Can you point me to prior statements by this Administration, or previous Administrations, that make a link between U.S.-origin equipment provided to the Turkish military and human rights abuses?

2. For how long has the Turkish military used U.S.-supplied equipment in operations against the PKK?

For how long do you believe human rights abuses in connection with Turkish military operations against the PKK have been occurring?

3. Are Turkey's human rights abuses with U.S.-origin military equipment, as detailed in your June 1 report, consistent with Section 4 of the ''Purposes for Which Military Sales by the United States Are Authorized,'' under Section 4 of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA)?

Do you intend to report under Section 3(c)(2) of the AECA concerning a violation of that Act, through the use of U.S.-origin defense equipment for a purpose not authorized under Section 4 of the AECA?

At what point do human rights abuses with U.S.-origin defense equipment constitute a ''consistent pattern of gross violations'' and thus, under Section 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act, prohibit AECA sales of defense articles or services?

4. What are the implications for U.S. policy of your determination that Turkey has used U.S.-origin military equipment in operations in which human rights abuses have occurred?

What steps are you taking to address human rights abuses mentioned in your June 1 report?

5. Is it U.S. policy to promote a political solution in southeastern Turkey?

Does Turkey support a political solution?

What is the next step in trying to promote a political solution?

I appreciate the strategic importance of Turkey, and I agree with you that Turkey is a long-standing and valuable U.S. ally. I also appreciate the serious security dilemmas facing that country. Yet I believe that your June 1 report compels the United States to revisit relations with Turkey, to insure that U.S.-origin weapons are not used to commit future human rights abuses, and to insure that every effort is made to work for a political solution in southeastern Turkey.

I look forward to your answers to the questions above.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

LEE H. HAMILTON,
Ranking Democratic Member.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, DC, August 15, 1995.

Hon. LEE HAMILTON,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. HAMILTON: On behalf of Secretary Christopher, I am responding to your June 29 letter, which raised a number of questions regarding human rights abuses and the Turkish military's use of U.S.-supplied equipment.

I want to thank you for your comments regarding the State Department's Report on Allegations of Human Rights Abuses by the Turkish Military. The Embassy in Ankara and concerned offices at the Departments of State and Defense made every effort to convey the situation as accurately as possible.

Turning to your questions, we are not aware of statements by this or previous administrations which specifically linked U.S.-origin equipment provided to the Turkish military and human rights abuses. That said, the Administration has frequently expressed concern about human rights abuses in Turkey's conflict with the PKK. We have also noted, in response to Congressional inquiries, the high probability that the GOT has used U.S.-supplied equipment in the southeast. Ambassador Grossman addressed this issue during his confirmation hearings in response to a question from Senator Pell. I have enclosed Ambassador Grossman's response.

The United States has had a military supply relationship with Turkey for over 40 years. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that Ankara has used U.S.-origin equipment against the PKK since the conflict started nearly 11 years ago. The Turkish military became extensively involved in operations against the PKK in 1992, when the conflict worsened dramatically. Until that time, the military's involvement, as opposed to that of the Jandarma (national guard), was minimal.

With respect to your questions regarding the Arms Export Control Act (''AECA''), section 4 of that Act provides in relevant part that the U.S. Government may provide U.S.-origin defense articles to friendly countries for a number of purposes, including for internal security. Although human rights violations have occurred in the course of operations, those operations appear in fact to have been undertaken for a purpose authorized under the AECA and therefore a report is not required under section 3(c)(2). In any case, the information in our report on alleged human rights abuses is more extensive than what would be provided in a report under section 3(c)(2) of the AECA.

Turkey's human rights record raises serious concerns, but we do not believe that it has engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights within the meaning of Section 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act. We must not forget that Turkey is a functioning, albeit troubled, democracy. Although freedom of expression is restricted, Turkey's press is able to criticize the government, and frequently does so.

On July 23, Turkey's Grand National Assembly approved, by the overwhelming majority of 360 to 32, 16 constitutional amendments which will enhance Turkish democracy and broaden political participation. These amendments, among other things, eliminate restrictions on participation in politics by associations, unions, groups and cooperatives; grant civil servants the right to form unions and engage in collective talks; lower the voting age from 20 to 18, and increase the number of parliamentarians from 450 to 550. Both Prime Minister Ciller and Deputy Prime Minister Cetin are committed to going beyond this important step to achieve further reforms, such as modification of Article 8 of the Anti-Terror Law, which has constrained freedom of expression. Additionally, as noted in our report, the Turkish General Staff (TGS) has instituted a program to train soldiers in human rights requirements.

For the past three years, human rights has been a major part of our dialogue with the Turkish government. Every high-level official, both from the State Department and DoD, who has visited Ankara has raised the issue of human rights and its importance to U.S.-Turkish relations. We have started to engage the TGS on this subject as well, and have encouraged visitors from other western countries to support these efforts.

The Turkish government interprets references to the need for a ''political solution'' in the southeast as encouragement to negotiate with the PKK, which we have not asked Ankara to do. We support Turkey's territorial integrity and legitimate right to fight terrorism. We have emphasized repeatedly that there is no solely military solution to this conflict. We have argued that, in addition to carefully calibrated military operations, resolution will require the expansion of democracy and human rights, including increased civil and cultural rights for Turkey's Kurdish citizens.

While engaged in a difficult struggle with a brutal terrorist organization, the Government of Turkey is making a determined effort to improve its human rights performance. We believe that to promote a settlement in the southeast, our best course is to continue energetically to promote democratization, while supporting Turkey's legitimate struggle against terrorism. In both of these efforts, Turkey needs, and continues to deserve, our help and support.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if we may be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

WENDY R. SHERMAN,
Assistant Secretary, Legislative Affairs.

Enclosure: As stated.

QUESTION FOR THE RECORD SUBMITTED TO MARC GROSSMAN BY SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL

Question. 2. Is U.S.-origin equipment being used in the Turkish military campaign against Kurdish civilians?

Answer. A large portion of Turkey's inventory of defense items is U.S.-supplied or produced under co-production arrangements. I therefore assume that U.S.-origin equipment is being used in the Turkish military's campaign against the PKK.

I understand that internal security, along with self-defense, is recognized as an acceptable use of U.S.-supplied defense articles. The agreements under which we provide Turkey and other foreign countries with defense articles permit such uses.

There are reports that in the counter-insurgency a large number of civilians have been killed. These reports are troubling, and the Administration has brought them to the attention of the Turkish authorities, and will be looking into them further. Assistant Secretary Shattuck visited Turkey in July and will be going again in October, partly for this purpose.

TRIBUTE TO PAGE AND ELOISE SMITH

HON. NORMAN Y. MINETA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 6, 1995

Mr. MINETA. Mr. Speaker, a week and a half ago, Page Smith, noted historian and educator, and his wife Eloise, noted artist and educator, passed away in Santa Cruz, CA. They leave behind monuments few will ever equal—monuments in their creative works, in generations of students they inspired, institutions they shaped and reformed, and in the lives they touched and the affections with which they are remembered.

Page as a young man was tempted by various professions: novelist, actor, miner, journalist, and historian among them. He graduated from Darmouth College—selected for its proximity to good trout fishing—in history in 1940. Like many men of his generation, his choice of career was interrupted by military service. He served for 5 years in the Army, including ski combat duty, following graduation from Darmouth. In 1945, as commander of a rifle company of the Tenth Mountain Division

on Mr. Belvedere in northern Italy, he was severely wounded in both legs, wounds which he felt the effects of for the rest of his life.

Following the war he entered Harvard under the GI bill and received his doctorate in American history in 1951. From 1953 to 1964, he served on the faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles. Of his move to Los Angeles he later observed that, ''I was an extremely provincial Easterner who had never been west of western Maryland and the notion of going to a place as remote and bizarre rather alarmed me * * * and dismayed my mother.'' Once at UCLA Page both practiced and critized his chosen profession of historian.

His two volume biography of John Adams, published in 1962, played to both scholarly and popular acclaim, winning Columbia University's Bancroft Award and becoming a popular Book-of-the-Month Club selection.

In his subsequent book, ''History and the Historian''—1964, Page both stated his philosophy of history and earned the iconoclast label so often attached to him that it might be thought by some to be one of his middle names. He declared that ''great history * * * has always been narrative history, history with a story to tell that illuminates the truth of the human situation, that lifts spirits and projects new potentialities.'' He chided his colleagues for being too wed to narrow subjects, to various forms of determinism, to the primacy of impersonal forces, to the pretense of pseudo-scientific objectivity, to the actions and beliefs of the few leaders rather than the people who make up the whole of society.

He later said that the American Revolution took place first and foremost ''in the hearts and minds of the American people,'' and that ''the best history of the American Revolution was written by the people who were in it.'' His work was always a magical weaving of first-hand accounts of those who participated in the events, and his histories were always first and foremost captivating stories about real people.

And that was the narrative history that Page both practiced and preached. When Page published in 1976 ''A New Age Now Begins''—which was the beginning of his eight volume work, ''A People's History of the United States'', the great American historian Samuel Eliot Morrison not only called it ''a great, magnificent work,'' but also spoke of it in terms we might more commonly reserve for a captivating novel or movie: ''His story of Bunker Hill is a real thriller. * * * His chapter on Washington resigning his commission, and the disbanding of the army, is a masterpiece.''

Page always believed that good history is a good story, that it is about people, and that it must be made from their thoughts and observations, which he found in bits of letters, diaries, and the like. He argued that historians should not look down on the past from their lofty perch of historical distance. ''I say the situation is more like an archaeological dig * * * (you) reconstruct what happened out of the remnants and shards.''

The Adams biography was the first of his works to take up the curious story, which he revisited in both his ''People's History'' and in his biography of Thomas Jefferson (1976), of Adams and Jefferson. These two men were in many ways the polar opposites of their era, political adversaries, and symbols of opposite tendencies in American life. Jefferson embodied much of the radical idealism of the Declaration of Independence, Adams the carefully structured, balanced and controlled pragmatism of the Constitution. Each was a leader of powerful and opposing factions in early American political life. Yet these two ex-Presidents, late in their years, became regular correspondents, each coming to appreciate and admire the other despite their differences, each becoming in many ways the most respected of Americans in the eyes of each other. Early in their correspondence, Adams wrote to Jefferson, ''You and I ought not to die before we have explained ourselves to each other.'' Many years and a great many letters later, they died within a few hours of each other on July 4, 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Adams' last words were about Jefferson.

In the early 1960's, two of California's leading educators, Clark Kerr and Dean McHenry, launched a great experiment in higher education. They wanted to see if a university with the size and prestige of the University of California could change its stripes and could create a new campus built around small and intimate colleges along the lines of Swarthmore or Oxford. They needed a first leader of the first college to bring that vision to life. Thus in 1964 page became the first provost of Cowell College at the University of California.

It is now 30 years after the campus welcomed its first few students in 1965, and the place has grown to a major university with many colleges. Yet much of the tone of the campus, its intellectual life, its style, was the inspiration of Page and Eloise. They probably had more influence in the shaping of that great institution than anyone else. In the emphasis on classroom teaching, on shared intellectual pursuits within the college, on the college as a social framework in an otherwise impersonal institutional setting, on personalized education and evaluation, Cowell College and ultimately UCSC were in many ways the offspring of Page and Eloise.

He summed up what a university might be, and in particular what his university should be, as ''the pursuit of truth in the company of friends.'' What is so remarkable that it is so often forgotten is that Page was only provost of Cowell for half a dozen years, and left the university entirely in 1973. His enduring effect on the institution would have been astounding if he had worked there for a lifetime.

Characteristically, he left over one of the principles which had brought him to Santa Cruz: that the primary purpose of the university should be to teach students. He left in protest over the publish-or-perish requirements the university imposed on his younger colleagues to the detriment of their teaching responsibilities. Having so changed the nature of the university, he was still dissatisfied that it had not changed more.

Page was 56 years old when he left the university. He was the award-winning author of five major works in American history, and he had been instrumental in the founding of a major new institution of higher learning. Some would have rested on those considerable laurels, but Page had an irrepressible curiosity and a relentless work ethic. What some thought of as his retirement instead blossomed into his most productive years, years in which he would author and publish another 14 major volumes, including his 8 volume ''A People's History of the United States''.

The ''People's History'' alone took a decade to write, but it was Page putting into practice what he had admonished others to do in their histories. It was what he called old-fashioned narrative history, with the spiritual and moral dimension included, and without claims of distant objectivity or easy explanations. One reviewer concluded, ''No American since Charles Beard has produced anything comparable in length, scope, or readability.''

In his 1990 book, ''Killing the Spirit,'' Page the iconoclast took on higher education even more forcefully than he had taken on historians a quarter of a century earlier. He criticized universities for their obsession with size, for failing to put teaching first, for excessively narrow specialization ''at the cost of * * * any awareness of the unity of life,'' for failure to build a sense of community, for elevating ''knowledge for its own sake, rather than knowledge that ripens into wisdom or that serves larger ends,'' and for promoting ''relativism, which denies any moral structure in the world.''

Those strong views excepted, Page was in many ways hard to categorize and hard to predict. He was an accomplished scholar and historian who rejected many of the ways of scholars and historians around him. He built up a major university, yet criticized the structure of universities and organized a ''Penny University'' in Santa Cruz to show that friends could pursue the truth without faculty, without tuition, without books, without grades, without special buildings—they met for years in a cafe, more recently in a church, and, perhaps most importantly, without faculty meetings and administrators. He was to many the founder of Santa Cruz's casual and irreverent style, but he also stood for structure, reverence, and students wearing ties to dinner once a week, and once raised a flap when he complained that students had become too unbuttoned. He was a leading advocate of women's rights and women's role in the university and in the Nation—as in his 1970 book, ''Daughters in the Promised Land'', but raised another flap by criticizing the proliferation of women's studies classes at UCSC as too often sexual politics rather than serious academic courses. He was an Eastern traditionalist who also became a Western innovator.

He was an author of prodigious output, who nevertheless opposed the premium universities put on publishing at the expense of teaching. His critics sometimes took him to be at the forefront of the counterculture of the 1960's, but in fact he had a traditionalist's work ethic sufficient to stagger most men. Even in his pseudoretirement, he strictly set aside a good part of nearly every day for research and writing, which he did with great discipline. From age 59 to 69, he wrote his eight-volume, 6,000-page ''People's History.'' The month he died at age 77, he published two new works: ''Democracy in Trial: The Japanese American Evacuation and Relocation in World War II,'' and ''Old Age is Another Country—A Traveller's Guide.''

He was both of the establishment and quick to challenge it. He was above all else a probing mind, always subjecting ideas and beliefs, including his own, to re-evaluation and scrutiny. Nothing was safe from reappraisal and fresh judgment, and there was nothing he loved to challenge anew so much as his own views. He was always looking for a new perspective on any issue, a new piece that would reveal something about the puzzle, a new clue to the mystery.

Eloise grew up in North Carolina. There was nothing about her background which would have suggested a great artist was in the making. Yet beginning with the inspiration of a high school arts teacher, she took to the arts with a vigor that characterized her throughout her life. Her talent was enormous. By the time she was 21, she had won five national scholarships to the Art Students League in New York City.

Once married, her career as an artist was often interrupted, and she clearly determined to make her artistic career secondary. Nevertheless, she continued her work as best she could. She once recalled in a Santa Cruz Sentinel interview that on the rare occasions when she got away to paint, she would think of her children and worry that ''they're all out running around in the middle of the street and Page is typing.''

Eloise was always a force; a force at home, a force in the community, a force at Cowell College, a force in the world of art, and a force in the life of her husband. But she was always a force with grace and charm. She was coauthor with Page of the style of Cowell College in particular and UCSC in general. On campus, she promoted both greater participation in and understanding of art.

She not only did art, she advocated art and its role in the community. Most notably, she was named by the Governor of California in 1975 to head the California Arts Council, and rather than use that position for more traditional purposes, she determined to start an arts program in the California State prison system as a way to help inmates break patterns that would otherwise bring them back to prison. Despite its modest size and resources, the program enjoyed notable success.

Though she never promoted her own art the way she promoted the role of art in the community, she was widely recognized as an award-winning artist, and particularly in recent years, her art and her reputation as an artist blossomed.

The story of Page and Eloise is not ultimately the story of a historian, an artist, and two educators. The story of Page and Eloise is above all else a love story, and one of the most profound love stories ever lived.

Page as a young soldier in training in North Carolina was walking down the street in town and saw a painting on display in a shop window. He was so taken with it he bought it on the spot and asked to meet the artist. On meeting Eloise, he fell in love at first sight and determined to marry her. They were man and wife for 54 years, had four children, seven grandchildren, and one great-grandchild.

Of their marriage their daughter, Ann Easeley, recently said, ''She allowed him to be the kind of person he was. She made a life and an environment and world for him that enabled him to do the amazing things he did. She was devoted to him and he was dependent on her.''

Eloise was in many ways Page Smith's Page Smith, the iconoclast's iconoclast. He would hold forth at a dinner gathering in full professorial bloom, and she would manage to deflate his balloon with an affectionate but effective pin prick. He would rush to his own defense and enjoy the opportunity for intellectual thrust and parry, but take great delight at the same time in this university big name getting his comeuppance. He loved her wit, her challenge, as well as her charm.

Page in his later years wrote a very popular newspaper column on old age, entitled ''Coming of Age.'' Eloise was often the foil for his good-natured satires and complaints about old age. Finally she took over one installment of the column to give her rebuttal, entitled, ''Page Smith's Wife Tells All.'' She noted that she had once, ''in a thoughtless moment,'' said that Page was ''almost perfect to live with,'' and that Page had promptly written it down and had it signed by witnesses and notarized.

She then proceeded to set out her reasons for emphasizing that he was less than perfect. A brief sample: ''It pains me to have to say that Page is inherently lazy. For years he has done his best to persuade me that, as 'writer' and 'thinker', he is hard at work as soon as his eyes are open in the morning. Although he has written on the importance of a husband's participating in housework, and prides himself on having been a forerunner of the emancipated modern male, here again he is longer on theory than practice. As he gazes distractedly around our rural abode, he manages to screen out dirt on the floor, crumbs (his) on the rug, spiderwebs trailing from the ceiling, windows crusted with dust stirred up by his barnyard fowls whose droppings are everywhere and who rouse me from my sleep with their crowing and honking. He performs the most modest domestic chores as though they were the labors of Hercules. His so-called study would make a pig blush.''

She concluded the article however, by saying simply, ''I did say 'almost' perfect. But I still adore him.''

Page loved the article, just as he loved its author.

This past May Eloise was diagnosed as having kidney cancer, and her health declined rapidly. Soon after, Page was diagnosed as having leukemia. He determined to live as long as she did.

''As mother failed, he failed,'' said their daughter. ''Four days ago they told him they could keep him alive until she died. It's exactly what Daddy wanted. He said he didn't want to live without her and that he considered it a blessing.''

When Eloise died Saturday morning, August 26, Page refused further medication. In a few hours, he slipped into a coma. He died a day and a half after she did.

The Smith's longtime friend, Mary Holmes, a professor of art history who came with them from UCLA to launch UCSC, said, ''We couldn't even imagine the shape of a life he would have without her. Apparently, he couldn't either.''

She added, ''Their relationship was such a rarity and an extraordinary thing. It was a gift, and they became a gift for everyone that knew them. It was a love story; what a love story.''

By their own wish, they were cremated and their ashes mixed together.

Death is not newsworthy; it is too common. What is rare is to have truly lived to the fullest, to have left a legacy of creative works, of many lives touched, of community improved, of understanding increased, of fond remembrance. There are no two people who have had more of all that than Page and Eloise Smith. Their lives stand as a celebration of what human lives can be.

TRIBUTE TO COL. LEWIS VINCENT EVANS, IV

HON. FLOYD SPENCE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 6, 1995

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize Col. Vince Evans upon his retirement from the U.S. Air Force, after serving our great Nation for 24 years. For the past 3 years, Colonel Evans has held the distinguished positions of Chief of the House Air Force Legislative Liaison Office and Chief of the Air Force Weapons Division. Soon after assuming his most recent positions, Colonel Evans quickly established a solid reputation with Members and their staffs as an authority on a diverse array of Air Force programs and issues. His strong operational fighter background quickly established his credibility as he was routinely sought by members of the National Security Committee to provide briefings regarding national security issues.

Colonel Evans' understanding of congressional operations, coupled with his sound judgment and a keen sense of priority, have been of great benefit to both Members of Congress and the U.S. Air Force. Colonel Evans' openness and unquestionable integrity have provided support to Members of the House of Representatives in many difficult situations, ranging from constituent matters to far reaching national defense weapons systems issues. He has demonstrated invaluable support during the historic changes in the House leadership, as well as in meeting the difficult challenges of protecting our Country's military capabilities, while working to balance the Federal budget.

Mr. Speaker, it has been my distinct pleasure to have worked and traveled with Colonel Evans. He has served with great distinction and he has earned our respect and gratitude for his many contributions to our Nation's defense. My colleagues and I bid Col. Lewis Vincent Evans a fond farewell and wish he and his family the very best as they move on to face new challenges and rewards.

TRIBUTE TO SAM MUCHNICK

HON. JERRY F. COSTELLO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 6, 1995

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Sam Muchnick, a name familiar to many of my colleagues who represent constituents near the St. Louis metropolitan area. Thousands of the people I represent have loved Sam Muchnick for many years as a neighbor, friend and community spirit whose roots in the Metro East are strong.

Sam Muchnick has been one of the greatest sports promoters in all America. For over 50 years, he served as the Nation's premier wrestling promoter until his retirement from the sport in 1982. Known as Mr. Wrestling, Sam has been a good friend to me and was a very close friend to my predecessor, Congressman Melvin Price.

Sam got his start in the sports business as a writer following Cardinals baseball for the St.