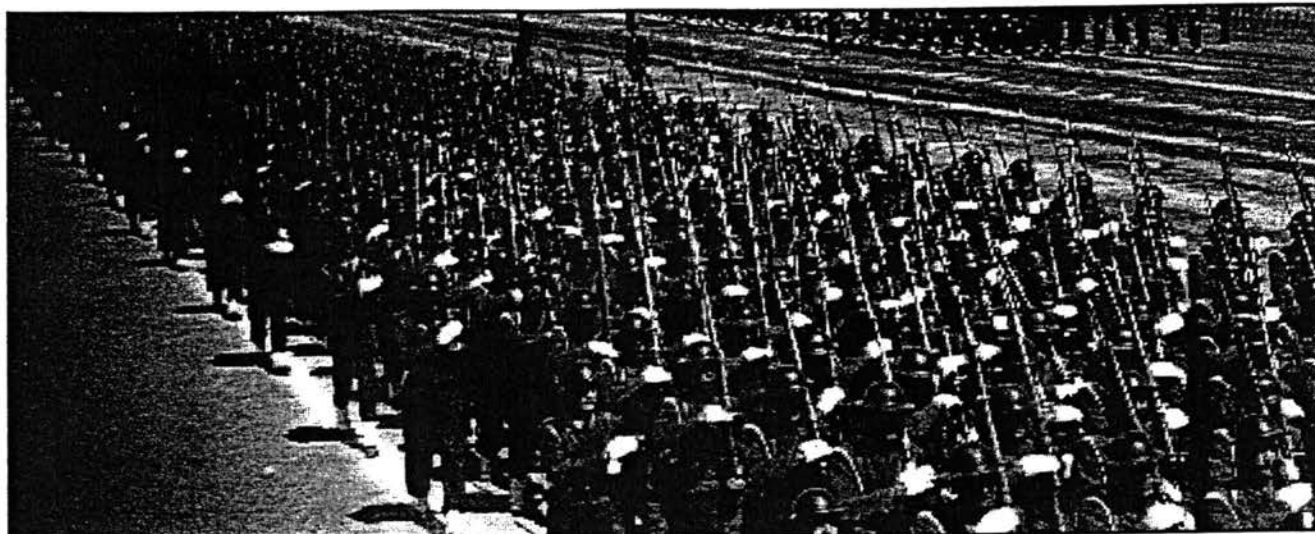
The process of acceptable normalization of a unified Cyprus would clearly entail the conscious creation by the two communities of integrated planning to agree common national social and economic goals. This is far more feasible now than was the case in 1974 when the Turkish invasion occurred, partly because the Greek Cypriot community has dramatically changed its views.

The insensitivity of the majority Greeks toward the Turkish Cypriot community before 1974 has been recognized, and today's Greek Cypriots — both at governmental as well as at grass-roots levels — have come to understand the need to give more than equal treatment to the Turkish Cypriot minority. The real problem lies with the introduction into the island of the Anatolian Turkish population, now outnumbering the Turkish Cypriots.

The Greek Cypriot community would clearly like, as a settlement measure, to see

2 Hitchens, Christopher: *Hostage to History: Cyprus From the Ottomans to Kissinger*. Preface to the Second Edition. Quoted from the Third Edition. London, 1997: Verso books. This outstanding book details much of the documentary evidence of US, British, Greek and Turkish planning leading to and following the 1974 invasion.

3 There is now widespread documentary evidence that the Turks were given reason to believe that the US and Greece supported *taksim* and the overthrow of Archbishop Makarios' Government, and that this was the solution which suited not only Turkey but the West. Significantly, there has been no pressure since 1974 to change this belief, despite occasional public expressions of concern over the unresolved situation in Cyprus. Certainly, there has been no real attempt to address the "ethnic cleansing" through which the Turkish invasion killed or displaced some 200,000 Greek Cypriots.



Turkish troops after World War II: already planning for the partition of Cyprus.

as many of these Turkish mainland settlers returned to Turkey proper. This would only be partially feasible, given the fact that many now have Cyprus-born children and may have married into the Cypriot community. This the Greeks understand and accept for obvious humanitarian reasons; for the remainder, they would be prepared, it seems, to offer financial incentives for their return to Turkey. And many Turkish Cypriots, particularly those who since 1974 felt impelled to leave the island in the face of the loss of their country to the mainland Turks, agree, and such a move would certainly bring about the return of many of the 40- to 45,000 Turkish Cypriots who had left their homeland for economic and social reasons over the past 25 years.

But this is a functional problem. The major problem well ahead of such practical considerations, both with regard to domestic barriers to resolution of the situation as well as to international barriers, remains psychological. The Turkish Cypriot leadership around and including Rauf Denktaş can clearly see no advantage in "resolution"; they would lose their status, freedom of action, and their wealth. Almost certainly, Rauf Denktaş and the "power élite" of the Turkish-occupied area will not agree to any form of reintegration of the two parts of Cyprus unless forced to do so by events or by the Turkish Government. And at present, they hold the Turkish Government hostage.

At present, it could be argued, the Denktaş Administration electorally represents the Turkish Cypriot and Turkish émigré peoples of the occupied area of northern Cyprus. But that is largely because of the votes for Denktaş by the settler groups as much as anything; after all, settlers now outnumber the Turkish Cypriot community. But, as in the parallel

with Yugoslavia's President Slobodan Milošević who was elected to office democratically, it could be said that Denktaş has not actually fully and honestly represented the best interests of the Turkish Cypriot community. The economic statistics speak for themselves. Turkish Cypriots earn only 30 percent of the wages of their counterparts in the Greek-speaking area. And the infrastructure of the occupied territories falls increasingly behind that of the rest of Cyprus. The gap is widening, and there is little hope of catching up, given present trends. Little wonder that Denktaş prohibits his people from mingling with Greek Cypriots.

As presently configured, it is unlikely, then, that the Denktaş Administration, or its successor (under the present political structure in occupied Cyprus), will ever willingly go along with the reintegration and normalization of Cyprus. It remains unlikely that he or his Administration will participate properly in the proposed Autumn 1999 UN-sponsored talks in West Point, New York (or similar venue), aimed at moving toward a resolution of the issue.

In the minds of Denktaş, there is no problem to resolve; the matter has already been finalized with the creation of his "state", no matter that it is neither economically viable nor internationally-recognized. And here, by viability, we mean the ability of the body to survive independently without economic, military and political support of an ongoing nature from an outside sponsor. At present, the TRNC lacks the vital elements of sovereignty, although it could just as easily in the past 25 years have achieved them. Had it done so (and this would have meant taking an economic and political policy line not tied with the Turkish *lira*, among other things), Denktaş's case would be much stronger today.

Clearly, as the reality of the European and world situation impels a resolution of the Cyprus issue, Denktaş has strengthened his determination to resist this "inevitability". There are strong signs that he is reviving his push for international recognition of the TRNC, but even Turkey's allies in Central Asia have not agreed to this (which demonstrates as well the failure of the Central Asian policy of the post-Cold War Turkish Government). The international Islamic Conference, representing the Muslim states, recently indicated that it sympathized with the TRNC, but this has not yet resulted in any formal recognition by Muslim states. Delegations from Pakistan and Chechnya also recently visited the TRNC, but whether this is a prelude to recognition is debatable.

At the same time, Denktaş, and the Turkish Government, have during the past two years plowed an enormous amount of their resources into building up their military positions in Cyprus, both in terms of military structures and infrastructure. But for what purpose? Not even the Denktaş Administration believes that a Greek/Greek Cypriot military assault is likely to be mounted to reunify the country, despite the outdated claims of Denktaş's officials that the Greek community remains "bent on the Hellenization of all of Cyprus".

Turkish and Greek officials in mid-July 1999 were still arguing about the withdrawal of US-supplied weapons systems from their respective forces in Cyprus, demanded by the US. However, in 25 years the Turks, in particular, have not bothered to respond to this demand, and have not withdrawn their US equipment. Given that most of the Turkish armor in Cyprus [see box] is US-made, it is unlikely that full compliance will occur.⁴

Turkish President Suleyman Demirel

said on July 9, 1999, that Turkey could not go back to the *status quo ante*. "We cannot revert to the past. Let our brethren in Cyprus rest assured. We will come for the anniversary of the intervention [on July 20, 1999]. This is a national cause for us."⁵ At a meeting in Turkey with TRNC leader Rauf Denktash, he said: "As you must have observed, this is a national cause for us. There are martyrs and war veterans. There are those who are shedding tears. This is an epic story. We fully concur with your [Denktash's] efforts. We have the same enthusiasm and the same feelings. This characteristic is an indication of Turkey's greatness."

Turkish Bayrak radio the same day quoted Denktash as saying that what was to be done on the Cyprus issue from now on would be decided together with the Turkish Government. This was, of course, always the case; by stating it, Denktash clearly wanted to indicate that there would be no separation of the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot positions.

But at all times before proposed talks between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities, Denktash has "hardened" his position. The result has always, in the past, meant that the Greek Cypriots have been pressed to offer *a priori* concessions to the Turkish community before "unconditional" talks began. At the end, the Turkish Cypriot position has been advanced, and all Greek Cypriot proposals rejected.

As several Greek Cypriot leaders have noted, but particularly the one who arguably knows Denktash best, onetime Makarios minister Tassos Papadopoulos and currently a Member of Parliament for the Democratic Party and chairman of the Cypriot Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Relations and European Affairs: "Denktash has made no concessions since 1974. None."⁶

At present neither Denktash nor the Turkish leadership give any indication of proposing any concessions, nor accepting the concessions made by the now Greek-dominated Republic of Cyprus Government. Indeed, the Greek Cypriots have offered the Turkish Cypriots literally everything they have sought, but with each submission to the Turkish position, Denktash has moved the goalposts.

There is every indication now that the Greek Cypriots have come to the end of their desire to offer concessions. By never being satisfied, and never entering real negotiations, Denktash and the Turkish Government have widened the gap be-

tween the economic and political wealth of the Greek Cypriot Government-controlled part of Cyprus and that of the Turkish-occupied zone. This inexorably growing gap has been ignored, even contributing to the firmness of the Denktash position.

The obvious conclusion is that neither Denktash nor the Turkish Government care for the Turkish Cypriot community nor for regional cooperation. There is a growing belief that Turkey, because of its setbacks with the European Union, has resigned itself to remaining outside the EU; perhaps even preferring this status to compromising what Demirel calls "Turkey's greatness".

A continuation of this position ultimately could lead to the Greek Cypriot-controlled area of the Republic of Cyprus being admitted to the EU, with *de facto* partition of the island being acknowledged. The economic gap would widen further between the communities, but the EU would then offer the 63 percent of Cyprus controlled by the Republic the protection of being a part of the larger family.

Does Turkey care? It affects not to, preferring the fact that Turkish control of northern Cyprus affords strategic or geopolitical protection to the South of Turkey. This is a pseudo-military argument which can be easily refuted. The reality is that most Turks would prefer national grandeur to an improvement in living standards. This situation is likely to continue to apply until more widespread education is achieved in Turkey.

Denktash may argue that Turkish Cypriots have now achieved the dignity of self-government. Turkish Cypriots comprised 18 percent of the overall Cypriot population in 1963⁷ and until the 1974 invasion, but owned only 13.9 percent of the land (in 1963; the figure fluctuated over the years up or down by a percent or so). But they were a minority in every community; nowhere did they constitute a majority or a separate community.

Now a territorial basis exists for a "Turkish Cypriot territory", thanks to the policy of "gathering in" some Turkish Cypriots into a half-dozen enclaves in a process for which planning appeared to have begun before independence in 1960, and then implemented from 1963 to 1974, and consolidated and "completed" by the Turkish invasion and "ethnic cleansing" of 1974. Even this has been accepted by the Greek Cypriots, who agreed to the "bi-communal, bi-zonal" future form of the Republic.

The Turkish Forces in Northern Cyprus

The Turkish forces in Northern Cyprus are under the command of Lt.-Gen. Aydin Sen, who had earlier been commanding officer of a division stationed on Cyprus.

The Turkish Army force on Northern Cyprus, some 35,000 to 40,000 strong, is the 11th Army Corps, which is part of the 2nd Army, based in Malatya, Turkey. It consists of two infantry divisions, the 28th and 39th, and an independent brigade, the 14th Armored Brigade, which consists of two tank battalions and self-propelled artillery units. As well, the force has mechanized support units. The 14th Bde. has 100+ main battle tanks (MBTs), appr. 100 armored personnel carriers/fighting vehicles (APCs/IFVs), and self-propelled artillery.

The following weapons systems are employed by the mainland Turkish Army in Northern Cyprus:

Artillery	Qty.	Origin
M101 105mm	72	US
M52 155mm SP	36	US
M44T 155mm SP	24	US
M114 155mm	18	US
M110 203mm how.	12	US
Milan ATGW	66	Fr., Germ.
TOW ATGW	48	US
106mm RCL	156	US
4.2in. mortar	148	
120mm mortar	54	
Bofors 40mm AAA	48	Swedish
.50 cal. quad AAA	48	US
Oerlikon 35mm AAA	16	Swiss
Armor	Qty	Origin
M113 APC/IFV	265	US
Nuroi IFV	211	Turkish*
M48A5T1/T2 MBT	386	US

* Turkish-made M113 IFV variant.

Turkish Cypriot Forces

The Turkish Cypriot Security Forces, numbering some 5,000 personnel, are under the command of Brig.-Gen. Hassan Bekker Gunal. These forces operate as light infantry. The main equipment of the forces is:

Milan ATGW	6	Fr., Germ.
106mm RCL	36	US
120mm mortar	73	

The United Nations Secretary-General, in report S1994/680, paragraph 28, of June 6, 1994, said: "The presence of Turkish troops makes the occupied area [of Cyprus] one of the most highly-militarized areas in the world in terms of the ratio between the numbers of troops and the civil population."

This statement was made before the recent build-up of Turkish mainland and TRNC forces on the island.

4 "We finished withdrawing the items of concern in the area under our control by June 15 [1999]," a Turkish Foreign Ministry official is quoted as saying in the July 12, 1999, *Defense News*. "Many such items in the other sector have not been returned to Greece." However, *Defense & Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy* has ascertained that Turkey has not withdrawn the main items of US equipment, but has, instead, been building up its military equipment and capability in the Turkish-occupied sector of Cyprus.

5 Quoted by the Turkish Anatolia News Agency, July 9, 1999.

6 Author's conversations with Mr Papadopoulos, Nicosia, July 9, 1999.

7 Cyprus Government census figures.

Compare this with the Kurdish position in Turkey itself. Kurds there who are by birth part of the Turkish State are forbidden from using their own language; are forbidden to form a separate community; and face massive military suppression at the hands of the State. So clearly the Turkish position on Cyprus is driven by ethnic chauvinism, not by even strategic or human rights considerations.

POSSIBLE OPTIONS

GIVEN THAT Turkey cannot at this stage surrender its ongoing interest in the security and welfare of the Turkish Cypriot population, nor its geostrategic interests inherent in its projection into Cyprus, any solution to the Cyprus issue must reflect that reality. Clearly, the Turkish Government itself also needs to realize — if it has not already done so — that the present structure does not really look after the needs of the Turkish Cypriots as well as had been intended, and nor do the strategic realities, so different from 25 years ago, mean that the present form of Turkish military deployment onto Cyprus is as beneficial as it should be, in proportion to the political and economic cost.

The question for Turkey, in reality, however, is one of national psychology and national pride, rather than one of strategic benefits and costs. It is the task, then, of the Turkish General Staff and the Government to determine whether it should embark on the task of "reconditioning" the Turkish electorate to a new reality, which could indeed address Turkish strategic needs. These strategic needs now include national integration with the West, the preservation of national pride and identity as a factor in securing national unity and political cohesion, and in maintaining military protection to Turkey's southern littoral.

All of these can be achieved, but not without a conscious program. Moreover, this program would of necessity include a re-thinking of the value to Turkey of TRNC President Rauf Denktash.

The US Clinton Administration, which worked well with the Turkish Government in the recent Balkan NATO campaign, has exhibited a strong commitment to achieving some positive results in Cyprus. It has 18 months to do this. The Turkish Government may want to stall until the Clinton Administration is out of office, or it may wish to make a virtue out of cooperating with Washington and achieving other concessions as a result. In any event, the sooner the concessions are made, the sooner Turkey can accelerate its integration into the Western economies.

It is true that Turkish officials could

have been forgiven for believing that the Clinton Administration was hostile toward the Republic of Cyprus Government, given the accusations that Cyprus was allowing the money laundering of Serbian funds, particularly those of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milošević. This unfounded allegation [Cyprus, although sympathizing with the Serbian people, had rigorously clamped down on currency transactions] caused a rift with the US Ambassador to Cyprus, who is now in the process of being replaced. But the Clinton Administration has moved to restore its goal of "solving" the Cyprus problem before the end of its term.

It is also probably true that the Clinton Administration is unaware of the fixation which the Turks have with retaining and even expanding their control over northern Cyprus. On the other hand neither do the Turks fully comprehend the level of hostility which this determination will engender in Washington (the Clinton Administration and Congress) and in Western Europe, even from their traditional ally, Germany.

A period of confusion and anger is likely to occur.

It is in Turkey's benefit to realize that it has achieved literally everything it claimed it wished to achieve in Cyprus. It sought a bi-zonal, bi-communal federal structure. This it has won, without question, along with many other concessions to the Turkish Cypriot community.

As noted earlier, however, whenever the Greek Cypriots have made concessions, Denktash — and Ankara — have moved the goalposts further away. This has, to a degree, given Turkey much more than it could have reasonably expected to achieve. The question now, however, is realizing that the concessions can go no further.

Transitional Basing Rights: Turkey's 40,000 troops on Cyprus represent Ankara's determination to maintain an offensive capability on the island, supported by mainland-based air power which can be over the area in minutes. Clearly, this major force represents an expensive and excessive capability in the event that a peaceful basis for coexistence can be found.

One option would be to create basing options in the currently Turkish-occupied area, which would allow the Turkish Army — at an agreed level — to remain in specific bases on the island for a transitional period. This period could be, for example, until both Cyprus and Turkey have acceded to the European Union, at which time the Turkish forces would be withdrawn.

It could also be argued that this should be tied to an end to the British sovereign bases on Cyprus when Cyprus and Tur-

key gain full entry to the EU.

At the same time, Greece would be permitted to maintain its forces in Cyprus, also within agreed bases, until Turkey and Cyprus were both fully admitted to the EU. All this would, for example, come under a UN Security Council mandate, perhaps with NATO and EU rôles.

This would not preclude a sovereign Cyprus, within the EU, from placing its bases at the disposal of NATO forces, and particularly EU member-state forces, on a cooperative basis or on agreed terms.

In theory, the admission of Turkey and Cyprus to the EU should give both communities comfort that the interests of their respective peoples were fully protected by EU law.

Cyprus may find it strategically or diplomatically useful to continue the Turkish, Greek and/or British basing on a contractual or treaty basis thereafter, within the framework of the EU's laws.

And none of this would necessarily interfere with the effective demilitarization of the island's Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, other than for normal policing functions.

Such an agreement would demonstrate trust, and would, of necessity involve EU monitoring. Additionally, the US may itself be involved as a guarantor power, which equally, but neutrally, represents the interests of the Greek, Turkish and Cypriot governments.

The actual monitoring force, the umpires, could remain the United Nations Forces in Cyprus (UNFICYP), which have done such an excellent job in the past 25 years of maintaining the separation of forces along the UN 1974 ceasefire line and buffer zone, the *Nekri Zoni* (Dead Zone).

CONCLUSIONS

THE REAL, unanswered question to Turkey's dilemma is whether the Turkish leadership really wants the country to become part of Europe and part of the West. If Turks want a secular, prosperous society able to integrate freely with their neighbors to the West, then changes must be made. If they want to sustain their traditional identity, slipping further behind the West, then either they will succeed in total isolation or be overtaken against their will by radical Islamism.

The first key to resolving Turkey's crisis lies in resolving the Cyprus question to the satisfaction of the West as well as Turkey. Once that is done, attention can be focused concurrently on the Kurdish question and domestic economic revitalization. This is the test of statesmanship which Turkey's leaders have not had to face since the death of Atatürk. ★

BRIEF OUTLINE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

The aim is to have comprehensive negotiations, with all basic aspects of the Cyprus Problem being on the negotiating table, to be discussed simultaneously and in parallel, aiming at reaching an agreed solution, to be presented to the Cypriot people in the form of one general referendum.

I) SECURITY AND DEMILITARISATION

Withdrawal from the Republic's territory of all non-Cypriot military forces, complete disbanding of all Cypriot military forces, timetable for the demilitarisation of the Republic. Creation and positioning in Cyprus of an international force made up of NATO-countries' forces. Greek and Turkish forces may be included.

II THREE FREEDOMS

Throughout the Federal Republic's territory the freedoms of movement, settlement and the right to property must continue to apply. Any 'practical difficulties' will be dealt with so as to enable these freedoms and the principles involved therein, to be implemented.

The best way to achieve this is by agreeing a timetable for the restoration of the basic freedoms.

III. GUARANTEES

International guarantees, multilateral in nature, in accordance with the UN Charter, the best being one by the Security Council, without any unilateral right of intervention, aiming at safeguarding the unity, independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and constitutional order of the Federal Republic.

IV. TERRITORIAL ASPECT

Key issue

The greater the number of Greek Cypriot refugees who can be resettled in their homes under Greek Cypriot Administration, the less the extent of any practical difficulties to be overcome as a consequence of G/C refugees resettling in the T/C administered province/Zone, (Varosha is a priority issue in this respect).

V. CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

One State, a central Government with enough powers so as to guarantee and sustain the unity of the State, substantial powers to be reserved to the federated provinces leading to maximum possible autonomy in administration. Equitable, adequate and effective bicomunal participation in all governmental organs, legislative, executive administrative and judicial .

VI. EU

- (a) Acceptance of Cyprus' accession to the EU, without preconditions of separate referenda or ratifications.
- (b) The agreed solution should in every respect be in accordance with the *acquis communautaire*.

VISIT TO CYPRUS

A SPEECH TO A REPRESENTATIVE GATHERING OF THE ISLANDERS, FEBRUARY 1, 1943

This is my third visit to your beautiful island, and I descended upon it rather suddenly yesterday evening. I hope that this has caused no undue perturbation. My first visit was a very long time ago, thirty-six years ago, when I came here as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies and spent two or three days in this capital of Nicosia, and also in riding about the whole island and seeing as many people as I could. In those days I began to work for the abolition of the Tribute, which I considered was an undue burden upon the island; but things worked very slowly, and it was not until I became Chancellor of the Exchequer, twenty years afterwards, that I was in a position to bring that system to an end.*

In the time which has passed the island has prospered and progressed, and now I am glad to say, in consequence of the very powerful forces that are now gathered here to join the Cypriots in the defence of their island home, that for a period considerable, though temporary, prosperity has come to pass. I would respectfully give my advice to the islanders to be careful not to spend the additional money which comes in under the strange workings of wartime, and to save it for the rainy days which may well follow; because, after the war is over, there will be a great effort needed to rebuild the world, and that will be the time when it will be a good thing to have savings to use.

Now I come to you from Turkey, where I have had a most agreeable meeting with President İnönü and with the chiefs of the Turkish State, and I am glad to tell you that our relations with the Turks are of a most friendly character. Their views are very much like our own, and we intend to help their own general defensive security in every way in our power. Our hearts all go out to gallant Greece,

heroic Greece, who in these modern days has revived her fame of ancient times. The sufferings of Greece are terrible, but one can already see the light breaking in the sky which will herald a day when she will be delivered from the foul bondage and tyranny by which she is now overpressed, and will take her place restored and proud in the ranks of the victorious nations.

We have seen some very dangerous and dark times during this war, which was forced upon us by those whom we had beaten a generation ago, and whom we foolishly allowed to prepare their deadly plans again. We have passed through many dark, several very dark, phases but now, I am able to assure you, the United Nations represent incomparably the strongest group of human beings that has ever been marshalled in arms in the whole history of the world; not only in their numbers, not only in the great armaments that are now being prepared on a scale hitherto unexampled, not only in material force, but in their unity of purpose and in their comradeship and in their inflexible resolution. They are strong, and they will march forward from strength to strength until unconditional surrender is extorted from those who have laid the world in havoc and in ruins.

Now I am glad to tell you in Cyprus how much admired in the Motherland, in old England, is the sturdy spirit in which you have prepared to defend your island, and the vigilance with which you guard it, aided by the troops of the British Empire.

Believe me, after the war is over, the name of Cyprus will be included in the list of those who have deserved well, not only of the British Commonwealth of Nations, not only of the united peoples now in arms, but, as I firmly believe, of future generations of mankind.

* The 'Turkish Tribute' referred to by the Prime Minister in the above speech arose from the taking over by Britain of the administration of Cyprus in 1878. Turkey remained nominally sovereign and received an annual payment of £92,800. After the annexation of Cyprus in 1914 the Tribute was continued for a time under the name of the 'Cyprus share of the Turkish debt charge'.

I don't like to go through all the events that happened in the 25 years after the invasion.

Following the invasion the U.N. and all countries in the world including the U.S.A. and European countries, expressed their views on the tragic event of the invasion and its consequences, 30,000 Turkish troops on the island, and the occupation of Greek towns and villages.

The Turkish propaganda completely ignored the UN resolutions and the world, instead of recognizing the invaders for what they really are, allowed them to create all kinds of completely false impressions which go against all human rights and democratic ideals

I give you here a short statement on the Cyprus question which give correct possibilities for solving this tragic problem.

My humble opinion is that the case is as follows, Cyprus is a free democracy recognized and accepted by the U.N. and the whole world. There are of course minorities, as in many other parts of the world. I don't think, though, that world wide it is acceptable that minorities can divide a country into small pieces to create independent state of minorities, whatever their reasons maybe..

Minorities of course have to be respected by the majority they must have equal rights freedom and be on the same terms as the majority. Such rights and freedoms must be adequately safeguarded and guaranteed. Our case in Cyprus, may have had some incidents in the past, I will not discuss where the responsibility lies but it is absurd for a democratic country to be destroyed for such isolated incidents.

The Turkish Cypriots and any other minorities will be fully respected and fairly treated and have exactly the same rights as the majority one thousand percent guaranteed. On these conditions Cyprus must remain an independent republic, united, for all its people majority and minorities. Other solutions will have tragic consequences in the future to the detriment of peace and democracy in the Mediterranean and the world.

Please allow me to express my very realistic opinion on what may happen if other solutions are implemented to solve the problem.

The idea and the insistence of creating an independent small Turkish state on the island of Cyprus. I don't think is so simple. It means that in the island of Cyprus we are erecting a fundamentalist tower and the whole stability peace and safety of oil and gas supplies in the area is exposed to dangers. Let us not forget that fundamentalist groups in this area are in big numbers and their policies are against freedom and democracy. Allow me to repeat the famous words of Sir Winston Churchill in 1943 during the last war:

Goldin ltr
Adm
10/4/99
Draft provided by
ASRP

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 5, 1999

The Honorable Daniel S. Goldin
Administrator
National Aeronautics and
Space Administration
Washington, D.C. 20546

Dear Dan:

Thank you for serving as my personal representative at the recent Paris Air Show and for your August 16th letter summarizing the major issues raised by industry at the event.

I believe it is vitally important for the U.S. to maintain in international leadership position in aeronautics and space. Your presence at the air show was a clear signal of our country's commitment to a strong, stable, and balanced U.S. space program.

Thank you again for your service in advancing America's leadership in space.

Sincerely,

Bill

10/5/99
CC: PODESTA
FYI



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 10, 1999

*Send to
Can you get
the letter
from the
President
properly
to matter
a letter
to
Dan's
report
John*

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM: NEAL LANE *ml*

SUBJECT: Report from Dan Goldin on Paris Air Show

As you recall, the President requested that NASA Administrator Dan Goldin serve as his representative to the recent Paris Air Show. During the air show, Dan had the opportunity to hear from a broad cross section of the U.S. and international space and aeronautics communities. I asked him to summarize his thoughts in a brief memo to the President (Tab A).

Foremost among the concerns of industry is the potential impact that revisions in U.S. export regulation of commercial communication satellites could have on U.S. competitiveness. A number of companies expressed concern to Dan that State Department's licensing process needs to be streamlined to ensure that U.S. satellite manufacturers can retain a dominant position in the market. They also expressed concern about the general decline in national funding for aeronautics, noting the importance of a national strategy in this area.

With respect to the two points Dan raises, we are working with State Department and OMB on State's FY01 submission to ensure that the Office of Defense Trade Control, the entity responsible for licensing commercial communication satellites, has the resources it needs to do the job. We are also working with DOT, NASA and DoD to develop a National Strategy for Aeronautics R&D which will be completed later this fall. The report will focus on the importance of R&D investments in aviation safety, aviation security, environmental aviation technologies, and aviation efficiency.

I have attached a proposed reply from the President thanking Dan Goldin for his service (Tab B).

Recommendation:

That you forward Dan Goldin's memorandum to the President and request that he sign the letter at Tab B thanking Dan for his service.

Attachments

National Aeronautics and
Space Administration
Office of the Administrator
Washington, DC 20546-0001



The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

AUG 16 1999

Dear Mr. President:

I want to thank you for the opportunity to serve as your personal representative at this year's Paris Air Show and to convey to you my findings. For this purpose, I have enclosed a report on the 1999 Paris Air Show's activities as well as issues identified by U.S. industry representatives.

The 1999 Paris Air Show was a tremendous success for U.S. aerospace industry. At this year's Air Show, more than 400 U.S. firms exhibited – which represented an increase of over 30 percent from just the last Paris Air Show. Moreover, this year, over one-third of the non-French exhibitors were from the United States. During the course of the Air Show, a record \$50 billion dollars in contracts were signed or pending of which \$25 billion involved the sale of U.S. and foreign manufactured aircraft.

During the course of my time spent at the Air Show, I formally met with over 20 U.S. companies and had informal discussions with scores of U.S. industry executives. These discussions provided useful insight into the challenges that U.S. aerospace industry faces today. Almost every company with which I met identified export controls as the overwhelmingly number one concern. U.S. industry executives reported that the current export control licensing system is severely undercutting U.S. industry's current competitiveness, is threatening the United States' long-term export base, and needs to be fixed. Yet, U.S. industry was not alone. I heard the same comments from foreign governmental and industry officials as well. Other key issues cited by U.S. industry included: developing a national strategy for aerospace R&D funding; encouraging private investment in commercial reusable launch systems; providing subcontractors the same rent-free use of government facilities and tooling as currently enjoyed by prime contractors when supporting U.S. Government projects; establishing a policy that fosters and rewards Russian non-proliferation compliance; bolstering U.S. Export-Import Bank financing; and ensuring that Airbus aircraft financing and subsidies are consistent with international trade agreements.

It is my intent that by forwarding this report, senior U.S. Government policy makers will have a better understanding regarding the issues and concerns highlighted by U.S. aerospace industry during this Paris Air Show.

Again, I want to express my gratitude for having the opportunity to act as your representative at this year's Paris Air Show.

Respectfully,



Daniel S. Goldin
Administrator

Enclosures

**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ON THE 1999 PARIS AIR SHOW
FROM THE
PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE PARIS AIR SHOW**

Synopsis

The 1999 Paris Air Show was a tremendous success for U.S. aerospace industry. More than 400 U.S. firms displayed exhibits -- an increase of over 30 percent from the last Paris Air Show. During the course of the 1999 Paris Air Show, a record \$50 billion dollars in contracts were signed or pending, of which \$25 billion involved the sale of U.S. and foreign manufactured aircraft. Serving as President Clinton's Personal Representative to the 1999 Paris Air Show, NASA Administrator Goldin greeted foreign dignitaries including French President Chirac and met with U.S. and foreign industry representatives. According to U.S. industry executives, U.S. export control policy and procedures is the most critical issue facing the U.S. aerospace industry at this time. U.S. industry and foreign officials asserted that lengthy delays in processing licenses and the increased volume of licensing requests need to be addressed by increasing staffing and financial resources as well as streamlining licensing requirements. Other issues raised by industry included: the need for a national strategy for research and development funding; shortage in trained engineers; encouraging private investment in commercial reusable launch systems; U.S. launch facility modernization and expansion; rent-free use of government tooling and facilities for subcontractors; reinforcing relations with Russian companies that embrace non-proliferation objectives; U.S. Export-Import Bank financing; and Airbus financing arrangements. Attached to this report for reference are letters from U.S. firms in which their concerns are delineated.

The 1999 Paris Air Show

The 1999 Paris Air Show was held at Le Bourget airfield, the same airfield at which Charles Lindberg landed after his historic trans-Atlantic flight in 1927. At this year's air show, more than 35,000 exhibitors representing 1900 companies from 40 different countries were present. From the United States, over 400 U.S. firms displayed exhibits -- an increase of over 30 percent from the 1997 Paris Air Show. In addition, U.S. firms made up about one-third of all non-French exhibitors. The Paris Air Show provided an excellent opportunity for both large and small U.S. firms to showcase their products to nearly 300,000 visitors including 143 official delegations from 63 countries. The Paris Air Show also proved to be an effective site for commercial activity as a record \$50 billion dollars in contracts were signed or pending of which \$25 billion involved the sale of U.S. and foreign manufactured aircraft.

Activities of the President's Personal Representative to the Paris Air Show

The President's Personal Representative to the Paris Air Show underscores the Administration's strong support to U.S. aerospace industry. This year, NASA Administrator Daniel S. Goldin was designated to serve as the President's Personal Representative. As defined by the U.S. Department of Commerce, the President's Representative plays a key role by representing the highest levels of the U.S. Government as well as serving as a strong advocate for U.S. industry. While at the Paris Air Show, Administrator Goldin's activities included: presiding over the grand opening of the USA National Pavilion; greeting, on behalf of the President of the United States and the American people, French President Chirac and other foreign delegations at the Paris Air Show; touring the U.S. military aircraft displays and meeting the service men and women in attendance; visiting the exhibits of U.S. industry; and meeting with U.S. and foreign industry representatives. While at the Paris Air Show, Administrator Goldin held formal meetings with over 20 companies, visited tens of U.S. exhibits, and exchanged views with scores of governmental and industry representatives.

Issues Identified by U.S. Aerospace Industry

As a result of the activities described above, the President's Personal Representative obtained first-hand insight into the U.S. aerospace industry's concerns and challenges. Issues raised during discussions with industry included:

- improving U.S. export control policies and procedures;
- developing a national investment strategy for research and development;
- encouraging young people to pursue a engineering careers;
- encouraging private investment in commercial reusable launch systems by demonstrating U.S. Government support to reduce technical and financial risk;
- modernizing and expanding U.S. launch facilities;
- providing to subcontractors the same rent-free use of government tooling and facilities as currently provided to prime contractors;
- establishing a policy to reward Russian companies that embrace non-proliferation objectives;
- bolstering the U.S. Export-Import Bank's financing capability by advocating increased funding levels and filling vacancies on the Bank's Board of Directors; and
- ensuring that European-sponsored financing arrangements for Airbus aircraft are consistent with current international trade agreements.

Export Controls

The number one concern identified by industry, by an overwhelmingly large margin, is U.S. export control policies and procedures. Every company with whom Administrator Goldin met raised this as a priority issue; most indicated that the magnitude of this problem dwarfed all other issues. Industry representatives believe that the current export control licensing system is undercutting U.S. industry's viability as a global provider of commercial products and that, if support for the U.S. export base is to be maintained, the delays and seemingly inconsistencies in processing licenses need to be fixed. Industry recommendations included:

- Establishing an urgent response team to re-engineer the export control process so as to minimize near-term loss of pending sales and to undertake a systemic revamping to assure efficient license processing while protecting information vital to national security.
- Dedicating additional personnel and financial resources needed to process export control license requests.
- Generating for industry and government clear, non-conflicting guidelines that identify the responsible licensing agency and licensing criteria in order to establish transparency and predictability.
- Examining ways to streamline and/or reduce the number of licenses requiring U.S. governmental review (e.g., elimination of licensing requirements for spare parts to NATO countries, creation of multiple destination licenses).
- Developing incentives for U.S. agencies and their representatives to be advocates of U.S. industry.
- Establishing an interagency electronic licensing system.
- Establishing a foreign availability database.

One final note regarding current U.S. export controls policies and procedures. U.S. industry was not the only sector voicing its consternation. Officials from both foreign governments and foreign industry expressed deep concern about the effect of the U.S. export control process on trans-Atlantic commerce.

National Investment Strategy for Research and Development

Industry notes that, while total R&D spending is expected to reach historic levels (over \$80 billion estimated), the governmental aeronautics R&D budget continues to experience significant reductions. Industry asserts that past U.S. Government investment fostered the U.S. industry's present day leadership in the aerospace and defense sectors and that U.S. leadership in the future requires continued U.S. Government investment in effective, high-quality research and development.

Promoting Engineering Careers

Industry observes that there is a short supply of engineers in the United States and asserts that government and industry need to continue its efforts to attract young people from all sectors of society, including women and minorities, to pursue a career in this field.

Government-Commercial Support of New Reusable Launch Vehicles

Industry recognizes that it is in the national interest to develop new launch systems that provide low-cost, increased-reliability, and rapid access to space. Industry notes that neither the U.S. Government nor industry can do this alone. Industry seeks a partnership with the U.S. Government in which the U.S. Government will take measures designed to reduce technical and financial risk so that industry will be able to access capital markets to finance new commercial space launch technologies and systems.

U.S. Launch Facility Modernization and Expansion

Industry believes that U.S. launch facilities need to be modernized and expanded, especially if restrictions on the use of foreign launchers continue. Industry proposes that now may be the appropriate time for the Administration, Congress, and industry to work cooperatively to modernize and expand U.S. launch facilities.

Government Facilities/Tooling Use Flow-down

Current legislation and practice allow for prime contractors supporting U.S. Government activities to use government facilities and tooling rent-free. Industry is petitioning that the same allowances be granted for subcontractor companies supporting U.S. Government activities.

U.S.-Russian Commercial Relations and Non-proliferation

Industry recognizes and supports the need to encourage Russian aerospace firms to adopt non-proliferating practices. Industry asserts that benefits of commercial joint ventures between U.S. and Russian entities can be demonstrated through steady generation of jobs and revenues as well as continued expansion of such ties. Russian aerospace firms that comply with non-proliferation policies should be rewarded through the expansion of commercial opportunities. Such additional opportunities would provide concrete evidence that genuine benefits can be obtained for good non-proliferation behavior and that it is in Russian aerospace companies' self-interest to observe non-proliferation practices. Industry argues that, unfortunately, instead of being viewed as beneficial, U.S.-Russian joint ventures are considered by Russians as restrictive. Industry urges that a White House policy be established to permit

Russian companies that support non-proliferation to be rewarded or it is likely that future U.S. access to Russian technology will be limited severely.

U.S. Export-Import Bank

Industry indicates that export financing has become a critical factor in concluding aerospace-related contracts, especially those involving the sales of aircraft and appreciates the Clinton Administration's support of Eximbank's financing activities. At the same time, industry is troubled by the number of current vacancies on the Eximbank's Board of Directors and resultant implications on the Eximbank's ability to continue to function legally.

Airbus Subsidies

Boeing states that Airbus, which has emerged as a significant competitor, has received more than \$30 billion in government supports/subsidies and thereby enables it to compete without the same economic disciplines as Boeing. Additionally, Boeing contends that the European Union is not complying with the terms of international trade agreements (i.e., the 1992 U.S.-European Union Large Civil Aircraft Agreement or the WTO Subsidies Code) and is concerned that European governments' subsidies to Airbus firms will be forgiven once the merger/privatization of the Airbus consortium is completed.

Handwritten scribbles

*Matter HW
10/4/99*

*Copied
Currie*

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 5, 1999

Mr. David M. Matter
President and
Chief Operating Officer
Oxford Development Company
Suite 4500
One Oxford Centre
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219-1489

Dear Dave:

Thanks so much for sending me the shirt from
this year's golf classic. I'm sure it was
a great tournament.

I hope you and Susan are well -- it's always
wonderful to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Triu



Oxford Development Company

412/261-1500

412/642-7543 FAX

Nancy -

Would you please
see that Bill gets the
enclosed gift from this
year's golf tournament.

Hope you are doing
well.

Best regards,

Dave Mathis



Oxford Development Company

David M. Matter
President and
Chief Operating Officer

September 20, 1999

Bill -

Here's the players' gift
from this year's Calginiini golf
tournament. I hope you like it.

Best,

Dave

P.S. I miss seeing you!

