TO COMMEND TURKEY AND ISRAEL FOR CONTINUING TO STRENGTHEN THEIR PARTNERSHIP AND SUPPORT OF THE WAR ON TERRORISM; TO EXPRESS THE SENSE THAT SECURITY, RECONCILIATION, AND PROSPERITY FOR ALL CYPRIOTS CAN BE BEST ACHIEVED WITHIN MEMBERSHIP OF THE EU AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES; TO COMMEND TURKEY FOR ASSUMING COMMAND OF THE PEACEKEEPING OPERATION IN AFGHANISTAN

MARKUP

BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE OF THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. Con. Res. 327, H. Con. Res. 164 and H. Con. Res. 437

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CONTENTS

	Page
Markup of H. Con. Res. 327, Commending the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel for the continued strengthening of their political, economic, cultural, and strategic partnership and for their actions in support of the war on terrorism Text of H. Con. Res. 327	$\frac{1}{2}$
Amendment to H. Con. Res. 327 offered by the Honorable Elton Gallegly,	_
a Representative in Congress from the State of California Markup of H. Con. Res. 164, Expressing the sense of Congress that security,	9
reconciliation, and prosperity for all Cypriots can be best achieved within the context of membership in the European Union which will provide significant rights and obligations for all Cypriots, and for other purposes Text of H. Con. Res. 164	$10 \\ 11$
Amendment to H. Con. Res. 164 offered by the Honorable Elton Gallegly .	17
Markup of H. Con. Res. 437, Recognizing the Republic of Turkey for its cooperation in the campaign against global terrorism, for its commitment of forces and assistance to Operation Enduring Freedom and subsequent missions in Afghanistan, and for initiating important economic reforms to build a stable and prosperous economy in Turkey	21 23 28
LETTERS, STATEMENTS, ETC., SUBMITTED FOR THE MARKUP	
The Honorable Dan Burton, a Representative in Congress from the State of Indiana: Prepared statement	29

TO COMMEND TURKEY AND ISRAEL FOR CONTINUING TO STRENGTHEN THEIR PARTNERSHIP AND SUPPORT OF THE WAR ON TERRORISM; TO EXPRESS THE SENSE THAT SE-CURITY, RECONCILIATION, AND PROSPERITY FOR ALL CYPRIOTS CAN BE BEST ACHIEVED WITHIN MEMBERSHIP OF THE EU AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES; TO COMMEND TURKEY FOR ASSUMING COMMAND OF THE PEACE-KEEPING OPEATION IN AFGHANISTAN

WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, 2002

House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Europe, Committee on International Relations, Washington, DC.

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 12:15 p.m. In Room 2255, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Doug Bereuter presiding.

Mr. BEREUTER. The Subcommittee will come to order.

It is suggested—I think it is satisfactory to the Chairman that we proceed in order to expedite the proceedings so that the Subcommittee does meet in session today to mark up three resolutions.

committee does meet in session today to mark up three resolutions. In order to expedite the situation, I think it would be appropriate to bring up, first, H. Con. Res. 327.

Is there objection to us taking it up out of order?

Hearing none, pursuant to notice I call up the bill H. Con. Res. 327 for purposes of amendment. The clerk will report the resolution.

The CLERK. H. Con. Res. 327—

Mr. BEREUTER. Without objection, the bill will be considered as read and open for amendment at any point.

[H. Con. Res. 327 follows:]

^{107TH CONGRESS} H. CON. RES. 327

 $\mathbf{2}$

Commending the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel for the continued strengthening of their political, economic, cultural, and strategic partnership and for their actions in support of the war on terrorism.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

February 12, 2002

Mr. WEXLER (for himself, Mr. CRENSHAW, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, and Mr. FOLEY) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

- Commending the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel for the continued strengthening of their political, economic, cultural, and strategic partnership and for their actions in support of the war on terrorism.
- Whereas the Republic of Turkey has had diplomatic relations with the State of Israel since 1949;
- Whereas until 1979 the Republic of Turkey was the only Muslim country to recognize the State of Israel;
- Whereas in December 1991 the Republic of Turkey began ambassadorial relations with the State of Israel;
- Whereas the Republic of Turkey has made important contributions to the Middle East peace process and has served as an honest and fair peace broker;

IV

- Whereas the relationship between the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel has political, economic, cultural, and strategic dimensions;
- Whereas the Turkish and Israeli people have enjoyed a wide range of contacts;
- Whereas the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel began holding annual humanitarian search and rescue exercises with the United States in 1998, with the most recent of such exercises occurring in January 2001;
- Whereas nonmilitary mutual trade between the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel has grown by more than 800 percent since a free trade agreement was signed in 1996;
- Whereas total trade volume between the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel exceeded \$1,000,000,000 in 2000, with each country emerging as the other's leading export market in the Middle East;
- Whereas Turkish and Israeli companies are seeking opportunities to cooperate in joint ventures involving textiles, agriculture, energy, and construction in the newly independent states of Central Asia, particularly in Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan;
- Whereas the Republic of Turkey has constructed a major water purification and treatment plant and has offered to export a considerable volume of water to the State of Israel;
- Whereas Turkish and Israeli universities are engaged in robust academic exchanges, including endowed chairs, visiting professors and students, and frequent joint seminars;

 $\mathbf{2}$

•HCON 327 IH

- Whereas more than 250,000 Israeli tourists have visited the Republic of Turkey annually since the mid–1990s and the number of Turkish visitors to the State of Israel has been steadily increasing;
- Whereas the Turkish and Israeli people have provided crucial domestic support for the development of close cooperation between the governments of the 2 countries;
- Whereas the partnership between the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel has been strengthened by successive democratic governments in both countries;
- Whereas security cooperation between the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel has improved dramatically in recent years;
- Whereas the Republic of Turkey, the State of Israel, and the United States conducted their first trilateral air exercise in June 2001;
- Whereas the trilateral air exercise was staged in the Republic of Turkey and was the first time the Israeli Air Force had participated in military exercises in foreign air space;
- Whereas the bilateral relationship between the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel represents a mature and stable partnership which has already had a profound impact on the political, economic, cultural, and strategic environment in the Eastern Mediterranean, Middle East, and Central Asia;
- Whereas the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel have strongly supported the war on terrorism;
- Whereas the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel have suffered greatly from terrorism during the last half century;

•HCON 327 IH

- Whereas the Republic of Turkey was the first Muslim country to authorize the use of troops to support Operation Enduring Freedom;
- Whereas the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel have pledged to assist the United States and the international community in rebuilding Afghanistan;
- Whereas the Republic of Turkey has authorized the deployment of peacekeepers to Afghanistan who will be responsible for forming and training the first Afghani national security forces; and
- Whereas the Republic of Turkey and the State of Israel have had a political, economic, cultural, and strategic partnership with the United States for the last half century: Now, therefore, be it
- Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate
 concurring), That Congress—

3 (1) commends the Republic of Turkey and the
4 State of Israel for the continued strengthening of
5 their political, economic, cultural, and strategic part6 nership;

7 (2) recognizes the importance of the cooperative
8 relationship between the Republic of Turkey and the
9 State of Israel as a positive example of the kind of
10 ties between countries of differing cultures and reli11 gions without which a just and lasting peace in the
12 Middle East will never be achieved;

13 (3) calls upon the other countries in the Middle
14 East to follow the example set by the Republic of
•HCON 327 IH

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	5
1	Turkey and the State of Israel in the interest of pro-
2	moting regional cooperation and peace;
3	(4) commends the Republic of Turkey and the
4	State of Israel for their actions in support of the
5	war on terrorism;
6	(5) encourages increased political, economic,
7	cultural, and military cooperation between the
8	United States, the Republic of Turkey, and the
9	State of Israel; and
10	(6) reaffirms the political, economic, cultural,
11	and strategic partnership between the United States,
12	the Republic of Turkey, and the State of Israel.

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•HCON 327 IH

Mr. BEREUTER. The Chair recognizes first the prime sponsor of the resolution, Mr. Wexler, for any opening statement.

Mr. WEXLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to express my support for House Resolution 327 which commends Turkey and Israel for their increasingly important partnership and invaluable support for America in the war against terror. During this time of ongoing violence in Israel, regional instability and widespread terror throughout the Middle East it is critical to acknowledge those nations with whom we share the common values of justice, tolerance, democracy and the pursuit of peace.

values of justice, tolerance, democracy and the pursuit of peace. In this post-9/11 world, Turkey represents a model for Arab and Muslim nations because of its commitment to democracy and religious tolerance, as well as its long-standing alliance with the United States and with Israel. From the Korean War and Operation Enduring Freedom, Turkey has stood shoulder to shoulder with the United States as a strategic partner, ally and friend.

Today I urge my colleagues to join me in commending Turkey for its unique cooperation in the campaign against global terrorism and the leading role it has taken in the international security assistance force in Afghanistan.

As Turkey demonstrates its commitment to the American war against terror, it is important for Congress and the Bush Administration to recognize the political, economic, cultural and state partnership that has flourished between Turkey and Israel, America's two closest allies in the region. As the first Muslim majority nation to recognize Israel in 1949, Turkey has embarked upon the path of normalization and trade with Israel, setting an example for the entire Muslim and Arab world.

For over 5 decades, Turkey has enhanced diplomatic relations with Israel, encouraging an atmosphere of cooperation, partnership, progress and peace. In addition, the economic relationship between Turkey and Israel has grown by more than 800 percent since their first free trade agreement was signed in 1996.

The Israeli-Turkish partnership extends beyond the economic arena to include security cooperation, bilateral military training, technological innovation, educational exchanges, humanitarian aid and the shared allocation of water. Additionally, Israel and Turkey have joined forces alongside America to combat mutual threats, including weapons of mass destruction, religious fundamentalism and the growing threat of terror.

I believe that Congress and the American people should recognize the importance of the Israeli-Turkish relationship because of the quintessential role it plays in defending America's national interests. Turkey and Israel inhabit the most dangerous neighborhood in the world, bordering the leading state sponsors of terror, Iran, Syria and Iraq. These dangerous regimes pose enormous threat not only to their neighbors but also to the United States and the entire free world.

The strategic partners in a region defined by conflict, bloodshed and extremist regimes, the Turkish-Israeli relationship serves as the cornerstone of stability in the Middle East. At this difficult time in history, it is of the utmost importance that we recognize, commend and praise the trilateral partnership that exists between Israel and Turkey and the United States. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me this opportunity, and I urge my colleagues to support resolution 327.

Mr. BEREUTER. I thank you very much, Mr. Wexler.

Are there other Members that have opening statements on this resolution?

The gentleman from New York, Mr. Crowley.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to be a cosponsor of H. Con. Res. 327 which commends Turkey and Israel for their recent and ongoing cooperation on a wide range of political and economic issues. This cooperation highlights the important fact that, despite the violence that has wracked the region for the past 20 or so months, Israel is not an isolated nation in the Middle East. Israel can and does cooperate freely with moderate Muslim states in the region such as Turkey and Jordan.

Israel and Turkey have conducted joint military exercises and collaborated on the maintenance of Turkish and military materiel. They trade hundreds of millions of dollars in goods and services each year.

This relationship is an encouraging development in the history of the State of Israel, and it is important that the Congress recognize this accomplishment in this legislation. I congratulate the gentleman on this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Crowley.

Other opening statements?

Seeing none, then the Chair has an amendment which he offers on behalf of Chairman Gallegly. I ask unanimous consent it be considered as read.

[The information referred to follows:]

Amendment to H. Con. Res. 327 Offered by Mr. Gallegly

In the 14th clause of the preamble, strike "2" and insert "two".

Strike the 18th clause of the preamble.

In the 23d clause of the preamble (as redesignated), strike "Afghans" and insert "Afghan".

H.L.C.

Mr. BEREUTER. Members should have it in front of them. Check and see if that is the case. It is in your folders.

I believe, as I understand it, it is a relatively innocuous amendment, in one case changing a proper reference to Afghan. But it also strikes the 14th clause. Is that correct? All right. And which one is that? It is on page 2, about two-thirds of the way down page 3.

Is there discussion about the en bloc amendment?

Hearing none, then the question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California, the Chairman. All that are in favor will say aye. Those opposed will say no.

In the opinion of the Chair, the amendment is agreed to.

Are there further amendments to the legislation?

Seeing none, then the question is on approval of H. Con. Res. 327 as amended, and the Chair notices the presence of a quorum. Thank you.

All those in favor of the resolution as amended will say aye. Those opposed will say no.

The ayes appear to have it. The ayes do have it, and the resolution is adopted.

Without objection, the bill will be reported favorably to the Full Committee in the form of a single amendment in the nature of a substitute, incorporating the amendment adopted here today; and, without objection, the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

The Chair—do we proceed or take a recess?

Returning to the normal agenda, pursuant to notice, I call up the bill H. Con. Res. 164 for purposes of a markup. The clerk will report the resolution.

The CLERK. H. Con. Res. 164—

Mr. BEREUTER. Without objection, the bill will be considered as read and open for amendment at any point.

[H. Con. Res. 164 follows:]

^{107TH CONGRESS} H. CON. RES. 164

Expressing the sense of Congress that security, reconciliation, and prosperity for all Cypriots can be best achieved within the context of membership in the European Union which will provide significant rights and obligations for all Cypriots, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 19, 2001

Mr. BILIRAKIS (for himself, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. GILMAN, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. PALLONE, Ms. BERKLEY, Mr. DIAZ-BALART, Ms. LEE, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. MENEN-DEZ, Mrs. CAPPS, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. WAMP, Mr. DOYLE, Mr. KIRK, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. VISCLOSKY, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. BLAGOJEVICH, Mr. CAPUANO, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. PAYNE, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. COYNE, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. KING, Mrs. MYRICK, Mr. HORN, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. SHERMAN, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. TIERNEY, Mr. STARK, Mr. LEWIS of California, Mr. BAIRD, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. GEKAS, and Mr. ACKERMAN) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of Congress that security, reconciliation, and prosperity for all Cypriots can be best achieved within the context of membership in the European Union which will provide significant rights and obligations for all Cypriots, and for other purposes.

Whereas the status quo on Cyprus remains unacceptable;

IV

12

- Whereas a just and lasting resolution of the Cyprus problem, on the basis of United Nations Security Council resolutions, must safeguard the security and fundamental rights of all citizens of Cyprus, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots alike;
- Whereas Cyprus is among the leading candidate countries for accession to the European Union, in recognition of its commitment to free markets, human rights, democracy, and the rule of law;
- Whereas the European Union guarantees to all its citizens the indivisible universal values of human dignity (supporting fair and equal treatment of all), freedom (right to security, marriage, family, among others), equality (celebrating cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity), solidarity (protecting workers' rights and providing social security), citizens' rights (voting), and justice (holding a fair trial);
- Whereas membership in the European Union will guarantee each citizen of Cyprus important legal, civil, and human rights, as well as the means and legal recourse necessary to secure the full application of these fundamental individual rights, and to promote the respect of cultural diversity and traditions;
- Whereas membership in the European Union will bring significant benefits to both the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities, including new economic opportunities, access to new markets, a freer exchange of goods and services, balanced and sustainable development as well as the free movement of persons, goods, and services and capital;

•HCON 164 IH

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- Whereas the European Council in its Summit Conclusions of December 1999, in Helsinki, stated that "a political settlement [of the Cyprus problem] will facilitate the accession of Cyprus to the European Union . . . [i]f no settlement has been reached by the completion of accession negotiations, the Council's decision on accession will be made without the above being a precondition";
- Whereas both the United States and the European Union in their summit statement on the New Transatlantic Agenda of June 14, 2001, pledge to continue to work together to support the efforts of the United Nations Secretary General to achieve a comprehensive settlement with respect to Cyprus consistent with relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions and to continue to work toward the resumption of talks;
- Whereas resolution of the Cyprus problem is in the strategic interests of the United States, given the important location of Cyprus at the crossroads of Europe, Africa, and Asia; and
- Whereas resolution of the Cyprus problem is also consistent with American values, as enshrined in the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness: Now, therefore, be it
- 1 Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate
- 2 concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that—
- 3 (1) the unacceptable status quo on Cyprus must
 4 be ended and the island and its people be reunited,
 5 in a bizonal, bicommunal federal Cyprus, on the
 6 basis of United Nations Security Council resolutions;

•HCON 164 IH

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1	(2) the accession of Cyprus to the European
2	Union would act as a catalyst for the solution of the
3	Cyprus problem without the latter being a pre-
4	condition for accession;
5	(3) membership of Cyprus to the European
6	Union should be strongly supported;
7	(4) all Cypriots be urged to support and en-
8	courage efforts to bring Cyprus into the European
9	Union; and
10	(5) the various agencies of the United States
11	Government should pursue vigorously and as an
12	issue of high and urgent priority new initiatives that
13	will help promote and achieve reunification, rec-
14	onciliation, stability, and prosperity on Cyprus.

•HCON 164 IH

Mr. BEREUTER. Does the Chair wish to have his statement read by—all right. I will read the statement of the gentleman from California, the Chairman.

H. Con. Res. 164, introduced by our colleague from Florida, Mr. Bilirakis—and I recognize our friend—endorses the admission of the Republic of Cyprus into the European Union.

The Chair recognizes the sensitivity that some have assigned to this resolution. However, the resolution itself is grounded in undeniable fact in that Cyprus is a formal candidate for EU admission and that the EU in all probability will be issuing an invitation to Cyprus to join the Union in December.

In addition, this resolution does not differ in substance with the current foreign policy of the United States as the stated position of the Bush Administration is, and has been, that the Administration supports the accession of Cyprus.

This resolution was introduced in June, 2001, and since then our Special Coordinator for Cyprus, Ambassador Tom Westin, had asked the Subcommittee to hold off its consideration until it could be determined whether or not real progress in the reconciliation talks could have been achieved. The author of this resolution has been very patient and gracious in deferring to the Subcommittee on the timing issue.

Since January, direct talks have been taking place between Cypriot leadership which we have supported and encourage to continue. However, a deadline of the end of June to make progress established by the leaders has come and gone with no substantive progress reported.

And now, with elections scheduled for the fall in Turkey, few expect much progress in the talks.

In the meantime, the EU, undeterred by the lack of progress in the talks, is moving ahead with the potential accession of Cyprus. In conclusion, I do not believe that consideration of this resolu-

In conclusion, I do not believe that consideration of this resolution by the Subcommittee will negatively affect the current negotiations, nor will it undermine the attempts by those working on a negotiated resolution to achieve a positive result.

While all of us here would prefer to see a resolution of the problem before the accession process begins, the progress Cyprus has made in meeting the criteria for EU membership and given the clear benefits membership would have for that island nation, I believe this resolution is appropriate and should be supported.

And that is Chairman Gallegly's statement.

I now recognize—Mr. Hilliard, do you have an opening statement? I now recognize Mr. Wynn—pardon me, Mr. Hilliard for an opening statement on behalf of himself as the senior Democrat.

Mr. HILLIARD. No statement.

Mr. BEREUTER. No statement.

Are there other Members who wish to make a statement?

Mr. Crowley.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Chairman, I want to express my strong support for H. Con. Res. 164, of which I am a cosponsor, which places Congress firmly on record as supporting the accession of Cyprus to the European Union.

Though Cyprus remains divided into two communities, eventual membership in the European Union has the potential to bring enormous benefits to all Cypriots. It will provide all the residents of the island with new economic opportunities, including access to markets throughout Europe and the free movement of people, goods and services.

The European Union has pledged to invest substantial sums of money in the island to promote economic and social development. Such investments will benefit Cypriots on both sides of the Green Line. By joining the EU, Cyprus will benefit greatly and will play an even more important role in the politics and the economy of the region. It would certainly be ideal if a solution could be found to the is-

It would certainly be ideal if a solution could be found to the island's division, as thousands of people have suffered from the 28year-long division of the island. I encourage President Clerides and Turkish Cypriot leader Denktash to resume their talks as soon as possible.

But it is unreasonable to expect Cyprus to put off EU accession and the substantial economic benefits that EU membership would bring until this long-standing political conflict is resolved. In fact, accession may very well serve as a catalyst that promotes a comprehensive settlement to the island's division, as reunification into a bizonal, bicommunal federation will facilitate the full participation of all Cypriots in Cyprus's relationship with the EU.

Mr. Chairman, I once again appreciate the opportunity to address the Committee, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Crowley.

Are there further opening statements?

Seeing none, then the Chair has an amendment at the desk; and he offers it on behalf of Chairman Gallegly. I ask unanimous consent it be considered as read.

[The information referred to follows:]

AMENDMENT TO H. CON. RES. 164 OFFERED BY MR. GALLEGLY

17

Amend the first clause of the preamble to read as follows:

Whereas the current status quo on Cyprus remains unacceptable and the reunification of Cyprus remains a desirable foreign policy objective;

In the second clause of the preamble—

(1) strike "on the basis" and insert "in full consideration";

(2) after "resolutions" insert "and international treaties"; and

(3) strike "all citizens" and insert "the population".

In the fifth clause of the preamble, strike "each citizen of Cyprus" and insert "each citizen of the Republic of Cyprus".

In the sixth clause of the preamble, strike "the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities" and insert "Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriots".

In the seventh clause of the preamble, strike "precondition" and insert "precondition . . . [i]n this the Council will take account of all relevant factors".

H.L.C.

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In the eighth clause of the preamble, strike "consistent with relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions and to continue to work toward the resumption of talks" and insert "in full consideration of relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions and international treaties".

Amend the ninth clause of the preamble to read as follows:

Whereas the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leadership began direct talks on January 16, 2002, with the United Nations Special Advisor in attendance and the European Council at the Seville Conference in June 2002 called on the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders to intensify and expedite their talks in order to seize the unique opportunity to reach a comprehensive settlement;

Page 3, line 3, strike "unacceptable" and insert "current".

Page 3, beginning on line 5, strike "on the basis" and insert "with full consideration".

Page 3, line 6, after "resolutions" insert "and international treaties".

Page 3, after line 6, insert the following:

(2) the direct and intensive negotiations be tween the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders, which

	3
1	began in January 2002, and which are continuing
2	on a regular basis, have been most welcome and are
3	encouraged to continue until a comprehensive settle-
4	ment has been achieved;

Page 4, line 1, strike "(2)" and insert "(3)".

Page 4, strike lines 1 through 4 and insert the following:

5	(2) while a successful resolution of the Cyprus
6	problem would facilitate the accession of Cyprus to
7	the European Union, in the absence of such a reso-
8	lution, the accession of Cyprus to the European
9	Union could act as a further catalyst for the solution
10	of the Cyprus problem without the latter being a
11	precondition for accession and with all relevant fac-
12	tors being considered;

Page 4, line 4, after "accession" insert "and with all relevant factors being considered".

Page 4, line 5—

(1) strike "(3)" and insert "(4)"; and

(2) strike "Cyprus to" and insert "the Republic of Cyprus in".

Page 4, line 7, strike "(4)" and insert "(5)".

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H.L.C.

H.L.C.

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Page 4, line 8, insert "the Republic of" before "Cyprus".

Page 4, line 10, strike "(5)" and insert "(6)".

Page 4, beginning on line 11, strike "should pursue vigorously and as an issue of high and urgent" and insert "in support of United Nations efforts to facilitate a settlement should pursue as an issue of high". Mr. BEREUTER. I do not have the Chairman's statement on behalf of the amendment. As you can see, it is extensive.

I know that the amendment has been worked out according to staff with the author of the resolution, the prime author, Mr. Bilirakis, and includes recommendations from the State Department as well as those in support of the Cypriot.

I know from our prior discussions with the Chair and the staff that one of the more controversial provisions had been the part on page 4, lines 1 through 4; and I call Members' attention to it just to be totally open about the process and the significant matter of contention, at least the prime one as I understood it.

If you look now at the amendment on page 3, lines 5 through 12, you will see the negotiated language and which I read: Number 2, while a successful resolution of the Cyprus problem would facilitate the accession of Cyprus to the European Union, in the absence of such a resolution, the accession of Cyprus to the European Union could act—and was originally would act—it could act as a further catalyst for the solution of the Cyprus problem—and then new language added—without the latter being a precondition for accession and with all relevant factors being considered.

As I recall, that is really a combination of two statements that have been made by the European Union with respect to Cyprus and the potential accession.

So I am perfectly satisfied, speaking for myself, with this resolution of that particular problem by the language found on page 3, lines 5 through 12, but I did want to mention to you specifically what one of the parts of—or prime elements of the contention had been before.

Is there any further discussion about the amendment en bloc offered by the gentleman from California, Mr. Gallegly?

The question then is on the amendment put before you. All those in favor will say aye. Those opposed will say no.

In the opinion of the Chair, the ayes have it.

Are there further amendments to the resolution?

Hearing none, then the question is on approval of the resolution as amended. All those in favor will say aye. Those opposed will say no.

In the opinion of the Chair, the ayes have it, and the motion is approved. The staff is directed to make any technical and conforming changes.

Without objection, the bill will be reported favorably to the Full Committee in the form of a single amendment in the nature of a substitute incorporating the amendment adopted here today. Without objection, the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

Thank you, gentlemen.

We have one more; and this is to put before you H. Con. Res. 437, which was introduced by our colleague from Maryland, Mr. Wynn. I was thinking that was Mr. Wynn. I apologize to Mr. Hilliard for calling Mr. Wynn's name.

Pursuant to notice, I call up the bill H. Con. Res. 437 for purposes of a markup. The clerk will report the resolution.

The CLERK. H. Con. Res. 437—

Mr. BEREUTER. Without objection, the bill is considered as read and open for amendment at any point. [H. Con. Res. 437 follows:]

^{107TH CONGRESS} 2D SESSION H. CON. RES. 437

Recognizing the Republic of Turkey for its cooperation in the campaign against global terrorism, for its commitment of forces and assistance to Operation Enduring Freedom and subsequent missions in Afghanistan, and for initiating important economic reforms to build a stable and prosperous economy in Turkey.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

July 9, 2002

Mr. WYNN (for himself, Ms. GRANGER, Mr. WEXLER, Mr. WHITFIELD, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. HOUGHTON, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. PITTS, Mr. OXLEY, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. SKELTON, Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. DAVIS of Florida, Mrs. TAUSCHER, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, and Mr. BEREUTER) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

- Recognizing the Republic of Turkey for its cooperation in the campaign against global terrorism, for its commitment of forces and assistance to Operation Enduring Freedom and subsequent missions in Afghanistan, and for initiating important economic reforms to build a stable and prosperous economy in Turkey.
- Whereas the United States and the Republic of Turkey have long been allies and share a commitment to preserving global peace and stability;

IV

- Whereas Turkey has demonstrated a steadfast commitment to the war on terrorism;
- Whereas Turkey was the first country with a predominantly Muslim population to offer direct military participation in Operation Enduring Freedom;
- Whereas the use of the Incirlik Air Base in Turkey, from which thousands of United States transport planes have taken off since the beginning of Operation Enduring Freedom, has greatly facilitated the campaign in Afghanistan;
- Whereas Turkey, the only member nation of NATO with a predominantly Muslim population, will assume command of the International Security and Assistance Force in Afghanistan;
- Whereas Turkey faced financial and currency crises and a recession in 2000 and 2001;
- Whereas Turkey's fiscal discipline and actions to restore confidence in the banking system have laid the foundation for sound economic recovery, which has already begun;
- Whereas the future growth and prosperity of Turkey depend in large measure on encouraging more foreign investment in Turkey and improving trade relations; and
- Whereas the United States is interested in building a broader investment and trading relationship with Turkey: Now, therefore, be it
- 1 Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate
- 2 concurring), That Congress—

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•HCON 437 IH

1	(1) recognizes the Republic of Turkey for its
2	steadfast commitment to, and cooperation in, the
3	war against terrorism, including—
4	(A) Turkey's immediate condemnation of
5	the terrorist attacks against the United States
6	that occurred on September 11, 2001;
7	(B) Turkey's offers to the United States of
8	troops, the use of air bases, increased force pro-
9	tection for United States military personnel and
10	equipment in Turkey, and diplomatic overflight
11	clearances;
12	(C) Turkey's deployment of hundreds of
13	troops to Afghanistan to participate in the ini-
14	tial phase of the International Security Assist-
15	ance Force; and
16	(D) Turkey's willingness to participate in
17	and lead the International Security Assistance
18	Force in Afghanistan and assist the United
19	States in training the new Afghan security
20	forces; and
21	(2) commends Turkey for implementing eco-
22	nomic reforms, particularly those which increase pri-
23	vatization and improve the investment climate in
24	Turkey.

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•HCON 437 IH

Mr. BEREUTER. Is there an opening statement?

I would put into the record I am reading the statement of Chairman Gallegly as follows:

H. Con. Res. 437 commends Turkey for its continued support for the campaign against global terrorism and for its early contributions to Operation Enduring Freedom. The resolution also congratulates Turkey for taking command of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. Finally, the resolution addresses Turkey's attempts at needed economic reforms.

Turkey has long been a friend and close ally of the United States both on a bilateral level and as a partner in the NATO Alliance.

Turkey's support for the campaign against global terrorism has been steady and unquestioned. The use of Turkish military bases during early phases of the Afghan campaign enabled the U.S. military forces to conduct swift and successful missions against al Qaeda and Taliban forces.

Recently, Turkey took command of the ISAF force in Afghanistan. This marked a new period for Turkey because it did send the message that the international campaign against terrorism is not directed toward the Muslim world or the Islamic religion.

The ISAF command also raises the profile of the Turkish military and conveys a strong acknowledgment of Turkey's important role in the region and the prestige Turkey has accumulated both here in the U.S. and in the West in general.

I again want to commend Turkey for its commitment and assistance and urge passage of this resolution.

Are there Members that have further comments or opening statements?

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to-

Mr. BEREUTER. I would just recognize—Mr. Gilman joined us, the Chairman Emeritus.

Mr. GILMAN. I want to thank you for bringing H. Con. Res. 437 before the Subcommittee today. I am sorry I was detained at another hearing.

Turkey, a NATO ally and OSCE participating state, is a historically vital strategic and economic partner set astride the Middle East, Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the Balkans. Turkey stood by the United States in Korea, against Saddam Hussein during the Gulf War, in our efforts to bring peace to Bosnia, and today, as the war on terror continues with its various twists and turns, Turkey has pledged to play a key role.

Turkey's assumption of command of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan clearly demonstrated Turkey's willingness to assume a leadership role in the war against terrorism and, in particular, to bring about peace and stability in Afghanistan. In assuming command of ISAF, Turkey demonstrated the solidarity of the U.S.-Turkey strategic partnership and Turkey's resolve to combat terrorism. Yet our strong relationship is not confined to security cooperation.

Turkey has also purchased billions of dollars of U.S. military equipment over the years and has been identified as one of the largest emerging markets for U.S. exports. The potential benefits of closer cooperation are obvious. In recent years economic and commercial relations between Turkey and United States developed

into a mutually beneficial partnership and has been steadily increasing not only as a lucrative market for U.S. exports but also as a reliable prospective partner for joint projects and investments in third countries. Turkey successfully weathered a recession from 2000 to 2001 and is now reemerging as a regional economic partner.

I support this proposal. I hope that the Republic of Turkey, though, in like manner will reach out to our Greek-Cypriot friends to try to settle the Cyprus situation that has been long overdue. Turkey should be sitting at the table with the Greek-Cypriots and try to resolve that long-standing problem.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Gilman. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Crowley, is recognized for an opening statement.

Mr. CROWLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I also would like to express my support for H. Con. Res. 437, which recognizes Turkey's efforts in the international war against terrorism

Turkey, along with our other NATO allies, has contributed significantly to the international community's efforts to bring security and stability to Afghanistan. Turkey's willingness to assume command of the International Security Assistance Force demonstrates that leaders in the Islamic world support what the United States and our allies are doing in Afghanistan, thereby contributing to its national security far beyond the Kabul city limits.

Mr. Chairman, once again, thank you for the opportunity to address the Committee, and I yield back the balance of my time. Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you.

Are there further opening statements? Seeing none, then the Chair has an amendment at the desk which he offers on behalf of Chairman Gallegly. The clerk will report the amendment.

The CLERK. Amendment offered by Mr. Gallegly.

Mr. BEREUTER. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as read.

[The information referred to follows:]

Amendment to H. Con. Res. 437 Offered by Mr. Gallegly

In the fifth clause of the preamble, strike "will assume" and insert "has assumed".

In the seventh clause of the preamble, strike ", which has already begun".

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H.L.C.

Mr. BEREUTER. The amendment has two clauses, and it really changes the tense of the first one, because in fact they now have the other one is a suggested clause in light of the economic issues in Turkey.

Is there discussion on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California?

Hearing none, then the question is on the amendment. All those in favor will say aye. Those opposed will say no.

In the opinion of the Chair, the ayes have it. The ayes do have it.

Are there further amendments to the legislation?

Hearing none, then the question is on the passage or approval of the resolution as amended. All those in favor will say aye. Those opposed will say no.

In the opinion of the Chair, the ayes have it. The ayes do have it.

Without objection, the bill will be reported favorably to the Full Committee in the form of a single amendment in the nature of a substitute incorporating the amendments adopted here today.

Without objection, the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

The Chair has been asked to ask unanimous consent that a statement of Mr. Burton in opposition to House concurrent resolution 164 be made a part of the record. Is there objection? Hearing no objection, the statement will be included.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Burton follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE DAN BURTON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF INDIANA

STATEMENT IN OPPOSITION TO H. CON. RES. 164

Mr. Chairman, in my two decades in Congress, I have probably seen over a hundred different resolutions introduced in this House and Senate, which have targeted Turkey for one thing or another. All of these resolutions have been remarkably similar. They have all been introduced on behalf of Greek-Americans and Armenian Americans. They have all ignored history or manipulated it. And they have all attempted to apply U.S. pressure on Turkey to achieve the policy goals of the sponsors. Unfortunately, House Concurrent Resolution 164 follows the same predictable pattern

Twelve years ago, *Stavros Angelides*, a Greek Cypriot journalist, wrote about the Greek Cypriot attitudes toward Cyprus. I would like to read part of what he wrote.

"With the passage time we Greek Cypriots forget, or we willfully disregard, the events which led to the present situation in Cyprus. We forget our faults and we ask all the more emphatically everybody to deliver to us justice as we understand it. We talk in vague terms about UN resolutions, and actually mean those which favor us. The others . . . are not fair—we do not want them—let them go to hell."

Mr. Chairman, like so many Cyprus resolutions we have considered in the past, H. Con. Res. 164 is one-sided and inaccurate. It intentionally ignores international agreements that are not favorable to the Greek Cypriot cause, and it ignores history that reflects poorly upon Greek Cypriots. For the sake of historical accuracy and for the sake of the U.S.-Turkish relationship, I feel that it is necessary to make a few points about House Concurrent Resolution 164.

Mr. Chairman, the long title of House Concurrent Resolution 164 reads:

Expressing the sense of Congress that the security, reconciliation, and prosperity for all Cypriots can best be achieved within the context of membership in the European Union which will provide significant rights and obligations for all Cypriots, and for other purposes. To claim, as the long title does, that membership in the EU "will provide significant rights . . . for all Cypriots" is wrong. The Republic of Cyprus does not control northern Cyprus, which is governed by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. It only controls the South. Should the Republic of Cyprus be admitted to the EU, Greek Cypriots will acquire many rights. Turkish Cypriots will acquire nothing, unless that is, at some point, they are willing to submit to a reunification plan that will allow Greek Cypriots to dominate the island. And I can assure you, this will never happen.

The long title of this resolution also concludes that the:

"security, reconciliation, and prosperity for all Cypriots can best be achieved within the context of (Republic of Cyprus) membership in the European Union".

Mr. Chairman, we all know this isn't true, and frankly, I don't believe anyone here really believes this. If the Republic of Cyprus enters the EU, it's not going to promote reconciliation on the island. The fact is that Turkish Cypriots will be less inclined to reconcile with the South, not more. Everyone here knows the real reason why the Republic of Cyprus wants to enter the EU. The Greek Cypriots want EU membership so they can further strong-arm the Turkish Cypriots into accepting a political settlement on Cyprus that will allow Greek Cypriots to again dominate the island. And, once it enters the EU, it, will join forces with Greece in blocking Turkey's entrance into the EU. It's absurd to believe that either Greece or the Republic of Cyprus will ever agree to anything favorable toward Turkey. They will never let Turkey enter the EU before they achieve their preferred Cyprus settlement. Even if they get the settlement that they want, they and Greece would no doubt find other reasons to keep Turkey out of the EU.

Mr. Chairman, any solution to Cyprus must be accepted by both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. A solution cannot be forced on only one side. In 1995, Hugo Gobi, the former UN Special Representative for Cyprus, said, "Greek and Turkish Cypriots living in harmony together is a nice idea but it's a dream. I saw the reality and realized that division is the best thing for both." The Turkish Cypriots have just as much right to live a life free of violence as the various ethnic groups that comprised the former Yugoslavia. If people do not want to live together, why should they be pressured to by the U.S. Congress, whose members will not have to suffer the consequences.

Mr. Chairman, the first whereas clause of House Concurrent Resolution 164 reads, "Whereas the status quo on Cyprus remains unacceptable." In 1986, Lord Willis of the British House of Lords said "Turkey intervened (on Cyprus) to protect the lives and property of the Turkish-Cypriots, and to its credit has done just that. In 12 years since, there have been no killings and no massacres." Mr. Chairman, it has now been 28 years, and there have been no killings and no massacres. That sounds like a pretty good status quo to me.

Inke a pretty good status quo to me. Mr. Chairman, the entry of Cyprus into the EU violates Article 1 of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee, which was signed by Great Britain, Greece, Turkey, Greek Cypriots, and the Turkish Cypriots to "ensure the recognition and maintenance of the independence, territorial integrity, and security of Cyprus by preventing direct or indirect partition or annexation by the guarantor states." Article 1 reads:

"It (the Republic of Cyprus) undertakes not to participate, in whole or in part, in any political union with any State whatsoever. It accordingly declares prohibited any activity likely to promote, directly or indirectly, either union with any other State or partition of the Island."

For the Republic of Cyprus to lawfully join the EU, Turkey, as one of the Guarantors of the Treaty, would need to waive the provisions of Article 1. Turkey has not done so.

Mr. Chairman, what I object to the most about House Concurrent Resolution 164, is that it ignores the history of Cyprus. I would like to refresh some memories.

Before the British left Cyprus in 1960, they drafted the Zurich-London Accords, which set up a bi-communal Republic with a Greek Cypriot President and a Turkish Cypriot Vice President. Under the new Constitution, both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots were political equals in the new government with shared responsibilities and authority. A Treaty of Guarantee was then signed by Great Britain, Greece, Turkey, Greek Cypriots, and the Turkish Cypriots to protect against the ". . . direct or indirect partition or annexation by the guarantor states." Under Article IV of the Treaty, Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey all had the right to intervene on the island should the sovereignty of the island was threatened.

Mr. Chairman, this was the original plan for Cyprus. Tragically, it was quickly abandoned by the first Greek Cypriot President of the island. Despite signing the Constitution, the new President, Archbishop Markarios, immediately sought

"Enosis" or union with Greece. To achieve it, he attempted to amend the Constitution to strip Turkish Cypriots of their constitutional rights. One amendment stripped Turkish Cypriots of their constitutional right to veto legislation in the House of Representatives. When Turkish Cypriots tried to veto this amendment, Makarios forcibly ejected all Turkish Cypriot government officials and members of the House of Representatives from the government. He then launched attacks against all Turkish Cypriots.

By 1964, Makarios blockaded all Turkish Cypriot enclaves and surrounded them with barbed wire and roadblocks. The same year, Greek Prime Minister George Papandreou began clandestine shipments of troops to Cyprus. They arrived at night in civilian clothes and joined Greek Cypriot terrorist organizations. In total, 20,000

In civilian clothes and joined circle cypriot circles eigenet to be the transfer of the transf Nicosia Hospital disappeared from their beds. A British investigation revealed that the Greek medical staff had slit the patients throats as they lay in their beds. Later, their bodies were loaded onto a truck, driven to a farm north of the city, fed into

mechanical choppers, and ground into the earth. When U.S. Under-Secretary of State George Ball visited Cyprus in February of 1964, he concluded that Greek Cypriots "just want to left alone to kill Turkish Cypriots'

Between 1963–1964, 364 Turkish Cypriots were killed during Greek Cypriot sponsored massacres. Over 25,000 Turkish Cypriots, including the population of 103 vil-lages were chased from their homes. Hundreds of homes were destroyed.

On November 14th and 15th of 1967, more than 30 Turkish Cypriots were killed, including three sons of an elderly couple and an eighty-year old man who were In lattice by being wrapped in a gasoline-soaked blanket and set on fire. In 1974 alone, over 800 Turkish Cypriots disappeared. Mr. Chairman, the culmination of events that led to the current division of Cy-

prus occurred in 1974. It was then, that Greece overthrew President Makarios in a coup, and installed Nikos Sampson as the new President. Previously, Sampson was a member of the House of Representatives who was elected to the House on the slogan of "Death to Turks". Greece carried out the coup, code-named "Operation President," by illegally smuggling into 950 Greek officers and soldiers into Cyprus. In response to this coup, Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit asked Great Brit-ain to enforce the Treaty of Guarantee. Tragically, Great Britain did nothing. For

14 years, from 1960 to 1974, Turkey watched and waited as Turkish Cypriots were systematically slaughtered. No one offered them any help. Finally, Turkey had no choice but to send its own troops to protect the Turkish Cypriot population. Turkey was entitled to do this under the Treaty of Guarantee.

Even, the Athens Court of Appeals (Formal Name: The Court of Cassation in Ath-ens) acknowledged the legality of the Turkish peace operations in Judgment Num-ber (No: 2658/79) on March 21, 1979. It stated:

"Turkey's intervention in Cyprus as a Guarantor Power within the framework of the Zurich and London Agreements is legal. Actually the Greek Officers against whom the court cases have been brought, are responsible for the intervention.

Mr. Chairman, it amazes me at how Greek Cypriots have been able to whitewash clear-cut international agreements, have gained recognition as the government of all Cyprus, and have convinced the entire world that they, and not the Turkish Cypriots, have been wronged.

Mr. Chairman, at some point, there will come a day when the Turks finally get fed up with all these anti-Turkish resolutions that we're always introducing in the Congress and say the hell with America. Now I know that many in this body would love to see that happen, but let me tell you something, America needs Turkey, Turkey doesn't need us. And if you were to compare Turkey and Greece and what they have contributed to the United States as allies, there is no comparison. Turkey dwarfs Greece in terms of its importance to the United States.

Turkey contributed almost five times the number of troops to the Korean War as Greece, and lost almost five times the number of troops. During the Cold War, Turkey was a bulwark against Soviet expansion into the Middle East.

In the Persian Gulf War, Turkey deployed two squadrons of F16 fighters, deployed 120,000 troops to the Iraqi border to tie down Iraqi forces in the North, allowed the U.S. to use multiple bases, and lost close to \$100 billion as a result of sanctions against Iraq. What did Greece do? It sent one frigate to the Persian Gulf.

In Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, Turkey is allowing the U.S. to use eight military bases. All humanitarian aid flights to Aghanistan flew from bases in Turkey. Turkey provided KC-135 aerial refueling for U.S. aircraft. Turkey sent 90 Special Forces to help the Northern Alliance and provided the U.S. intelligence on anti-Taliban forces. In June, Turkey assumed command of peacekeeping in Af-ghanistan and is committing up to 1,500 troops. Turkey is training a 600-man Na-tional Guard battalion of Afghans. Turkey has five ships participating in NATO counter-terrorism operations in the Mediterranean. Mr. Chairman, I could go on and

on. What has Greece done? They've allowed us to use their airspace. They've sent a frigate to the Arabian Sea, and another frigate and counter mine ship to the Persian Gulf. They've sent 134 men to participate in peacekeeping.

Mr. Chairman, what Greece has done is nice, and we should be grateful for their help, but it pales in comparison to the contributions of the Turkey, and it pales in comparison to what Turkey has done for the United States over the last five decades. Mr. Chairman, I hope that the day will soon come when Congress stops introducing all these anti-Turkish resolutions. If we don't, it will be the United States I urge the rejection of House Concurrent Resolution 164, and yield back the bal-

ance of my time.

Mr. BEREUTER. The gentleman from New York.

Mr. GILMAN. If you would note, I regret that I was not here for the adoption of H. Con. Res. 164 expressing the sense of Congress that security reconciliation for Cypriot be best achieved within the current membership of the European Union. Had I been present, I would have voted in strong support of that.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Gilman. The record will so reflect.

Are there further statements or matters to come before the Subcommittee?

I then thank the Members of the Subcommittee for their cooperation. I appreciate it very much, and the Subcommittee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:11 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]