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WATCH STATE DEPARTMENT

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25 August 1988

Reply to:

Mr. Blair Dorminey
Director of Policy Development
National Security Council
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Dorminey:

Congratulations on your recent appointment as Director of Policy Development for the National Security Council.

Enclosed is background on a policy that definitely needs review. The State Department is actively intent on giving away to the Soviet Union five strategic Alaskan Arctic islands plus vast oil-rich seabeds.

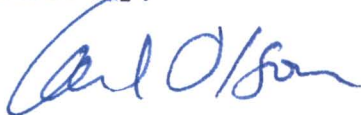
As you can appreciate, this would be a monstrous disaster in terms of military preparedness, natural resources, and diplomatic prestige.

The Alaskan Legislature unanimously objects to this giveaway. There is a bill in Congress HR341 with 52 co-sponsors to put a stop to it.

The State Department's negotiations have purportedly been over the setting of a boundary line between Alaska and Siberia. The State Department's policy has been to accept the old 1867 line to be the new boundary. Not only is this an unacceptable re-interpretation of an old treaty, but it circumvents the need to make this new agreement into the form of a treaty.

Please look into this matter and try to reverse it as quickly as possible. Our group, which numbers 12,000 nationwide, would like to know what you intend to do. If you would like further information, please do not hesitate to call.

Sincerely,



Carl Olson
Chairman

CLO:moi

Enclosures

WATCH STATE DEPARTMENT

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BACKGROUND BRIEF

Subject: Giveaway of Five Alaskan Islands and
Vast Petroleum-Rich Seabeds to the Soviet Union

Prepared for: Members of U.S. Congress

Prepared by: Carl L. Olson, Chairman, State Department Watch

There's no question that the State Department has already taken action to set in concrete the giveaway of five highly-strategic American islands and incredibly-extensive petroleum-rich seabeds off Alaska to the Soviet Union. Attached you will find extracts of the State Department's own documents, plus maps and other background material.

This Background Brief will give you conclusive proof that this giveaway is in progress--if not already completed--by the State Department. If you don't believe that this could happen, just ask yourself which side of the Panama Canal fiasco was the State Department on.

I. THE BASIC FRAME OF REFERENCE

Alaskans stand literally eyeball-to-eyeball with the Soviet Union every day. Most Americans don't realize that it is only a couple miles across the Bering Straits between Alaska and this country's most powerful enemy, the Soviet Union. This is the frontline of defense.

The other important fact that needs to be understood is that there is no international boundary established by treaty between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Borders between countries are set by treaty. In the U.S., treaties must be consented to by two-thirds of the U.S. Senate.

A high-level State Department delegation traveled to Moscow for talks regarding the turnover with their Kremlin counterparts during the week of July 23-24, 1984. So secret was this mission that the State Department continues to this day to refuse to disclose the names of the members of the delegation, let alone the details of the giveaway. By various means, we have been able to extract some of this data--as shown later in this Brief.

II. THE FIVE ALASKAN ISLANDS

There's no question that the five islands belong to Alaska. As you know, Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867. However, these islands were not part of the Alaska Purchase, for the simple reason that they had not yet been discovered and claimed! Thus, the 1867 U.S.-Russia Convention agreement does not even apply to them.

Here's a quick summary of the islands:

Wrangell Island

At 2,800 square miles, it is the largest of the five (equal to Rhode Island and Delaware combined). Discovered by the U.S. in 1867, it was formally taken into U.S. possession on Aug. 12, 1881, by Capt. Calvin Leighton Hooper aboard the U.S. Revenue Marine (Coast Guard) ship Thomas Corwin. Captain Hooper was the de facto governor of the Territory of Alaska at the time. Among the landing party going ashore onto Wrangell was the famed explorer John Muir, who wrote of the expedition in his book The Cruise of the Corwin.

(Continued, next page)

BACKGROUND BRIEF

Bennett, Henrietta, and Jeannette Islands were discovered and taken into U.S. possession as the result of the famous expedition led by U.S. Navy Commander George Washington DeLong in 1879-81 aboard the U.S. ship Jeannette. A large monument still stands at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis to give tribute to this brave expedition into the Arctic. These are still called the DeLong Islands.

Herald Island was also taken into formal American possession in the 19th Century. Capt. John Rodgers aboard U.S.S. Vincennes surveyed the island in 1855 for the United States.

III. STRATEGIC LOCATION, STRATEGIC OIL RESERVES

A quick glance at the map should make it clear that this Arctic area is on the defensive frontline of America. It would be totally nonsensical to withdraw our claims here and back up hundreds of miles, while the Soviet Union advances hundreds of miles closer to our frontier.

The Oil Reserves

Looking beneath the surface of the Arctic waters gives us another vital reason not to give up the area to the Soviets: oil and gas. Literally, billions of barrels.

The shallow water around the islands is called the outer-continental shelf. Unlike other parts of the U.S., the outer-continental shelf around Alaska extends hundreds of miles out to sea. As a matter of fact, Alaska has about three-fourths of all of the U.S. outer-continental shelf. The giveaway of this territory would include turning over four times the size of the State of California.

The recent enormous oil finds around Alaska have not been any accident. The shallow waters make it entirely feasible to explore and pump there. The vast proven oil reserves are a national treasure that should not fall into the hands of the Soviet war machine. The U.S. Department of the Interior has placed the Alaskan oil and gas reserves in the tens of billions of barrels.

How can America protect herself from blackmail from the OPEC countries over oil supplies--regardless of the price--when America is in the process of throwing away billions of barrels of her own reserves from her own backyard? Whatever happened to Project Energy Independence?

We are extremely grateful for the leasing of the outercontinental shelf by the U.S. Department of the Interior, because it was during one of these leases that the State Department's scheme for the wholesale giveaway emerged. This story of the Navarin Basin also shows how valuable in hundreds of millions of dollars the oil reserves really are.

IV. HOW THE SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WERE UNCOVERED

It was an obscure passage in the publicly-available Federal Register for March 16, 1984, that provided the startling revelation about the State Department's policy on the international boundary between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. As you recall, there is no treaty that sets such a border.

This passage in the Federal Register dealt with the oil and gas leasing for the Navarin Basin in the Bering Sea, describing the seabed blocks that were available for exploration.

Suddenly, there was this one-line revelation (on page 10065) to the effect that the State Department, on its own, without any treaty, and without

BACKGROUND BRIEF

the "advice and consent" of the U.S. Senate, had allegedly created an international boundary. It had converted the old 1867 Convention reference line into a border: "The United States depicts the 1867 Convention line as the maritime boundary...." The State Department has no such constitutional right.

At first glance, you might not see the monumental significance of this concession. Just look at the map, and you will see that this old 1867 line proceeds from the tip of the Aleutian Islands through the Bering Straits and then straight north.

By accepting the old 1867 line as a boundary, the State Department has cut adrift everything to the west--that is, the American islands of Wrangell, Herald, Bennett, Henrietta, and Jeannette, plus all of the vast oil-rich seabeds that surround them.

V. SOVIET GREED, STATE DEPARTMENT APPEASEMENT

If you can believe it, the Soviet Union was not content with the overly generous State Department. The Kremlin bosses wanted even more seabeds in the Bering Sea along the 1867 line. The way they justified this demand was to draw the old 1867 line as a "rhumb line" on the map (a straight line on a Mercator projection map), rather than to use the shortest distance between two points on the globe (that is, by the "arc of a great circle"). You see, the Soviets, by this ploy, would push the old 1867 line farther to the east and thus grab onto at least 15,600 square nautical miles more of seabeds.

That's what the dispute was all about at the July 23-24 meeting in Moscow. The State Department wasn't trying to stop the giveaway of American territory--they were negotiating giving even more away!

In the meantime, the Navarin Basin leasing went on according to schedule and attracted bids of over \$631 million. Of these, bids of over \$108 million were for blocks in the "disputed" area. These 17 blocks were won by ARCO, Shell, Amoco, and Unocal, but they have not yet been awarded the leases, nor guaranteed that their exploration ships or drilling rigs would be protected by the U.S. against Soviet incursions. Thousands of jobs, hundreds of millions of dollars of production and the investments of over 860,000 stockowners lie in the balance.

VI. THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S DOUBLE-THINK

Since when was the old 1867 line an international boundary? This is a vital, historical question that demands an answer. By the State Department's own words in 1965, it looks like there has been a total reversal of policy (without benefit of treaty or public debate, of course).

The State Department's 1965 International Boundary Study #14 on "U.S.-Russia Convention Line of 1867" flatly states:

"Rather than a boundary per se, this report concerns a convention line....

"Furthermore, in keeping with the policy that the line does not constitute a boundary, the standard symbol for the representation of an international boundary should never be used."

BACKGROUND BRIEF

The respected Digest of International Law by Green Haywood Hackworth in 1973 made this unequivocal statement:

"The United States has not relinquished its claim to Wrangell Island."

Authoritative Dr. William E. Butler, Dean of the Faculty of Law at University College in London, wrote in 1978 in International Straits of the World the following clear statement:

"The Russo-American Convention Line of 1867 is not regarded as a state frontier, and the continental shelf boundary in the Chukchi Sea and northward remain to be negotiated."

These are the facts that we have been able to track down so far. What happened between 1965 and 1984--what secret agreement--what sellout of American interests--remains to be dug out by continued effort.

We won't stop our efforts, but it will take a massive project on behalf of millions of people, both in Washington and in every state of the Union, to get to the bottom of this--and to expose the giveaway to the public. Congress should then decide what to do about it.

We could certainly use more financial help IMMEDIATELY. Every day that ticks by without action means less hope to reverse this policy. We need to mount an immediate media publicity campaign and a targeted direct-mail alert to millions of ordinary Americans.

The Panama Canal giveaway was bad enough. Let's not slide into what could easily become a "Polar Panama"--only worse!

ADDENDUM:

You may be interested in which State Department officials have been involved so far in this policy setting. Even though the State Department has stonewalled attempts to learn even the names of the participants in the mission to Moscow, we have traced them down. They include:

- ** Davis Robinson, Legal Adviser (Delegation leader)
- ** Elizabeth Verville and Scott Hajost, Legal Adviser's staff
- ** Harry Marshall and Richard T. Scully, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs
- ** Robert W. Smith, Office of the Geographer

Undoubtedly there are officials higher up in the policy-making bureaus which deal with the Soviet Union who have had key roles in approving this giveaway policy. As soon as we track them down, we will let you and your Congressional staff know--so that they can be dealt with accordingly.

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FUND FOR STOCKOWNERS RIGHTS

THE STOCKOWNERS' NEWS

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

☐ Post Office Box 46853
Washington, D.C. 20050
United States of America

Issue Number 4

December 1984

Contact: Carl Olson

Giveaway of Alaskan Islands and Oil-Rich Seabeds to the Soviet Union Imperils Investments of 500,000 Stockowners of ARCO, UNOCAL, Amoco, and Shell

Corporate managements of four major petroleum companies have exhibited extreme dereliction of duty to their stockowners by failing to fight the State Department's plan to give their multi-million dollar oil and gas leases in the Bering Sea to the Soviet Union, it was charged by Carl Olson, Chairman of Fund for Stockowners Rights, headquartered in Washington, D.C. "Over 860,000 stockowners find themselves under the gun," Olson noted.

Right now the State Department has these four oil companies' fortunes at risk due to its current negotiations with the Soviet Union over just how much of the Bering Sea outercontinental shelf is to be surrendered in the Navarin Basin. These four oil companies--ARCO, Shell, UNOCAL, and Standard Oil (Indiana)--won the competitive process for these leases at the Department of Interior auction on 24 April 1984, bidding over \$108 million on 17 blocks. All the other block winners were given their leases, but the State Department put a hold on these in the anticipation that these would be delivered over to the Soviet Union.

"To this day, none of these four oil companies has uttered so much as one public peep in defense of their highly profitable oil leases that the State Department wants to hand over to the greatest enemy of the United States and the free enterprise system--the Soviet Union," Olson reported. "On numerous occasions the managements of these firms have been pressed not only for their views on this giveaway of oil-rich seabeds, but for their advocacy plans to stop the impending losses of millions of dollars for their stockowners. All four have, by their silence, become tacit supporters of this incomprehensively unprecedented turnover of American property to foreign enemies. They have betrayed the trust of their stockowners and their larger corporate responsibility to the American public," Olson declared.

NAVARIN BASIN SUMMARY (blocks subject to State Department surrender to Soviets):

<u>Company</u>	<u>No. of Blocks</u>	<u>Total Winning Bids</u>	<u>Stockowners</u>
Shell Oil/Transport	14	\$ 50,975,667	395,000
Standard Oil (Indiana)	14	45,173,333	190,000 (Amoco)
AtlanticRichfield	2	10,138,750	198,000
UNOCAL	1	1,886,250	88,000
		<u>\$108,174,000</u>	<u>861,000</u>

These areas were the subject of a high-level delegation led by the State Department's Legal Adviser Davis Robinson which traveled to Moscow for negotiations with the Kremlin's representatives in the week of 23-27 July 1984. These meetings apparently resolved nothing

(more)

The Fund For Stockowners Rights is a nonprofit educational organization dedicated to advancing the concept of stockowners as owners of corporations and to promoting the free enterprise economic system—which makes ownership of corporations possible. Model resolutions for votes at annual meetings and instructions on submitting them will be sent at no charge. Donations to the Fund, an IRS 501(c)(3) group, are tax deductible.

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since no word was announced one way or the other, and no further negotiation schedule was announced. Extreme secrecy has shrouded these talks, including the complete refusal of the State Department to reveal who was on the delegation. By other means it was discovered that in addition to Robinson, the delegation included two other members of the Legal Adviser's office Elizabeth Verville and Scott Hajost; Harry Marshall and Richard T. Scully of the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, and Robert W. Smith of the Office of the Geographer.

While these negotiations continue without any resolution, the stakes of billions of barrels of oil, billions of dollars of revenue, thousands of American jobs, the loss of a significant part of America's strategic petroleum reserves, and the irreparable damage to American diplomatic prestige become more and more apparent and credible. The leasing of future oil basins in the Bering Sea and Arctic Ocean off Alaska are also imperilled due to the State Department's declared policy of abandoning all Alaskan territory and outercontinental shelf to the west of the 1867 U.S.-Russia Convention Line.

SECRET POLICY PARTIALLY REVEALED

Fortunately for the American public, the State Department had to reveal part of its surrender policy in public last March. When the Navarin Basin was put up for bid on its billions-of-barrel-of-oil blocks, the announcement in the Federal Register for 16 March 1984 (pages 10056 to 10068) disclosed that the State Department could not figure out where the boundary of American territory and outercontinental shelf was in relation to the Soviet Union. Even more startling was the revelation that the State Department was going on a policy that had no basis either in historical fact or international law.

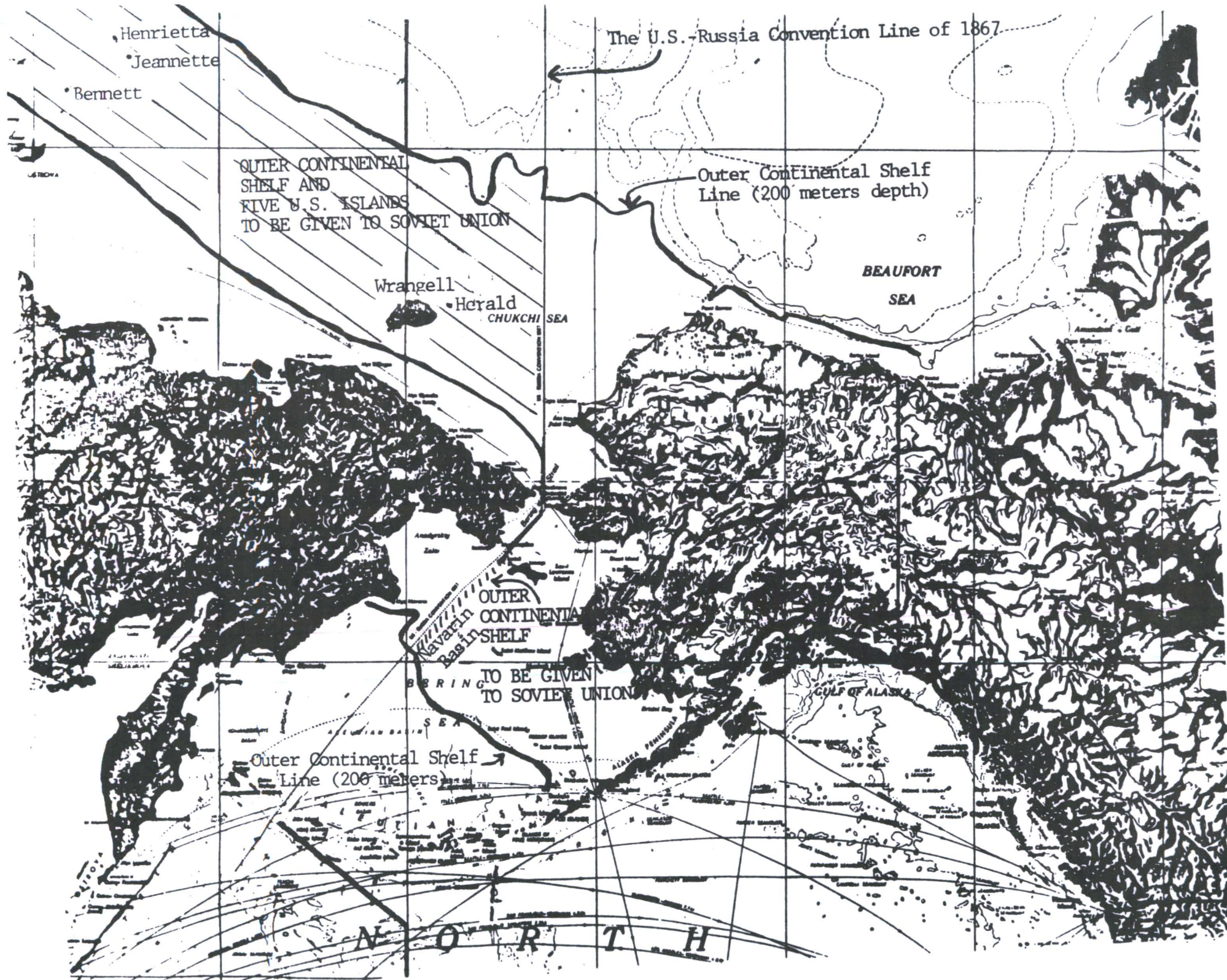
Somehow between 1965 and 1984 the State Department had elevated the old 1867 U.S.-Russia Convention Line (which was used in the purchase of Alaska from Russia for \$7.2 million) from an arbitrary map line up to the status of an international boundary. This creation of an international boundary by the State Department had been done without any treaty being enacted or ratified by the United States Senate. To this day there is no treaty establishing any boundary between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In 1965 the State Department's International Boundary Study No. 14, titled "U.S.-Russia Convention Line of 1867", flatly stated: "Rather than an ordinary boundary per se, this report concerns a convention line which ordinarily appears on official maps in the same manner as a boundary. ...in keeping with the policy that this line does not constitute a boundary, the standard symbol for the representation of an international boundary should never be used." By 1984, the status of this line has been completely reversed by the State Department, as noted in the 16 March 1984 Federal Register statement (page 10065), which declared: "The United States depicts the 1867 Convention Line as the maritime boundary...."

Even more significant than just the Navarin Basin leases, this State Department policy means that it is surrendering to the Soviet Union vast, strategic, and oil-rich Alaskan islands and outercontinental shelf. Incontrovertible historical fact shows the U.S. sovereignty over the Alaskan islands of Wrangell, Herald, Bennett, Henrietta, and Jeannette. Wrangell Island, the largest of the five with 2,800 square miles (the size of Rhode Island and Delaware combined), was found and claimed for the U.S. in 1881 by Capt. Calvin Leighton Hooper aboard the U.S. Revenue Marine (Coast Guard) ship Thomas Corwin; and included in the landing party was the famed explorer John Muir, whose book The Cruise of the Corwin gives a vivid account of the exciting addition to American territory. The three islands of Bennett, Henrietta, and Jeannette are part of the DeLong Islands, which were named after their discoverer U.S. Navy Commander George Washington DeLong, whose expedition aboard the ship Jeannette is memorialized in a statue at the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland.

Along with the summary jettisoning of American territory, the State Department is in the same act renouncing all of the oil-rich outercontinental shelf--which is equivalent to approximately four times the state of California. The owners of the islands are not even being compensated for this governmental condemnation of property. Many owners have been fighting this non-treaty usurpation by the State Department for years.

"It's now time for the four oil companies to fight for their 861,000 stockowners, so that they don't find themselves abandoned by the State Department to the wolves, too, or should I say, the bears?" Olson challenged.



STATE OF ALASKA
Second Judicial District, Unorganized Borough



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1987

Crusade to Reclaim Arctic Island for U.S. May End at Summit

* * *

Bureaucrat Has Devoted Life
To Cause Despite Odds;
Site of Soviet Foul Deeds?

By ROBERT S. GREENBERGER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Mark Seidenberg believes that Aug. 20, 1924, was a day of infamy for the United States.

On that day, the Soviet warship Red October steamed into Doubtful Harbor on Wrangell Island in the Arctic Ocean. Armed with a six-pound cannon and a company of soldiers, the Red October captured 14 Americans who worked for Lomen Reindeer & Trading Corp. and shipped them off to nearby Siberia.

Carl Lomen, a U.S. businessman, had just bought the island. He sued the Soviets to regain 167 fox skins and 40 polar-bear skins, and complained to the U.S. State Department. The U.S. was miffed but said that it couldn't do much because it didn't officially recognize the new Soviet government. The Americans were freed after the Red Cross paid \$1,600 to transport them to Seattle, but Mr. Lomen fought the rest of his life to regain Wrangell, passing the torch to Mr. Seidenberg before he died.

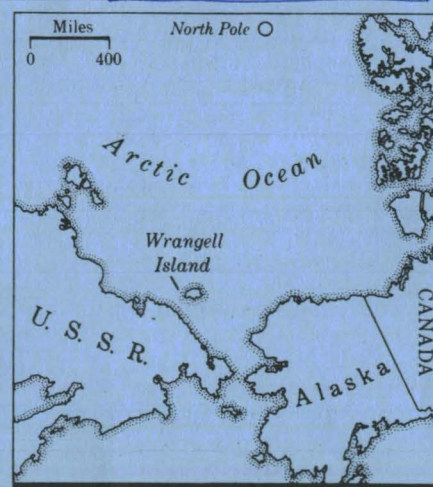
Daunting Odds

Mr. Seidenberg, a 40-year-old Agriculture Department bureaucrat, is obsessed with reclaiming the island and uncovering alleged Soviet foul deeds there. He has enlisted such conservative stalwarts as Sen.

Jesse Helms in his cause, but he faces daunting odds. The State Department maintains that the U.S. has never claimed ownership of Wrangell, even though its assertion is flatly contradicted in official U.S. publications.

Right now, Mr. Seidenberg worries that the U.S. may quietly deal the island away, perhaps during this week's U.S.-Soviet summit. "I have great respect for the president," he says. "It's some of his advisers at the State Department who are causing the difficulty. Whatever they can do to shove this under the table, they'll do."

The latest wrangle over Wrangell involves secret negotiations between Washington and Moscow, under way since 1981, over establishing a border between the two nations; right now, there is only a "con-



vention line" drawn when the U.S. bought Alaska in 1867. The State Department insists that Wrangell isn't part of the talks. Conservatives contend that ownership of Wrangell—and four other nearby islands—could affect where and how the borderline is drawn. And, they say, that, in turn, may determine who owns what may be billions of barrels of oil beneath the sea.

"If we surrender these islands, we will be surrendering an area that amounts to almost half our entire outer continental shelf," warns Sen. Helms. The North Carolina Republican, who complains that the State Department won't even tell him who the U.S. negotiators are, has introduced a bill requiring the State Department to negotiate a treaty, which would make review

and approval by the Senate necessary. Otherwise, he fears, the department will make a deal under executive authority.

Mr. Seidenberg is convinced not only that the Soviets are illegally occupying Wrangell Island but also that it is the site of a huge Soviet gulag that once held Raoul Wallenberg. The Swedish diplomat, who helped thousands of Danish Jews escape from the Nazis during World War II, disappeared in 1945 after being arrested by the Soviets in Hungary.

Mr. Seidenberg has spent countless hours researching Wrangell at the National Archives. At his own expense, he traveled to Israel to interview Efrim Moshinsky, a former Soviet citizen who claims that he communicated with Mr. Wallenberg while they were both imprisoned at Wrangell in 1958. Mr. Seidenberg also found an obscure reference on page 10,065 of the March 16, 1984, Federal Register that indicated to him that the State Department was about to make a border deal with Moscow.

"I just want to do something to help Wallenberg. He helped so many people, but nobody wants to help him," says Mr. Seidenberg, his voice cracking with emotion. "The State Department acts like they're totally disinterested. It's a non-important issue to them."

Once, he sent a letter to Moscow praising a Russian geography article and asking whether its publishers could send him any material on Wrangell Island. They did. "I've gotten more information out of the Soviets than I have from the State Department," Mr. Seidenberg complains.

State Department officials sent him "denials—always denials," Mr. Seidenberg says. "They even wrote me a letter once denying that the island existed."

But Mr. Seidenberg isn't easily deterred. In 1976, to help get the department's attention, he took title to the 93,000 acres on Wrangell Island where he thinks the prisons are. Mr. Lomen, then 89 years old and dying, had wanted to give Mr. Seidenberg the land to carry on the fight, but Mr. Lomen's accountant warned of the tax consequences of such a gift. So they entered into a swap: Mr. Seidenberg got part of Wrangell, and he gave Mr. Lomen one square foot of Alaskan land that he had received as a promotional gift in 1967 when he opened a bank account.

But owning a piece of the 3,400-square-mile island didn't increase Mr. Seiden-

berg's influence with the State Department. Once, in 1986, he and a colleague attended a public State Department social function in order to accost Secretary of State George Shultz. When Mr. Shultz came by to shake hands, Mr. Seidenberg held on and asked him about the negotiations. A startled Mr. Shultz, in what was apparently an imitation of the late comedian Jimmy Durante, responded, "Everybody wants to get into the act," and quickly moved on.

A State Department official familiar with the negotiations says that all the talk about a giveaway is inaccurate. "There's a great misperception that somehow these islands have been claimed by the U.S. We've looked very carefully at the history of this. . . . There was never any claim made to them by the U.S. government."

Mr. Seidenberg, too, has looked very carefully, but he has reached a different conclusion. It all started when an American, Capt. Calvin Hooper, planted an American flag on Wrangell on Aug. 12, 1881, claiming it for the U.S. His ship, the U.S. Reserve Vessel Thomas Corwin, was part of a mission authorized by Congress to find the Jennette, a ship that had been crushed by ice during a North Pole expedition financed by the New York Herald the year before.

During the search, Capt. Hooper and a party that included John Muir, the naturalist who later founded the Sierra Club, landed on Wrangell. The island was named for Baron Ferdinand Petrovich von Wrangell, even though the Russian arctic explorer never set foot there.

A 1973 printing of the Digest of International Law, an official State Department publication, states that "the United States has not relinquished its claim to Wrangell Island." Five years later, with detente in full flower, a successor publication, the Digest of United States Practice in International Law, did an about-face, stating: "We have found little evidence that the United States has ever actively asserted a claim to Wrangell Island."

Mr. Seidenberg first stumbled on Wrangell in 1963, when he was a high-school senior writing a research paper on Russian exploration of the American Northwest. Textbooks at the time said that Wrangell was unoccupied. In 1973, Mr. Seidenberg learned that Wrangell had surfaced in a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing about

Soviet prison camps. That's when he first heard about Mr. Wallenberg's plight.

A year later, Mr. Seidenberg uncovered what he says was a quiet State Department effort to cede Wrangell to the Soviets. The two nations signed an environmental agreement under which some musk oxen from Alaska were to be shipped to a Soviet island. Moscow asked that the animals be shipped to Wrangell, and the State Department agreed, thereby conceding ownership, Mr. Seidenberg says. When the agreement was signed at Bethel Airport, in Bethel, Alaska, Mr. Seidenberg arranged to have the airport manager watch from a distance and give him a blow-by-blow report over the telephone.

Now, Mr. Seidenberg fears that Wrangell will be lost forever at the summit. Ironically, when Mr. Lomen wrote his memoirs, "Fifty Years in Alaska," he thought his efforts would preserve the U.S. claim on Wrangell for some future U.S.-Soviet negotiating session. He wrote: "We felt that at least we had provided our government with a strong case. If the day ever comes when representatives of the American and Soviet governments sit down at the council table for the settlement of claims, the matter of American sovereignty over Wrangell Island should prove of importance."

**Note: Mr. Mark Seidenberg
is the Vice Chairman of
State Department Watch.**

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**THIS IS
FRONT PAGE NEWS
IN THE
WALL STREET
JOURNAL.

IT SHOULD BE IN
EVERY NEWSPAPER
ACROSS THE
COUNTRY.**

To require a treaty for any relinquishing to any country of any territory, exclusive economic zone, or fishery conservation zone of the United States, and for establishing international boundaries.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 6, 1987

Mr. DANNEMEYER introduced the following bill: which was referred to the
Committee on Foreign Affairs

A BILL

To require a treaty for any relinquishing to any country of any territory, exclusive economic zone, or fishery conservation zone of the United States, and for establishing international boundaries.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 SECTION 1. LIMITATION ON RELEASE OR TRANSFER OF TER-
4 RITORY OR CLAIMS OF THE UNITED STATES.

5 The President may not relinquish or transfer to any
6 country any territory, land, exclusive economic zone, or fish-
7 ery conservation zone of the United States or any claim of
8 the United States to any right, title, or interest in or to any

2

1 territory, land, exclusive economic zone, or fishery conserva-
2 tion zone unless provided for by a treaty between the United
3 States and that other country.

4 SEC. 2. BOUNDARIES TO BE ESTABLISHED BY TREATY.

5 A boundary (including land boundaries, maritime bound-
6 aries, exclusive economic zones, and fishery conservation
7 zone boundaries) between the United States and any other
8 country may be established only by treaty, signed by the
9 President and ratified by the Senate.

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Sponsored by William Dannemeyer(R-CA)

15 August 1988

Total: 52

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Doug Barnard (R-GA)
Joe Barton (R-TX)
Charles Bennett (D-FL)
Thomas Bliley (R-VA)
Helen Bentley (R-MD)
Beau Boulter (R-TX)
Dan Burton (R-IN)
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James Coulter (R-NJ)
Phil Crane (R-IL)
Jack Davis (R-IL)
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Paul Henry (R-MI)
Wally Herger (R-CA)
John Hiler (R-IN)
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John Kasich (R-OH)
Jack Kemp (R-NY)
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Robert Lagomarsino (R-CA)
Donald "Buz" Lukens (R-OH)
Connie Mack (R-FL)
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Carlos Moorhead (R-CA)
Ron Packard (R-CA)
Stan Parris (R-VA)
Thomas Petri (R-WI)
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Bob Stump (R-AZ)
David Mac Sweeney (R-TX)
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Fred Upton (R-MI)
Vin Weber(R-MN)
Curt Weldon (R-PA)
Frank Wolf (R-VA)
George Wortley (R-NY)

The U.S.-Russia Convention Line of 1867

Outer Continental Shelf Line (200 meters depth)

Outer Continental Shelf and Five U.S. Islands TO BE GIVEN TO SOVIET UNION

Outer Continental Shelf Line (200 meters depth)

Outer Continental Shelf TO BE GIVEN TO SOVIET UNION

SOVIET UNION

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THE BAD NEWS BULLETIN

U.S. to resume talks with Soviets over 5 islands; Alaska unhappy

By John McCaslin
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Secret U.S.-Soviet negotiations to set an exact boundary between Alaska and the Soviet Union are set to resume this month, sources familiar with the talks say.

The meeting, which the State Department refuses to discuss, is the ninth such closed session since 1981 to resolve the boundary dispute, which includes questions about the ownership of five strategic islands.

The islands — dotting the Arctic Ocean from 300 to 900 miles off Alaska's northwest coast — are known as Wrangell, Herald, Henrietta, Jeanette and Bennett. Wrangell and Herald lie some 100 miles north of Siberia.

A State Department official, who asked not to be identified, said recently that "once a boundary line is agreed to by both nations ... it's a safe bet that the five-island chain will become official Soviet territory."

The official said the agreement could come as early as this year, depending on the outcome of the upcoming talks.

But Rep. William Dannemeyer, California Republican, is pushing legislation requiring Senate approval of any boundary decision reached by U.S. and Soviet negotiators.

"Borders between countries are set by treaty ... and must be consented to by two thirds of the Senate," Mr. Dannemeyer said in a letter

to fellow lawmakers.

"Under dispute here is not only the State Department's unauthorized conduct [of secretly] negotiating, but whether or not a legal boundary in the area exists at all. All the facts suggest not," he said.

Meanwhile, in a timely vote, Senate lawmakers in Alaska unanimously passed a resolution last week reiterating the state's rule over the islands — land once claimed by U.S. citizens and now controlled by the Soviet Union.

The resolution, passed by a vote of 18-0, asks for compensation and restitution to the citizens of Alaska from the U.S. government for the loss of the territory to the Soviet Union in 1924, due to "neglect."

"The continuing trespass by the Soviet government deprives the state of Alaska and its people of their fundamental rights to use the islands ... together with the surrounding continental shelf and its valuable resources," the resolution states.

The Alaska lawmakers sent a copy of their resolution to President Reagan, Secretary of State George Shultz and House Speaker Jim Wright.

Two companion resolutions "are sailing through the Senate and House in Juneau" charging that Alaska is being excluded from the boundary negotiations, which could ultimately decide the ownership of the islands, said Carl Olson, chairman of State Department

Watch, a group which has fought for U.S. rights to the islands.

"It looks like a collision course is near," said Mr. Olson, who has enlisted the support of such lawmakers as Sen. Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican. Mr. Helms has introduced legislation complaining that a surrender of the islands would amount to handing the Soviets more than half of the entire continental shelf.

Mr. Olson said the shelf surrounding the Wrangell island chain contains "vast oil-rich seabeds," a claim supported by other researchers.

The islands contain "as much as 25 billion barrels of untapped oil reserves," said Mr. Dannemeyer.

The State Department official, while acknowledging that "there was some U.S. involvement in the discovery" of the islands, insists that "lawyers from our government have searched out and tried to find what belonged to Alaska, but the U.S. [government] never made a claim to the islands."

Wrangell, the largest of the islands, has been under Soviet control since 1924, when the last 14 Americans occupying it were captured by Russian forces and shipped to Siberia. Since then, the Soviets have operated a prison camp on the island, among other things.

Mr. Dannemeyer's resolution, which has 37 co-sponsors to date, says Wrangell Island was claimed for the United States in 1881.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2, 1988

COMMENT: In the entire article do you see the name of one State Department official, do you see the date, time, location, and names of negotiators for the upcoming round of secret talks, and do you wonder why America is at peril?

State Department Giveaway of Alaska's Land to USSR

By Inquirer Staff

The impending giveaway of five Alaskan Arctic islands and vast seabeds by the U.S. State Department to the Soviet Union was confirmed by Secretary of the Interior Don Hodel in a statement made at the World Affairs Council luncheon in Los Angeles on June 23. "It's my understanding that the State Department is moving toward an agreement which probably will cede those five islands (Wrangell, Herald, Bennett, Henrietta and Jeannette) to the Soviets," disclosed Secretary Hodel.

This announcement came in response to a question by Carl Olson, chairman of State Department Watch, a nonpartisan foreign policy watchdog group headquartered in Washington, D.C., which has been leading a nationwide campaign to stop the intended giveaway of Alaskan territory and vast oil-rich seabeds to the Soviets.

"We find this to be a shocking public revelation by a cabinet member that the Reagan Administration would even consider caving in to Soviet demands for U.S. land and the immense outer-continental shelf in Alaska," Olson stated. "We are doubling our resolve to stop this giveaway that will make the Panama Canal fiasco look pale in comparison."

Following numerous secret rounds of negotiations, the issue of setting a boundary line between Alaska and Siberia was discussed at the Moscow Summit between

Island Giveaway Discussed at Moscow Summit

May 29 and June 1. The State Department has been promoting a boundary line which gives over to the Soviet government the five Alaskan islands and seabeds two to three times the size of California. No representative of the State of Alaska was allowed to participate in these summit negotiations, even though they gravely affect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state.

Adding to other signals pointing to a quick abandonment of this Alaskan Arctic



George Shultz's State Dept. Plans Land Giveaway to Soviets

frontier by the State Department was the Joint Statement issued by President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on June 2. It stated regarding the U.S.-U.S.S.R. maritime boundary, "They have instructed their negotiators to accelerated efforts to achieve mutually acceptable agreements in these areas at the earliest opportunity."

Alaska Governor Drags Feet on Giveaway

Despite resolutions opposing the island/seabed giveaway passed by both houses of the Alaskan legislature, Alaskan Governor Steve Cowper's office failed for over a month to take any steps whatsoever to preserve Alaska's rights in the matter. The negotiations at the Moscow Summit came and went without so much as a hint of interest by the governor in them.

Olson went on to point out that the governor has not issued any forthright statement in support of the principles in the resolutions; has failed to instruct his Washington, D.C. staff to take any positive action to halt the boundary negotiations until Alaska has a representative for them; has failed to rally Alaska's congressional delegation to support these aims; and has failed to take legal steps toward pursuing court cases to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Alaska. "Why has the governor taken the side of the U.S. State Department against the unanimous declarations of the Alaska legislature?" Olson

questioned.

More than just an issue affecting Alaska, the giveaway of these Alaskan resources impacts on the strategic, economic and diplomatic health of the entire country, Olson explained. The Congress of the United States is considering a bill to stop it. Sponsored by Congressman William Dannemeyer (R-Ca), HR 341 has gathered 48 co-sponsors ranging from liberal Democrats to conservative Republicans. Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) intends to introduce a similar measure in the Senate shortly. The California State Legislature voted a resolution of support for the State of Alaska last year, and Ohio is now considering one.

"One Panama Canal disaster is enough," Olson stated.

IV. Bilateral Affairs

The President and the General Secretary reviewed progress in further expanding bilateral contacts, exchanges and cooperation since their meeting in Washington, D.C. in December 1987. They noted the increasingly important role that mutually beneficial interchange between the two countries can play in improving mutual understanding and providing stability in the U.S.-Soviet relationship. They stated their intention to intensify such ties.

They noted with particular satisfaction that concrete agreements had been reached in most of the areas identified at their meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik and Washington.

Bilateral Agreements and Cooperative Activities

The President and the General Secretary welcomed the conclusion of a number of bilateral agreements which open new opportunities for fruitful cooperation in the following fields: cooperation in transportation science and technology; maritime search and rescue; operational coordination between U.S. and Soviet radionavigation systems in the Northern Pacific and Bering Sea; and mutual fisheries relations.

The two leaders welcomed the recent signing of a new Memorandum on Civilian Nuclear Reactor Safety under the bilateral agreement on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. There was an exchange of notes to extend that Agreement.

They expressed satisfaction with the recent signing of a new protocol under the bilateral Housing Agreement for cooperation in construction research relating to extreme geological and unusual climatic conditions.

They reviewed the status of negotiations between the two countries concerning maritime shipping, the U.S.-USSR maritime boundary, basic scientific research, and emergency pollution clean-up in the Bering and Chukchi Seas. They instructed their negotiators to accelerate efforts to achieve mutually acceptable agreements in these areas at the earliest opportunity.

The two leaders welcomed the start of bilateral discussions on combatting narcotics trafficking. They noted with satisfaction ongoing consultations between the two sides concerning law of the sea, air and sea transportation safety, and areas of mutual interest in the field of law.

**JOINT STATEMENT BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
ISSUED FOLLOWING MEETINGS IN MOSCOW, USSR
MAY 29 - JUNE 1, 1988**

In accordance with the understanding reached during the U.S.-Soviet summit meeting in Geneva in November 1985, and confirmed at the Washington summit in December 1987, Ronald W. Reagan, President of the United States of America, and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, met in Moscow May 29 - June 2, 1988.

Attending on the U.S. side were Secretary of State George P. Shultz; Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci; Presidential Chief of Staff Howard H. Baker, Jr.; Assistant to the President for National Security Colin L. Powell; Ambassador at Large and Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters, Paul H. Nitze; Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters, Ambassador Edward L. Rowny; Ambassador of the U.S. to the USSR Jack F. Matlock; and Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Rosanne L. Ridgway.

Attending on the Soviet side were Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Andrei A. Gromyko; Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard A. Shevardnadze; Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Alexander S. Yakovlev; Alternate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Defense of the USSR, Dimitri F. Yazov; Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoly A. Dobrynin; Assistant of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Anatoly S. Chernyaev; Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Alexander A. Bessmertnykh; and Ambassador of the USSR to the United States of America Yuri V. Dubinin.

GOV. COWPER'S INACTION IMPERILS ALASKA'S RIGHTS
TO DETERMINE ITS OWN BOUNDARIES AND SOVEREIGNTY

Governor Steve Cowper's inaction for the entire month of May, even in face of unanimous votes by the Alaska Legislature, resulted in the State of Alaska again being excluded from the negotiations over its territory and boundary with Siberia, it was charged by State Department Watch Chairman Carl Olson.

"How can the governor fiddle so long while the entire northwest portion of the state is in peril of being amputated and given over to the Kremlin?" Olson questioned.

The unanimous votes in both houses of the state legislature for Sen. Rick Uehling's resolution and the unanimous vote in the Senate for Sen. Paul Fischer's resolution were clear and urgent statements to the governor to act to preserve Alaska's rights.

Alaska has been routinely excluded from all the boundary negotiations that the State Department has conducted in secret. Sen. Uehling's Senate Joint Resolution 12 declared this to be a wrong policy and demanded that a representative of the State of Alaska be included on all negotiating teams which consider boundary issues affecting Alaska. Sen. Fischer's Senate Joint Resolution 61 re-iterated Alaska's sovereignty over Wrangell, Herald, Bennett, Henrietta, and Jeannette Islands.

Even though these resolutions passed at the end of April, Governor Cowper's office failed for over a month to take any steps whatsoever to preserve Alaska's rights in this matter. The negotiations at the Moscow Summit came and went without so much as a hint of interest by the governor in them.

Olson went on to point out that the governor has not issued any forthright statement in support of the principles in the resolutions, has failed to instruct his Washington, D.C., staff to take any positive action to halt the boundary negotiations until Alaska has a representative for them, has failed to rally Alaska's congressional delegation to support these aims, and has failed to take legal steps toward pursuing court cases to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Alaska. "Why has the governor taken the side of the U.S. State Department against the unanimous declarations of the Alaska legislature," Olson questioned.

More than just an issue affecting Alaska, the giveaway of these Alaskan resources impacts on the strategic, economic, and diplomatic health of the entire country, Olson explained. The Congress of the United States is considering a bill to stop it. Sponsored by Congressman William Dannemeyer (R-CA), HR 341 has gathered 48 co-sponsors ranging from liberal Democrats to conservative Republicans. Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) intends to introduce a similar measure in the Senate shortly. The California State Legislature voted a resolution of support for the State of Alaska last year, and Ohio is now considering one.

"One Panama Canal disaster is enough," Olson stated.

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For immediate release
24 June 1988

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SECRETARY OF INTERIOR DON HODEL CONFIRMS
STATE DEPARTMENT'S IMPENDING GIVEAWAY
OF FIVE ALASKAN ARCTIC ISLANDS TO SOVIET UNION

ALASKA GOVERNOR STEVE COWPER SABOTAGES ALASKA'S CHANCE
TO BE PART OF ALASKA-SIBERIA BOUNDARY TALKS AT MOSCOW SUMMIT

The impending giveaway of five Alaskan Arctic islands and vast seabeds by the U.S. State Department to the Soviet Union was confirmed by Secretary of the Interior Don Hodel in a statement made at the World Affairs Council luncheon in Los Angeles on June 23. "It's my understanding that the State Department is moving toward an agreement which probably will cede those five islands (Wrangell, Herald, Bennett, Henrietta, and Jeannette) to the Soviets," disclosed Secretary Hodel.

This announcement came in response to a question by Carl Olson, chairman of State Department Watch, a nonpartisan foreign policy watchdog group headquartered in Washington, D.C., which has been leading a nationwide campaign to stop the intended giveaway of Alaskan territory and vast oil-rich seabeds to the Soviets.

"We find this to be a shocking public revelation by a cabinet member that the Reagan Administration would even consider caving in to Soviet demands for U.S. land and immense outercontinental shelf in Alaska," Olson stated. "We are doubling our resolve to stop this giveaway that will make the Panama Canal fiasco look pale in comparison."

GIVEAWAY ISSUE DISCUSSED AT MOSCOW SUMMIT

Following numerous secret rounds of negotiations, the issue of setting a boundary line between Alaska and Siberia was discussed at the Moscow Summit between May 29 and June 1. The State Department has been promoting a boundary line which gives over to the Soviet government the five Alaskan islands and seabeds equal in size to two or three Californias. No representative of the State of Alaska was allowed to participate in these summit negotiations, even though they gravely affect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state.

Raising fears about a quick abandonment of this Alaskan Arctic frontier by the State Department was the Joint Statement issued by President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on June 2. It stated regarding the U.S.-USSR maritime boundary, "They instructed their negotiators to accelerate efforts to achieve mutually acceptable agreements in these areas at the earliest opportunity."

---MORE---

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ICEBOUND

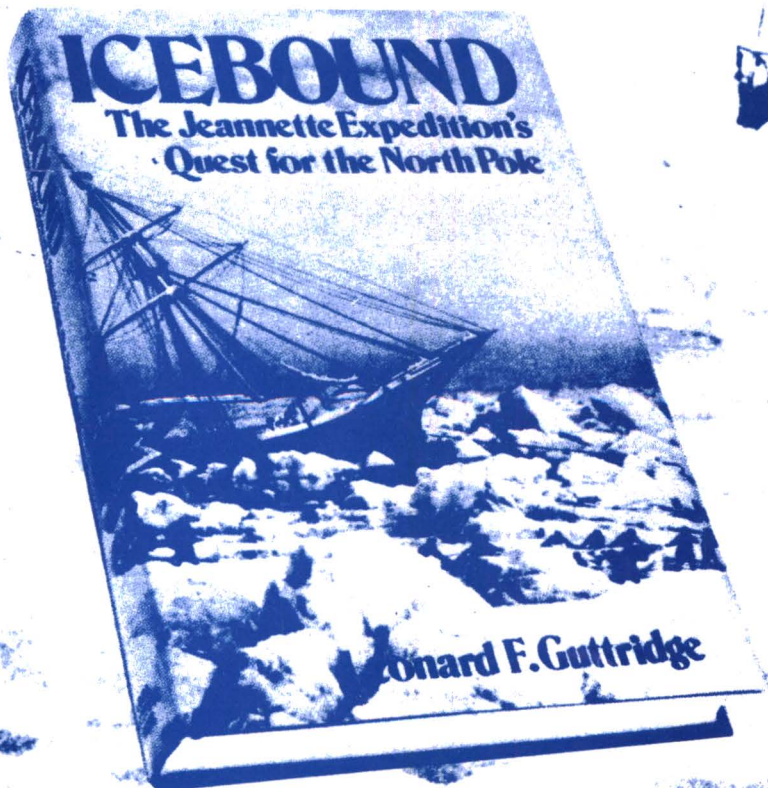
The Jeannette Expedition's Quest for the North Pole

By Leonard F. Guttridge

Often reading like a Gothic mystery but fully supported by documentary evidence, *Icebound* provides a stunning narrative of an ordeal unmatched in the annals of polar exploration. The *Jeannette* spent two winters trapped in the Arctic ice. Finally she buckled under the crushing power of the pack, forcing her crew to haul eight tons of supplies and three boats hundreds of miles to reach open water. The men from only one of these boats eventually reached safety; the others suffered horrible deaths.

Now, more than a century later, despite attempts by those involved to cover up the details, the author reveals their tragic story. The bizarre tale includes true-life characters made-to-order for good fiction: the confident commanding officer of the *Jeannette*, George Washington De Long, bent on living up to the name he had given himself; his ambitious wife; a dashing young lieutenant suffering from an unmentionable disease; an inventive but jealous engineer; his talkative wife, confined to an insane asylum during the investigations that followed the expedition's failure; a stoical and able surgeon; a flamboyant press baron who financed the venture; and a famous criminal lawyer.

In this detailed disclosure of the *Jeannette's* travails, Guttridge takes no liberties with the facts he has so carefully uncovered in revealing letters, diaries, and unedited reports. But he does use them to full advantage to present an intriguing and unforgettable story. He is especially skillful at creating dramatic scenes that bring his characters to life, and his vivid descriptions of the polar world make us appreciate both its grandeur and frightening inaccessibility.



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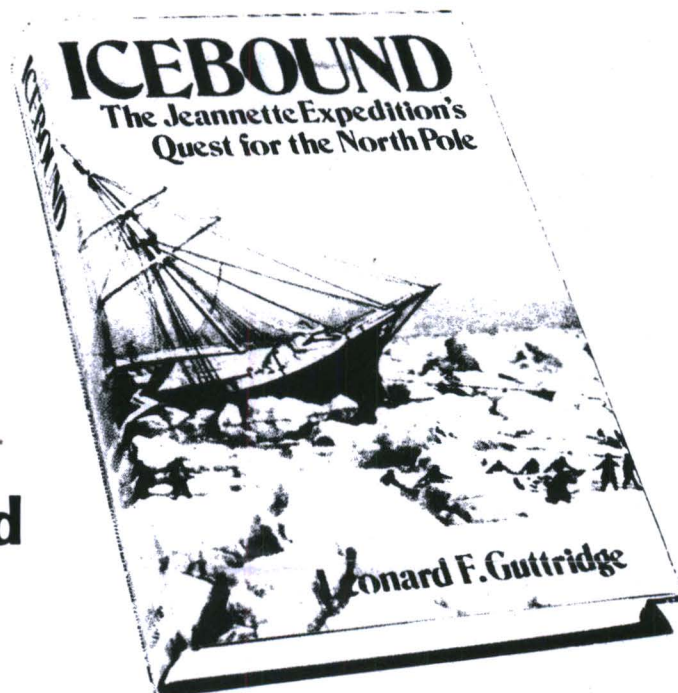
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From: Martha Brown

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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January 15, 1978, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; A11

LENGTH: 740 words

HEADLINE: Nobody Budes in Buckley - Reagan Canal Treaty Debate

BYLINE: By Ward Sinclair, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

For want of a better name, it will go down as the Super Bowl of the Right - two world champions of conservatism fighting among themselves over what is best for the people of Panama.

On the left surprise, is William F. Buckley Jr., tongue darting, eyebrows running amok, arguing the case for Senate approval of the Panama Canal treaties.

On the right, jaw jutting, hair slicked down and Clifornia tan, is Ronald Reagan, arguing against approval of the treaties.

In the middle, holding them apart with his assuring spherisms, is the country lawyer from North Carolina, former Sen Sam J. Ervin. His face still wears that bemused look of a lighted pinball machine.

Buckley has men on his bench: Ellsworth Bunker, the diplomat who helped negotiate the treaties; retired Adm. Elmo Zumwalt; James Burnham, academic and writer; George Will, the columnist.

Backing up Reagan are retired Adm. John McCain, former commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific; Roger Fontaine, Latin American studies specialist from Georgetown University; Patrick Buchanan, cloumnist.

Now, in the pantheon of the right and the righteous, this is a Zanuck cast. The only thing is that they're arguing, very earnestly, among themselves. Rather like another tiff in the locker room of the New York Yankees.

The arena is a theater at the University of South Carolina in Columbia, with cameras of the Public Broadcasting System poised to carry the two-hour show live Friday night. (It will be shown in the Washington area at 4 p.m. today on WETA-TV, Channel 26.)

Cameras are running. Buckley gives his side. Witty, rapier-like, observing the anomaly of disagreeing with his favorite politican. Super-sure of himself, he says, "I fully expect that someday I'll be wrong about something."

Moments later, he is. He is wrong about something basic, but the opposition misses it. He says Cortes crossed Panama and was the first to espy the Pacific Ocean. It was Vasco Nunez de Balboa.

Buckley says approval of the treaties is important for American dignity, Panamanian pride and for defense reasons. In a conventional war, he says, it

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will be important to have a Panamanian ally running the canal. In a nuclear war, forget it.

Reagan isn't buying that piece of pudding. He is dramatic, jaw firm, looking straight into the camera. He pours out the facts, reciting history, mispronouncing soft words and names with pidgin-Spanish.

He says the treaties are "flawed" because the talk of security guarantees and Panamanian neutrality are not much more than that - just talk. He doesn't trust Gen. Omar Torrijos the Panamanian leader; he says Panamanians are too inept to help the canal running efficiently.

He says he favors additional negotiations to work out a more negotiable treaty arrangement. He said the United States do more to provide material aid to Panama for development.

But what bothers him just as much is the atmosphere. Treaty talks began after students rioted in 1964. Treaty talks end as Torrijos warns that failure could lead to guerrilla warfare and sabotage.

"Let us negotiate as a great nation should and have no more yielding to threats of blackmail," the former agrees-idol thunders. He got long applause from a studio audience that clearly favors his position.

After this, Reagan wonders why Buckley hasn't seen the light and rushed across the room to join him.

"The force of my illumination would blind you," Buckley answers.

More questions, more answers. Supporting actors join in. Neither side is budging. "We are all struck by how narrow are our differences here," says George Will.

Each principal has 10 minutes for closing. Reagan isn't sure he needs 10 minutes. Buckley takes almost 10, says he agrees Americans are tired of being pushed around. But, he adds, saying "no" to Panama is not becoming to a superpower.

"We ought to be mad not at Panamanian students . . . but at our own leaders for screwing up the peace which they have screwed up during the past 25 years," he says.

Ervin wraps it up. "As long as this can go on in America, America will remain free. Tonight we have seen America at its finest," he says.

Then America at its finest etches another fingerprint on history. They have finished 90 seconds early and no one - not a Buckley, a Reagan, and Ervin - can think of anything else to say. Another first for the Guinness Book of Records.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Conservative champions William F. Buckley Jr. and Ronald Reagan join former Sen. Sam J. Ervin, after television debate on Panama Canal treaties. AP

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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January 24, 1978, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; Op-Ed; A17

LENGTH: 2400 words

HEADLINE: The Canal Debate

BODY:

On Jan. 15, William F. Buckley Jr., Ronald Reagan and an assortment of "advisers" on both sides debated the Panama Canal treaties for two hours on WETA-TV. What follows are excerpts from the remarks of Mr. Buckley, Adm. Elmo Zumwalt (Ret.), Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, James Burnham and George Will for the affirmative; and Mr. Reagan, Adm. John McCain (Ret.), Roger Fontaine and Patrick Buchanan for the negative.

Buckley: What we are maintaining is that the United States, by signing these treaties, is better off militarily, is better off economically and is better off spiritually.

Why militarily? The question needs to be examined in two parts.

If there is a full-scale atomic war, the Panama Canal will revert to a land mass, and the first survivor who makes his way across the isthmus will relive a historical experience like stout Cortez, when, with eagle eyes, he stared at the Pacific and all his men looked at each other with a wild surmise, silent upon a peak in Darien.

In a situation of hostility short of the exchange of missiles, we would desire mobility through the canal. That mobility is more easily effected if we have the cooperation of the local population. As matters now stand, 75 per cent of the work force in the canal is Panamanian.

It is frequently asserted that the natural economic interest of Panama is sufficient to keep the Panama Canal open and operating. Those who come too readily to that kind of economic reductionism fail to take into account great passions that stir not only in the breasts of members of the Third World, but also in our own.

The same man who built the Panama Canal once spoke of millions for defense but not one cent for tribute. Theodore Roosevelt would not have been surprised by the closing of the Suez Canal in 1967, even though the loss of revenues to Egyptians was roughly comparable over such a loss to Panamanians.

The Panama Canal is responsible for 12 per cent of the gross national product of the Republic of Panama. Subtract 12 per cent and you have 88 per cent left over, plus national pride.

I hope that Gov. Reagan will not tell us tonight that Panamanian pride is not involved in the matter of the treaties. He may tell us that Panamanian pride must, in this case, be subordinated to the national interest. And if he convinces me that the national interest requires the subordination of Panamanian pride, I shall side with him. But he must not tell me that pride does not

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count. He must not tell us that the Panamanians should not be expected to share those passions which moved Egyptians only a decade ago to undertake huge sacrifices, closing their canal. And he ought not to suggest that American pride is one thing and Panamanian pride quite something else.

I take it, then, that the cooperation of the 2 million people in whose territory the canal lies, whose personnel already do three-quarters of the work required to keep the canal open, is, to put the matter unobtrusively, desirable.

At the same time, I deem it essential . . . that the United States should continue to exercise responsibility for maintaining access to the canal. And I note, therefore, with satisfaction that the first treaty reaffirms the absolute right of the United States to defend access to the canal and to continue to garrison our troops in Panama until the year 2000. And I note with satisfaction that the second treaty reaffirms the right of the United States to defend the canal and to guaranty access to it, even after the canal itself shall have become the physical property of the Republic of Panama.

It is appropriate to reflect at this moment on the words of William Howard Taft, reiterated by Theodore Roosevelt in another context. Taft said: "We do not want to own anything in Panama. What we want is a canal that goes through Panama." . . .

Reagan: In the rhetoric surrounding the discussion of the proposed canal treaties, there's been a tendency to make the issue one of either these treaties or the status quo. Perhaps tonight we can make it plain that rejection of these treaties does not mean an end to further negotiations, nor an effort to better our plans for the people of Panama. We're debating these specific treaties, whether they are in our best interest and the best interest of the people of Panama.

In my opinion, they are not. They are ambiguous in their wording, they are fatally flawed.

One is, you've been told, to cover the transfer of the total ownership, control and operations of the canal to Panama, effective December 31st, 1999. The other is to guaranty the permanent neutrality of the canal, beginning in the 2000. The fatal flaw I mentioned is that the transfer would not be gradual, as it would seem when we look down the road to 1999.

Under the present treaty, the Hay - Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903, the United States has "all the rights, power, and authority which the United States would possess and exercise if it were sovereign in the territory, to the exclusion of the exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority."

Ratification of the new treaty would immediately cancel that treaty of 1903. The Canal Zone would cease to exist. We would simply be a foreign power with property in Panama. There would be nothing to prevent the government of Panama from expropriating our property and nationalizing the canal, as they have already nationalized the transit company and the power system. International law permits expropriation by governments of foreign-owned property within their borders. But the United Nations Charter, which supersedes all other treaties, prohibits a member nation from using armed force to prevent such expropriation. This rules out the practice of force majeure, the idea that because we have

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the size and strength, why we could just move.

In 1956 Nasser broke Egypt's treaty with Britain and seized the Suez Canal. They also broke the treaty which guaranteed the right of all nations to the use of that canal. When Britain, France and Israel moved armed forces against Egypt, the United States took the lead in declaring that we must - or, they must - not violate the U.N. Charter; and they backed away. Suez became Egypt's, and the neutrality of the canal was no more. No traffic was allowed by ships to and from Israeli ports.

If we were to become victims of expropriation, as England was in 1956, would we take the action we refused to let them take? I don't think so.

The second treaty, which comes into effect in the year 2000, when Panama has become the sole owner and operator of the canal, promises complete neutrality for all users. This treaty is so ambiguous in its working as to be virtually meaningless.

Nowhere in this second treaty, or the accompanying protocol, is the word "guaranty" used. "Guaranty" is a word of art. It carries the assurance that there is a guarantor. Our negotiators had capable lawyers advising them. The admission could not have been an oversight. "Guaranty" must have been left out, at Panama's insistence, with full knowledge of the consequences.

What is there for us to cheer about in being granted, in word only, neutrality of the canal we built and which is presently - which presently we have in reality? . . .

Buckley: Why it is so that our security is enhanced by this treaty?

Zumwalt: The situation, in thumbnail, is the following:

The United States has surrendered strategic nuclear superiority to the Soviet Union. This means that conventional war is likelier. The United States and NATO have surrendered conventional military superiority in Europe to the Warsaw Pact. This means that war in Europe is likelier. The United States Navy, the odds are, would lose a war with the Soviet Union at sea, and this makes a war at sea likelier. It means that, as both you and Gov. Reagan have said, the need for the Panama Canal is vital. We must be able to deploy ships from one ocean to another. In choosing which of our allies we will save - because we can't save them all - the best security, the best certainty, the likeliest probability of being able to use that canal is to have a friendly regime in support of the operation rather than a hostile regime.

Those of us who have had to deal with insurgencies, as I did in Vietnam, can tell you that it is impossible to defend that canal, as all the Joint Chiefs have agreed, against a hostile insurgency, and that the odds are greatly increased that that insurgency would occur if the United States fails to ratify these treaties. . . .

Buchanan: In 1980, Panama will have full control, as I understand it, of both sides of the Canal Zone. Is that correct, Ambassador? In 1980, if it's passed, in 30 months Panama gets full control of both sides of the Canal Zone.

(c) 1978 The Washington Post, January 24, 1978

Bunker: Jurisdiction.

Buchanan: Jurisdiction, right.

Bunker: Yes.

Buchanan: Suppose they say, in response to a call of the General Assembly, that this canal is to be closed to all vessels that travel to and from South Africa. Do you think the United States would really act under those circumstances, having left Panama under the circumstances under which we're leaving right now, which is in response to riots in '64, to threats of sabotage and threats of guerrilla warfare?

Bunker: Well, Panama has jurisdiction over the Zone, will have jurisdiction over the Zone. But we will have - we will have rights to use the lands and waters necessary to protect the canal.

Buchanan: Do you think we would - again, in response to my question, do you think the United States would send in the Marines under those conditions, given the conditions under which we've departed?

Bunker: I think they would, yes. . . .

Reagan: I don't believe that in Latin America we would do anything to strengthen our position by, again, yielding to this unpleasantness in this treaty. I think, if anything, we would become a laughing-stock by surrendering to unreasonable demands. And by doing so, I think we cloak weakness in the suit of virtue.

This has to be treated in the whole area of the international situation. The Panama Canal is just one facet of our foreign policy. And what do we do to ourselves in the world and to our allies? Will they, as Mr. Buckley says, see that as the magnanimous gesture of a great and powerful nation? I don't think so, not in view of our recent history, not in view of our bug-out in Vietnam, not in view of an administration that is hinting that we're going to throw aside an ally named Taiwan. There are other things that we're doing. Our policy in Africa.

I think that the world would see it as, once again, Uncle Sam put his tail between his legs and crept away rather than face trouble. [Applause.]

I think Prof. Fontaine was right to question the ability of the Panamanians to run this. This particularly administration of Panama has started three sugar mills, a hydroelectric project, an airport, a public transportation system, the Contadora [?] resort island, an agricultural development program and an exploration for natural resources, and has failed in every one of them. They're all failures and back on the shelf.

So again, I say that there are alternatives by which we could benefit the people of Panama. And I believe this treaty is aimed at benefiting the dictator of Panama. And if someone can suggest a way other than the right of sovereignty, but if it means retaining that as the only way that we can keep our responsibility, then I say that we have to do that. . . .

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Buckley: I think that Gov. Reagan put his finger on it when he said the reason this treaty is unpopular is because we're tired of being pushed around. We were pushed out of Vietnam because we didn't have the guts to go in there and do it right. . . . [Applause.]

We're prepared, as it was said, to desert Taiwan because 3 1/2 Harvard professors think that we ought to normalize our relations with Red China. [Applause.]

We are prepared to allow 16 semi-savage countries to cartelize the oil that is indispensable to the entire industrial might of the West because we don't have a diplomacy that's firm enough to do something about it. And therefore, how do we get our kicks? How do we get our kicks? By saying no to the people of Panama. [Laughter and applause.]

I say that when I am in a mood to say no, representing the United States, I want to be looking the Soviet Union in the face and say no to the Soviet Union next time it wants to send its tanks running over students who want a little freedom in Czechoslovakia. I want to say no to China when it subsidizes genocide in Cambodia on a scale that has not been known in this century, rather than simply forget that it exists. I don't want to feel that the United States has to affirm its independence by throwing away its powers to distinguish, by saying we must not distinguish between the intrinsic merits of rewriting the treaty in Panama and pulling out of Taiwan because it is all a part of the same syndrome. . . .

We ought to be mad not at the Panamanian students, who are asking for nothing more than what our great-great-grandparents asked for. We ought to be mad at our own leaders for screwing up the peace which they have screwed up during the last 25 years. But do we want to go down and take it out on people who simply want to recover the Canal Zone? What we have done to Panama is the equivalent of taking the falls away from Niagara. Is it the kind of satisfaction that we really feel we are entitled to or to proceed on that basis in order to assert a sovereignty which is, in any case, not a part of the historical tradition on the basis of which the Panama Canal was opened? No. Let's listen to reason. Let's recognize, as Adm. Zumwalt has so effectively said, that we are so impoverished militarily as a result of so many lamentable decisions that we need the Panama Canal and that we need the Panama Canal with a people who are residents of the Panama Canal, who understand themselves as joined with us in a common enterprise, because when they look at the leaders of the United States, they can recognize that not as a result of our attempt to curry favor with anybody, but as a result of our concern for our own self-esteem, we are big enough to grant little people what we ourselves fought for 200 years ago. [Applause.]

GRAPHIC: Pictures 1, 2, no caption

The islands in question are Wrangel (sometimes spelled Wrangell), Herald, Bennett, Henrietta and Jeannette. Wrangel and Herald are located in the Chukchi Sea, approximately 85 nautical miles north of Siberia, 300 nautical miles west of continental Alaska, and 200 nautical miles west of the line established by the 1867 U.S.-Russia Convention Ceding Alaska. Bennett, Henrietta and Jeannette are located approximately 500 nautical miles farther northwest, in the East Siberian Sea near the East Siberian Islands. We have no reliable information concerning natural resources on or in the vicinity of the islands nor any evidence of oil reserves existing there. So far as we are aware, no U.S. energy firms have conducted seismic research on or near the islands, in part because they are located in such remote areas. Enclosed is a map showing the location of the islands.

Allegations that the United States is engaged in a "give-away" of these islands are unfounded. Each of the islands was formally claimed by Russia in 1916 and by the U.S.S.R. in 1924 and 1926. Wrangel, the largest, has been occupied by the Soviets since 1924. Extensive research has produced no evidence of U.S. protests of the Russian or Soviet claims to the islands or of the Soviets' occupation of Wrangel since 1924. Although American citizens were involved in the discovery and exploration of several of the islands and attempted to claim them for the United States -- and despite the listing of several of the islands in some early publications such as the U.S. Geological Survey's 1906 Dictionary of Alaska -- there is no evidence that the Government of the United States ever formally asserted a claim to any of these islands.

Wrangel Island was first sighted in 1849 by the crew of a British ship which had landed on Herald, but the first landing on Wrangel did not occur until 1881. While searching for the missing U.S. Navy vessel Jeannette, U.S. Revenue Cutter Service (Coast Guard) Captain C.L. Hooper of the U.S. vessel Corwin briefly landed on Wrangel and reportedly raised the American flag and purported to claim the island for the United States. Later that year, the crew of another U.S. vessel spent several weeks on Wrangel exploring and mapping it. The crew of a Russian vessel landed on the island in 1911, surveyed part of it and erected a beacon which served as an astronomical positioning station. This visit led to the assertion of a formal claim to Wrangel by the Russian government in 1916. The Russian claim was communicated to the U.S. Government, which made no substantive response. In 1914 Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson led a Canadian expedition to Wrangel and purported to claim it for the British empire. Stefansson undertook several more expeditions to the island in the early 1920's in an effort to establish Canadian or, failing that, British sovereignty, but neither government ever asserted a claim.

The Soviet Union sought to assert sovereignty over Wrangel Island in 1922 by vigorously protesting Stefansson's expedition and the intrusion into Soviet waters of the expedition's relief vessels, which had departed from U.S. ports. The Soviets protested to both the U.S. and the U.K., informing them that Wrangel was a Soviet possession and denying both U.S. and British sovereignty over the island. In 1924 the Soviet government formally asserted a claim to Wrangel by diplomatic note to the U.S. and other countries. Extensive research has failed to produce any evidence of a U.S. reply to this note. The crew of a Soviet vessel landed on the island in August 1924 and raised the Soviet flag. The Soviet government reasserted its formal claim to Wrangel in 1926 by decree to the U.S. and other countries. The Soviets have occupied it since 1924, with no evidence of any protest by the U.S. government.

Several months prior to the Soviet landing in 1924 an Alaskan company, Lomen Bros., reportedly purchased whatever rights Stefansson had acquired in Wrangel Island. In response to a request for the U.S. view on the question of the island's sovereignty, the Acting Secretary of State replied that the Department of State declined to express an opinion on the status of Wrangel and refrained from expressing approval or disapproval of Lomen's proposed commercial venture. When the Soviets landed on Wrangel in 1924 they removed the 14 members of the last Stefansson expedition -- one U.S. citizen and one Canadian and 12 Alaskan Eskimos -- and confiscated their personal property. Lomen Bros., Stefansson's successor in interest, sought compensation for the confiscated personal property, for which it received an award from the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission in 1959.

As indicated above, the crew of a British ship discovered and landed on Herald Island in 1849. The crews of U.S. vessels landed there in 1855 and 1881, but reportedly did not attempt to claim it. The Russian government formally asserted a claim to Herald in 1916 when it formally claimed Wrangel, as did the Soviet government in 1924 and 1926. Crews of Soviet vessels landed on Herald and raised the Soviet flag in 1926 and again in 1934. In 1924 there were press reports that two U.S. citizens had landed on Herald and purported to claim it for the United States. In response to a 1926 Congressional inquiry into this expedition, the Department of State said it was not prepared to make a statement regarding the status of Herald.

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Henrietta and Jeannette in 1914, but failed to reach them. At the same time the Russian government formally claimed Wrangel and Herald in 1916, it also asserted formal claims to Bennett, Henrietta and Jeannette, as did the Soviet government in 1924 and 1926. A Soviet vessel reportedly visited each of these islands in 1937 and raised the Soviet flag on Henrietta and Jeannette. In 1956 a Soviet expedition reached Bennett by air and remained there for three to five months.

Under international law, discovery itself is not sufficient to establish a right of sovereignty over or valid title to territory not already under the sovereignty of a country. Instead, discovery is generally considered to give rise only to an inchoate claim that temporarily bans the establishment of dominion by another country until the discovering country has had a reasonable opportunity to occupy and possess the territory. Discovery by a national of a country does not suffice to create even an inchoate claim. The nation itself, rather than its nationals, must manifest the intention to establish dominion. To establish definitive territorial sovereignty, discovery must be combined with effective occupation by which the claimant nation exercises the actual, continuous, and peaceful display of the functions of a state over the territory.

The negotiations to which reference is often made are apparently the United States' discussions with the Soviet Union concerning the maritime boundary between the two countries. The sovereignty of Wrangel, Herald, Bennett, Henrietta and Jeannette islands has not been raised as an issue in these discussions.

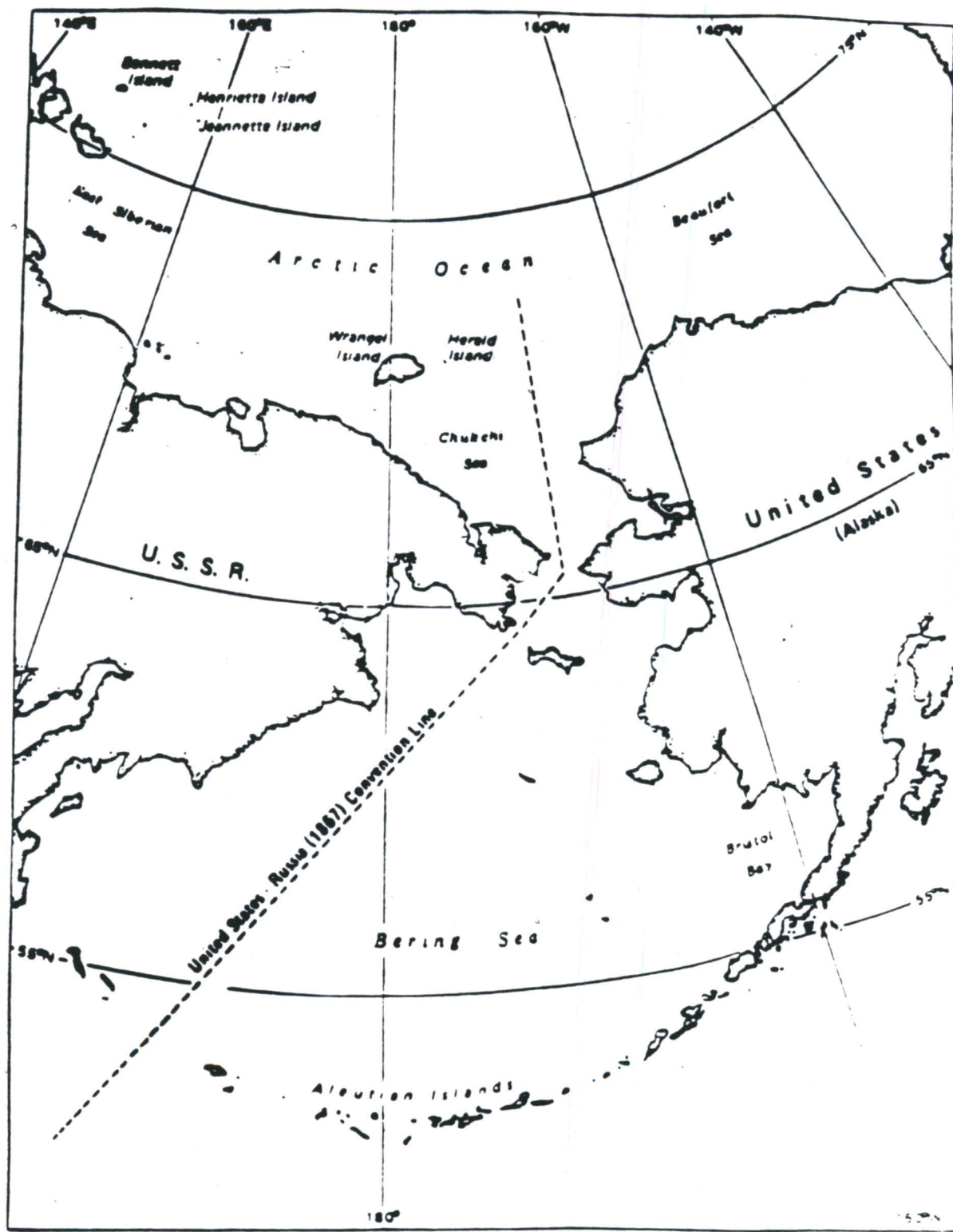
The United States regards the line established by the 1867 U.S.-Russia Convention Ceding Alaska as our maritime boundary with the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of defining jurisdiction over maritime resources, including fisheries and continental shelf resources. Following the establishment in 1977 of 200-nautical-mile fisheries zones by the United States and the Soviet Union, differences concerning the depiction and application of the 1867 Convention line became apparent. Until 1977, most of the Convention line lay beyond the limits of offshore maritime jurisdiction claimed by the United States and the Soviet Union, and most of the continental shelf over which the Convention line runs was beyond the limits of exploitability. The establishment in 1977 of 200-mile fisheries conservation zones revealed conflicting depictions of the Convention line. The United States depicts the line by arcs of great circles, the shortest distance between two points on the earth. The Soviet Union depicts the line by rhumb lines, lines of constant direction used mainly by mariners. This difference results in areas in the Bering Sea over which both countries claim maritime resource jurisdiction.

As authorized by the President, the United States has had eight rounds of discussions with the Soviet Union since 1981, the latest in early October 1987, for the purpose of resolving differences in the interpretation and application of the 1867 Convention line. U.S. participation in these talks has involved extensive coordination with all concerned agencies of the Executive branch, including the Departments of Interior, Defense, Commerce (NOAA), Transportation (Coast Guard) and Energy, as well as consultations with the interested Committees and Delegations of the Congress and the Governor of Alaska's Office.

A number of issues remain to be resolved in our discussions with the Soviet Union, including the form of any future agreement. We will continue to consult closely with Congress on the progress of these talks.

As with any diplomatic discussions with another government, we do not believe it appropriate to comment publicly in detail on the substance of these discussions with the Soviets. However, we can say that our position in these talks furthers the full range of U.S. interests, including maximizing our exclusive economic zone and continental shelf resource interests. During October 1986 discussions, each side informed the other of its willingness and intention not to take enforcement action against vessels of the other country fishing in disputed areas in the Bering Sea in which fisheries enforcement incidents had occurred, and each side informed the other that it would not permit third country vessels to fish in these areas. Also, despite our boundary differences with the Soviet Union the U.S. outer continental shelf leasing program has proceeded in the Navarin Basin in the Bering Sea. Special procedures were established in 1984 to put the highest bids in the disputed area into interest-bearing escrow accounts.

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5 Arctic Islands

John Herbst
9-12-88

Islands treated as group -

discovered by U.K. in mid 19th C.

also visited often by Am. whalers - private claims
Wrangell settled by Can & Am. citizens (expedition)

Sovets - arrived 1924 - joined
claimant sovereignty.

→ Neither U.S. or U.K. formally laid claim.

Statute 1920s, Amer. holding rights or claims raised
issue w/ U.S.G.
time said never relinq. ^{sov.} claim.

Current negotiations - maritime boundary - U.S./Siberia.
Boundary

Unless explicitly address islands to contrary

WSC:

J. Cobb

Decision memo to Pres. - sent to Carter last Spring (April)
possibly later memo

RR approved

alternate
2 positions: both

addressed
late '85
or

Presley Prins

(these files of public corresp.)

..... Decision ~~to~~ not to press sov. claim
goes back to 1880s.

Clear strategic value

decision
memo from State
to WH for Pres.
Check w/ G. Van Eem

Boundary negotiation issue:
tentative

Shulte - Shevardnadze

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

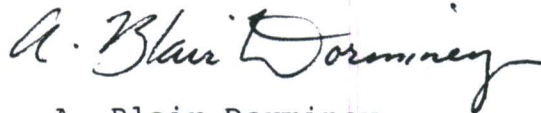
September 14, 1988

Dear Mr. Olson:

Thank you for your letter of August 25 expressing your interest in the future of Wrangell Island and four other Arctic islands. We understand that this has been a matter of concern.

Enclosed is a fact sheet on the subject, prepared by the State Department, which describes the course of the present negotiations.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "A. Blair Dorminey".

A. Blair Dorminey
Director for
Policy Development

Attachment

Mr. Carl Olson
Chairman
State Department Watch
National Headquarters
P. O. Box 65398
Washington, D. C. 20035

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