HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Thursday, December 10, 1987*

The House met at 10 a.m.

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O gracious God, as we have been blessed as individuals and as a nation with the wealth and bounty of every good thing, may we become aware of the great responsibility we have to use these gifts with generosity. May we lift our eyes to see the joy that comes through giving, the hope that comes by doing good deeds, the blessings that come through sharing, and the fulfillment and satisfaction that comes by being good stewards of Your many gifts. This we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 1, rule I, I demand a vote on agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the Chair's approval of the Journal.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 254, nays 139, answered "present" 3, not voting 37, as follows:

[Roll No. 466]

YEAS—254

Ackerman
Akaka
Anderson
Andrews
Annunzio
Archer
Armey
Aspin
Atkins
AuCoin
Barnard
Bartlett
Bateman
Bates
Beilenson
Bennett
Berman
Bevill
Bilbray
Boggs
Bonior
Borski
Bosco
Boucher
Boxer
Brennan
Brooks
Broomfield
Brown (CA)
Bruce
Bryant
Bustamante
Byron
Campbell
Cardin
Carper
Carr
Chapman
Chappell
Clarke
Coelho
Coleman (TX)
Collins
Combest
Conte
Cooper
Coyne
Darden
de la Garza
DeFazio
Derrick
Dicks
Dingell
Donnelly
Dorgan (ND)
Downey
Durbin
Dwyer
Dymally
Dyson
Early
Eckart
Edwards (CA)
English
Erdreich
Espy
Evans
Fascell
Fazio
Feighan
Flake
Flippo
Florio
Foglietta
Foley
Ford (MI)
Frank
Frost
Gaydos
Gejdenson
Glickman
Gonzalez
Gordon
Grant
Guarini
Hall (TX)
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Harris
Hatcher
Hawkins
Hayes (IL)
Hayes (LA)
Hefner
Hertel
Hochbrueckner
Holloway
Horton
Houghton
Howard
Hoyer
Hubbard
Huckaby
Hughes
Hutto
Jenkins
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (SD)
Jones (NC)
Jones (TN)
Jontz
Kanjorski
Kastenmeier
Kennedy
Kennelly
Kildee
Kleczka
Kolter
Kostmayer
LaFalce
Lancaster
Lantos
Leath (TX)
Lehman (CA)
Lehman (FL)
Leland
Lent
Levin (MI)
Levine (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Lloyd
Lowry (WA)
Luken, Thomas
MacKay
Manton
Markey
Martinez
Matsui
Mazzoli
McCloskey
McCollum
McCurdy
McDade
McEwen
McHugh
McMillen (MD)
Mfume
Mica
Miller (CA)
Mineta
Moakley
Mollohan
Montgomery
Moody
Morella
Morrison (CT)
Mrazek
Murtha
Myers
Nagle
Natcher
Nelson
Nichols
Oakar
Oberstar
Obey
Olin
Ortiz
Owens (NY)
Owens (UT)
Oxley
Panetta
Patterson
Pease
Pelosi
Penny
Pepper
Perkins
Pickett
Pickle
Price (IL)
Price (NC)
Rahall
Rangel
Ray
Regula
Richardson
Rinaldo
Ritter
Robinson
Rodino
Roe
Rose
Rostenkowski
Roth
Rowland (GA)
Roybal
Russo
Sabo
Saiki
Savage
Sawyer
Scheuer
Schulze
Schumer
Sharp
Shumway
Shuster
Sisisky
Skaggs
Skelton
Slattery
Slaughter (NY)
Smith (FL)
Smith (IA)
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Solarz
Spratt
St Germain
Staggers
Stallings
Stenholm
Stratton
Studds
Swift
Synar
Tallon
Tauzin
Taylor
Thomas (GA)
Torres
Torricelli
Towns
Traficant
Udall
Valentine
Vento
Visclosky
Volkmer
Walgren
Watkins
Waxman
Weiss
Wheat
Whitten
Wilson
Wolpe
Wortley
Wyden
Wylie
Yates
Yatron

NAYS—139

Badham
Baker
Ballenger
Barton
Bentley
Bereuter
Bilirakis
Bliley
Boehlert
Brown (CO)
Buechner
Bunning
Burton
Callahan
Chandler
Cheney
Clinger
Coats
Coble
Coleman (MO)
Courter
Craig
Crane
Dannemeyer
Daub
Davis (IL)
DeLay
DeWine
Dickinson
DioGuardi
Dornan (CA)
Dreier
Duncan
Edwards (OK)
Emerson
Fawell
Fields
Frenzel
Gallegly
Gallo
Gekas
Gilman
Gingrich
Goodling
Gradison
Grandy
Green
Gregg
Gunderson
Hansen
Hastert
Hefley
Henry
Herger
Hiler
Hopkins
Hyde
Inhofe
Ireland
Jacobs
Jeffords
Kolbe
Konnyu
Kyl
Lagomarsino
Latta
Leach (IA)
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (FL)
Lightfoot
Livingston
Lott
Lowery (CA)
Lujan
Lukens, Donald
Lungren
Mack
Madigan
Marlenee
Martin (IL)
Martin (NY)
McCandless
McGrath
McMillan (NC)
Meyers
Michel
Miller (OH)
Molinari
Moorhead
Morrison (WA)
Murphy
Nielson
Packard
Parris
Pashayan
Petri
Porter
Pursell
Quillen
Ravenel
Rhodes
Ridge
Roberts
Rogers
Roukema
Rowland (CT)
Saxton
Schaefer
Schneider
Schroeder
Schuette
Sensenbrenner
Shaw
Shays
Sikorski
Skeen
Slaughter (VA)
Smith, Denny (OR)
Smith, Robert (NH)
Smith, Robert (OR)
Snowe
Solomon
Spence
Stangeland
Stump
Sundquist
Swindall
Tauke
Thomas (CA)
Upton
Vander Jagt
Vucanovich
Walker
Weber
Weldon
Whittaker
Wolf
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—3

Daniel
Gibbons
Nowak

NOT VOTING—37

Alexander
Anthony
Applegate
Biaggi
Boland
Bonker
Boulter
Clay
Conyers
Coughlin
Crockett
Davis (MI)
Dellums
Dixon
Dowdy
Fish
Ford (TN)
Garcia
Gephardt
Gray (IL)
Gray (PA)
Hall (OH)
Hunter
Kaptur
Kasich
Kemp
Mavroules
Miller (WA)
Neal
Roemer
Smith (TX)
Stark
Stokes
Sweeney
Traxler
Williams
Wise

□ 1015

So the Journal was approved.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I have a privileged motion that I send to the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. WALKER moves that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DEFAZIO). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALKER].

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 168, noes 235, not voting 30, as follows:

[Roll No. 467]

AYES—168

Archer
Armey
Badham
Baker
Ballenger
Bartlett
Barton
Bateman
Bentley
Bereuter
Bilirakis
Bliley
Boehlert
Boulter
Broomfield
Brown (CO)
Buechner
Bunning
Burton
Callahan
Chandler
Clinger
Coats
Coble
Coleman (MO)
Combest
Conte
Coughlin
Courter
Craig
Crane
Dannemeyer
Daub
Davis (IL)
Davis (MI)
DeLay
DeWine
Dickinson
DioGuardi
Dornan (CA)
Dreier
Duncan
Edwards (OK)
Emerson
Fawell
Fields
Frenzel
Gallegly
Gallo
Gekas
Gilman
Gingrich
Goodling
Gradison
Grandy
Green
Gregg
Gunderson
Hammerschmidt
Hansen
Hastert
Hefley
Henry
Herger
Hiler
Holloway
Hopkins
Houghton
Hyde
Inhofe
Ireland
Jacobs
Jeffords
Johnson (CT)
Kolbe
Konnyu
Kyl
Lagomarsino
Latta
Leach (IA)
Lent
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (FL)
Lightfoot
Livingston
Lott
Lowery (CA)
Lujan
Lukens, Donald
Lungren
Mack
Madigan
Marlenee
Martin (IL)
Martin (NY)
McCandless
McCollum
McDade
McEwen
McGrath
McMillan (NC)
Meyers
Michel
Miller (OH)
Molinari
Moorhead
Morella
Morrison (WA)
Myers
Nielson
Oxley
Packard
Parris
Pashayan
Petri
Porter
Pursell
Quillen
Ravenel
Regula
Rhodes
Ridge
Rinaldo
Ritter
Roberts
Rogers
Roth
Roukema
Rowland (CT)
Saiki
Saxton
Schaefer
Schneider
Schuette
Schulze
Sensenbrenner
Shaw
Shays
Shumway
Shuster
Skeen
Slaughter (VA)
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith, Denny (OR)
Smith, Robert (NH)
Smith, Robert (OR)
Snowe
Solomon
Spence
Stangeland
Stump
Sundquist
Swindall
Tauke
Taylor
Thomas (CA)
Upton
Vander Jagt
Vucanovich
Walker
Weber
Weldon
Whittaker
Wolf
Wortley
Wylie
Young (FL)

NOES—235

Ackerman
Akaka
Anderson
Andrews
Annunzio
Anthony
Applegate
Aspin
Atkins
AuCoin
Barnard
Bates
Beilenson
Bennett
Berman
Bevill
Bilbray
Boggs
Boland
Bonior
Bonker
Borski
Bosco
Boucher
Boxer
Brennan
Brooks
Brown (CA)
Bruce
Bryant
Bustamante
Byron
Campbell
Cardin
Carper
Carr
Chapman
Chappell
Clay
Coelho
Coleman (TX)
Collins
Conyers
Cooper
Coyne
Crockett
Daniel
Darden
de la Garza
DeFazio
Dellums
Derrick
Dicks
Dingell
Donnelly
Dorgan (ND)
Downey
Durbin
Dwyer
Dymally
Dyson
Early
Eckart
Edwards (CA)
English
Erdreich
Espy
Evans
Fascell
Fazio
Feighan
Flake
Flippo
Florio
Foley
Ford (MI)
Ford (TN)
Frank
Frost
Gaydos
Gejdenson
Gibbons
Glickman
Gonzalez
Gordon
Grant
Guarini
Hall (TX)
Hamilton
Harris
Hatcher
Hawkins
Hayes (IL)
Hayes (LA)
Hefner
Hertel
Hochbrueckner
Howard
Hoyer
Hubbard
Huckaby
Hughes
Hutto
Jenkins
Johnson (SD)
Jones (NC)
Jones (TN)
Jontz
Kanjorski
Kastenmeier
Kennedy
Kennelly
Kildee
Kleczka
Kolter
Kostmayer
LaFalce
Lancaster
Lantos
Leath (TX)
Lehman (CA)
Lehman (FL)
Leland
Levin (MI)
Levine (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Lloyd
Lowry (WA)
Luken, Thomas
MacKay
Manton
Markey
Martinez
Matsui
Mavroules
Mazzoli
McCloskey
McCurdy
McHugh
McMillen (MD)
Mfume
Mica
Miller (CA)
Mineta
Moakley
Mollohan
Montgomery
Moody
Morrison (CT)
Murphy
Nagle
Natcher
Neal
Nelson
Nichols
Nowak
Oakar
Oberstar
Obey
Olin
Ortiz
Owens (NY)
Owens (UT)
Panetta
Patterson
Pease
Pelosi
Penny
Pepper
Perkins
Pickett
Pickle
Price (IL)
Price (NC)
Rahall
Rangel
Ray
Richardson
Robinson
Rodino
Roe
Rose
Rostenkowski
Rowland (GA)
Roybal
Russo
Sabo
Savage
Sawyer
Scheuer
Schroeder
Schumer
Sharp
Sikorski
Sisisky
Skaggs
Skelton
Slattery
Slaughter (NY)
Smith (FL)
Smith (IA)
Solarz
Spratt
St Germain
Staggers
Stallings
Stenholm
Stratton
Studds
Swift
Synar
Tallon
Tauzin
Thomas (GA)
Torres
Torricelli
Towns
Traficant
Udall
Valentine
Vento
Visclosky
Volkmer
Walgren
Watkins
Weiss
Wheat
Whitten
Wilson
Wise
Wolpe
Wyden
Yates
Yatron

NOT VOTING—30

Alexander
Biaggi
Cheney
Clarke
Dixon
Dowdy
Fish
Foglietta
Garcia
Gephardt
Gray (IL)
Gray (PA)
Hall (OH)
Horton
Hunter
Kaptur
Kasich
Kemp
Miller (WA)
Mrazek
Murtha
Roemer
Smith (TX)
Stark
Stokes
Sweeney
Traxler
Waxman
Williams
Young (AK)

□ 1030

Mr. NAGLE and Mr. COYNE changed their votes from "aye" to "no."

Mr. BROWN of Colorado and Mr. McDADE changed their votes from "no" to "aye."

So the motion was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

MODIFICATION OF AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H.R. 3100, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION ACT OF 1987, TO BE OFFERED BY MR. BROOMFIELD

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I propounded a unanimous-consent request having to do with the contents of my amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 3100.

Chairman FASCELL indicated no objection to my request, and it was accepted by the House.

It has come to my attention that the papers that were before Chairman FASCELL and myself at that time may have been different from the document that was being held by the Clerk.

I, therefore, wish to propose a new unanimous-consent request that reflects my understanding with Chairman FASCELL.

Mr. Speaker, I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that my amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 3100, which was printed in the RECORD on November 10, 1987, pursuant to the rule be modified as follows:

In section 405(a), relating to voluntary contributions to international organizations and programs, strike out "$92,264,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$212,264,000" and strike out "$95,493,000" and insert in lieu thereof "$212,264,000".

In lieu of section 610, relating to Turkish occupation troops and Greek military forces on Cyprus, insert the corresponding section of H.R. 3100, namely, section 611—a copy of which is held at the desk together with the rest of this unanimous-consent request.

In lieu of section 610, relating to Turkish occupation troops and Greek military forces on Cyprus, insert the following corresponding section of H.R. 3100:

SEC. 611. TURKISH OCCUPATION TROOPS AND GREEK MILITARY FORCES ON CYPRUS.

(a) PROHIBITION OF USE ON CYPRUS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT PROVIDED BY THE UNITED STATES.—Section 620C of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(e)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), defense articles of United States origin may not be transferred to or used on Cyprus by Turkey or Greece. This subsection applies with respect to all defense articles of United States origin which are made available to Turkey or Greece after the date of enactment of this subsection.

"(2) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to the extent that the President certifies to the Congress—

"(A) that there has been an armed attack against one or more parties to the North Atlantic Treaty, or there are circumstances clearly indicating that such an armed attack is imminent; and

"(B) that the President has approved the transfer to and use on Cyprus by Turkey or Greece (as the case may be) of defense articles of United States origin upon his determination that such approval is necessary to enable that country to carry out its obligation to respond to that attack pursuant to Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty.

"(3) As used in this subsection—

"(A) the term 'defense article of United States origin' means any article on the United States Munitions List (established pursuant to section 38 of the Arms Export Control Act) made available pursuant to this Act, the Arms Export Control Act, or chapter 138 (relating to NATO mutual support) or section 7307 (relating to disposal of

naval vessels) of title 10 of the United States Code; and includes articles made available under those laws by grant, sale, lease or loan, licensed export, 3rd-country transfer, licensed production, or other means; and

"(B) the term 'transferred to or used on Cyprus' includes use in providing transportation to or from Cyprus and includes stationing or other deployment on Cyprus."

(b) PERIODIC REPORTS REGARDING ACTIVITIES ON CYPRUS OF FOREIGN ARMED FORCES.—Section 620C(c) of that Act is amended by adding at the end the following: "Such transmissions shall also—

"(1) specify the number of members of the armed forces of the Government of Turkey, and the number of members of the armed forces of the Government of Greece, who were on Cyprus during the preceding 120 days;

"(2) specifying the number of members of the armed forces of the Government of Turkey, and the number of members of the armed forces of the Government of Greece, who were on Cyprus during the preceding 120 days with the permission of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus; and

"(3) describe any defense articles of United States origin (as defined in subsection (e)(3)(A)), which have been made available to Turkey or Greece, which were on Cyprus at any time during the preceding 120 days, specifying (to the extent such information can be obtained) when those articles were transferred to Cyprus and when those articles were made available by the United States to Turkey or Greece (as the case may be).".

□ 1045

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DEFAZIO). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I would simply like to ask the distinguished ranking member of the committee: As I understand from our discussion of what this request is, the gentleman is incorporating in the substitute which he has already filed in the RECORD the matters that are contained in his unanimous-consent request; is that correct?

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, yes, the gentleman is correct.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan.

There was no objection.

AUTHORIZING ADDITIONAL TIME FOR DEBATE ON CERTAIN AMENDMENTS TO BE OFFERED TO H.R. 3100, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION ACT OF 1987

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that an additional 30 minutes of debate be granted on the Pakistan issue, for the consideration of the Solarz amendment only, if offered to section 924 of title IX.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I do not object to the request, let me say that in fact I approve of the request we discussed earlier. I just want to state to my colleagues, lest there be any misunderstanding, that I intend to offer an amendment which is in the RECORD relating to the issue of nonproliferation in Pakistan if the gentleman from New York does not offer his amendment. I make this statement just so the record will be clear.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I am trying to figure out what we are doing here. Do I understand that we are now going to try by unanimous consent to overturn the provisions of the rule by which this bill was brought to the floor that limits the time of debate in such a way as to limit the access of Members with amendments to the floor? Do I understand we are now coming back and the committee is requesting that the rule which it got from the Rules Committee now be abandoned?

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALKER. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. FASCELL. No, I do not want to abandon the rule. Of course not. What I want to do is accommodate Members on both sides of the aisle who feel that the debate on the Pakistan issue deserves more than 10 minutes. I agree with them, so I agreed to make this unanimous-consent request. However, I am ready to go right by the rule, if that is what the gentleman wants.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALKER. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I would hope that we can get back on track here. I think this is a reasonable request as made by the chairman of the committee. This is an extremely important section of the bill, and I think this request is made in fairness to both sides. This is reasonable, and it is not going to affect any of the amendments that are going to be considered. We can move this bill along and hopefully complete the consideration of this bill today if we have cooperation.

So, Mr. Speaker, I strongly support the request of the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALKER. I yield to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, let me say to the gentleman that I have the same concern the gentleman does. Look at where we are now. We are, I believe, within 36 or 38 minutes of completing all debate on all amendments. All the amendments printed in the RECORD would have 10 minutes, and it is the considered judgment on this side that on this one amendment we ought to change the rule. That is all we are doing.

We are on title VIII right now. We are working very hard, as the gentleman knows, to work out matters on both sides of the aisle so we can expedite the consideration of this bill. Hopefully we can wind it up today. With a little cooperation, I think we can do that.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, let me say to the chairman of the committee that I understand what he is trying to do, and I am glad he and the ranking minority member are trying to work out the problem here.

What disturbs this gentleman is that we have a pattern of operation around here at the present time which is absolutely ludicrous, and that is what we are doing. We are bringing bills to the floor under closed rules, and then when we find out that things are not properly handled under those closed rules, we are coming back and suggesting that there ought to be modifications to that in order to accommodate very serious issues.

I am disturbed by that, particularly then when in the same timeframe we have the leadership coming to the floor with bills that no one ever heard of, that were not announced on the schedule and deciding that the House should take up these kinds of measures without involving the minority side. I have got to tell the gentleman that the way in which we are performing and behaving around this House is absolutely without precedent, in my opinion.

Mr. Speaker, I am not going to object to this request, but I will tell the gentleman that I think it is high time that either we decide we are going to go by the regular processes and bring bills out here under open rules so these kinds of problems are going to be accommodated or we are going to start living by the rules we make. The rules around here only seem to apply when it is the majority interest that they should be applied. Whenever it is in the minority interest for the rules to apply, we seem willing to overturn those rules without notice.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I understand the gentleman's vehemence, if the gentleman will yield further.

Mr. WALKER. Yes; I am glad to yield further to the committee chairman.

Mr. FASCELL. But I ask the gentleman to imagine trying to manage a bill when you do not know what is going to happen on the floor. I will say to the gentleman that we have allowed every amendment that anybody wanted to offer here. On this one item, the gentleman is right, but at least everybody gets in on the decision with respect to this one extension.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for not objecting.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, let me say to the gentleman that the problem is that democracy sometimes gets a little messy, and sometimes in fact when you are managing bills under a democratic system, you have to have a little bit of messiness, and there may be Members who might offer amendments that had not been contemplated before the issues were explained on the House floor.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I will say to the gentleman that if anybody has missed one, it certainly has escaped my attention.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I must admit that the gentleman's bill has provided a great filler for the House because it adds so many amendments to it, but, on the other hand, I think when we get down to the important issues and then we do not have sufficient time to debate them, that is also a very disturbing pattern to have taken place in the House.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I have been advised by our extraordinarily able and talented legal counsel that there is a minor problem with the unanimous-consent request as drafted, and I would like to suggest, Mr. Speaker, that it be modified, if it is acceptable to the chairman of the committee—I believe it is acceptable to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. WILSON], and I hope it will be to the gentleman from California [Mr. LAGOMARSINO]—in order to make 30 minutes of additional time available for debate on the Solarz amendment or the Lagomarsino amendment, whichever is offered first.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, let me ask, Is that all right with the gentleman from California?

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLARZ. I am happy to yield to my friend, the gentleman from California.

□ 1055

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield, would that include other amendments that might be offered to either of the two mentioned?

Mr. SOLARZ. Of course. There would be a grand total of 40 minutes of debate for your amendment or mine, whichever is offered first, and with all amendments related thereto that are in order.

Mr. FASCELL. And that would be 20 minutes to each side, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. That is acceptable.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DEFAZIO). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ]?

There was no objection.

TERRY ANDERSON'S 1,000TH DAY OF CAPTIVITY IN LEBANON

Ms. SLAUGHTER of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New York?

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, we did not hear the unanimous-consent request.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would announce that the Chair is recognizing for 1-minute speeches.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, what was the unanimous-consent request?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unanimous-consent request of the gentlewoman from New York [Ms. SLAUGHTER] was to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I notice the gentlewoman from New York [Ms. SLAUGHTER] is bringing papers with her to the podium. Did the gentlewoman request unanimous consent to be permitted to read from papers as the rules of the House would provide for?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has no indication that she will read from those papers. She is just carrying them with her.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, to be clear, the gentlewoman from New York has not made that request?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. She made no such request, and she intends to address the House.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New York?

There was no objection.

Ms. SLAUGHTER of New York. Mr. Speaker, today marks Terry Anderson's 1,000th day of captivity in Lebanon. Terry, chief Middle East correspondent for the Associated Press, is the longest held hostage of all the hostages, American and foreign, currently being held in the Middle East.

I have stood before this body on several occasions, to remind my colleagues of the beginning of his third year of captivity, his 40th birthday, and now his 1,000th day. I hope this is the last time and he will be released.

One thousand days ago, Terry was abducted from a Beirut street by Moslem extremists. Over the past 3 years, we have caught glimpses of him in poorly shot videos and crude photographs which keep alive the hope that he is surviving whatever physical and mental torture he has been subjected to. We must bring him home.

At 11 this morning, Peggy Say, Terry's courageous sister, is sponsoring a special ceremony, "Human Rights for Hostages," to remember Terry Anderson and the other hostages on this day. There will be a roll-call of all hostages with children holding their photos and closing the program with the song, "Let There Be Peace."

Mr. Speaker, I wish to appeal to my colleagues to remember Terry and the other hostages today and to work for their release and safe return home. Please keep them in your thoughts and your prayers.

BEAUTIFUL NEBRASKA

(Mrs. SMITH of Nebraska asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. SMITH of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, the official State song of my home State is entitled "Beautiful Nebraska."

I want my colleagues to know about the accomplishments of Nebraska cities to keep our State beautiful. I congratulate the clean city committees and these cities of western Nebraska in my congressional district: North Platte, Ogallala, Kimball, Scottsbluff-Gering, and Alliance, all of whom are here in Washington, DC, to receive national recognition this week.

Tomorrow the North Platte Clean City Committee will receive a national first place "Keep America Beautiful" award. In fact, since that committee was organized in 1978, this city has received an award every year but one.

This year the North Platte group cleaned up a city block, removed the buildings, and now we have a beautiful Christmas tree in that park. They have sponsored contests, headed recycling drives and taken educational programs about recycling to the schools.

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR THE LATE MAYOR HAROLD WASHINGTON

(Mr. HAYES of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HAYES of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I rise to inform the Members of the House that today at 12 o'clock noon there will be a memorial service for the late mayor of the city of Chicago at the Church of Reformation at 212 East Capitol Street. There will be participation in the form of paying tribute on the part of Members of the House of Representatives, and at least two Senators from the other body. I would like to invite Members of this group, who want to attend, to come and pay our respects to a former Member of this body, Harold Washington, who was the mayor of the city of Chicago.

OPPOSITION TO H.R. 1720

(Mr. INHOFE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 1720, the Family Welfare Reform Act of 1987. This bill is not what the poor need, it is not what this country needs, and it is not what this Congress should pass. At this time when we are gravely concerned about the growth of Government and the increase in the deficit, this bill would substantially expand Federal spending and Government involvement in a welfare program with a proven record of failure. H.R. 1720 is not welfare reform, it is welfare expansion.

Neither the Federal Government, nor the States, can afford to throw more money into programs that are irreparably broken. H.R. 1720 greatly increases the financial burden on the States, many of which are already strained to the breaking point. My own State of Oklahoma can ill afford this fiscal nonsense. And yet H.R. 1720 would force my State to not only increase benefits, but also to expand the pool of recipients. This is a double whammy that the taxpayers should not be forced to bear.

Already, Oklahoma's AFDC Program has grown by 8.4 percent in just 12 months. And emergency AFDC grew by a whopping 46 percent in the same time period. Our duty should be to pass legislation that will allow the States to eventually reduce these figures, not increase them. Let's do ourselves and the States a favor and draft a bill that will reduce these figures, something the people of America can afford.

OBJECTION TO INCLUSION OF ANY AID FOR CONTRAS IN CONTINUING RESOLUTION

(Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DEFAZIO). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I have noticed that we have had a number of instances where we have come to the podium and had people reading from papers in violation of the House rules. I wonder if the Chair would remind the Members that in asking unanimous consent to make a 1-minute speech where they intend to read from papers, that they might ask permission of the House by unanimous consent to be permitted to do so that they are in compliance with the rules of the House as they proceed, or if that is not the case, then it seems to me it is the duty of the Chair to call that to the attention of the Members at the moment they begin to read from papers.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would advise the gentleman from Pennsylvania that generally reading from a paper does not require unanimous consent unless an issue is made of it. In this case the Chair might suggest that Members making 1-minute speeches attempt to refrain from reading from papers to avoid a vote on the issue.

Mr. WALKER. Further reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding, and I would tell the Chair, that the reading from papers consists of more than reading from newspapers. It in fact has included reading from typed copy that one might have at the podium. So in fact the Member is reading from papers that are not the official documents of the House of Representatives, and I would hope the Chair would see fit to have the Members of the House obey the rules of the House.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, it is going to be difficult to talk about Nicaragua without papers, but I will try and, unlike the President of the United States, I think I can go 1 minute without referring to 3-by-5 cards.

Mr. Speaker, the House acted consistent with the Arias peace plan when it provided for no Contra aid money in the continuing resolution that was recently passed by the House of Representatives. In doing so, we supported the efforts of the President of Costa Rica, President Arias, as he echoed them yesterday and suggested that any aid to the Contras, no matter what euphemism is used, humanitarian or nonlethal aid, is inconsistent with the peace process that he and the other Central American presidents have endorsed and are supporting and working for, and that, in fact, once again, we find the intransigence of the Reagan administration in their effort to continue to support the Contras as a fighting force standing in the road to peace in Central America.

I hope that when the Senate continues the continuing resolution that it would object to any inclusion of Contra aid.

I will take my papers and sit down and read them, Mr. Speaker.

LEGISLATION TO CORRECT THE CALENDAR YEAR REQUIREMENT AND MUTUAL FUND EXPENSE ISSUE

(Mr. SCHULZE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and read from papers.)

Mr. SCHULZE. Mr. Speaker, in the last days of this session of the 100th Congress important segments of the American public will likely go without necessary changes in our tax laws. Next year, over 20 million mutual fund shareholders will pay income tax on money they never receive. Next year, certified public accountants face a tremendous, if not insurmountable burden, in filing returns for a large number of taxpayers who are required to adopt a calendar year for income tax purposes.

As an original sponsor of legislation to correct the calendar year requirement and mutual fund expense issue, I am disturbed by our lack of action. As ranking member on the Oversight Subcommittee of the Ways and Means Committee, I am even more concerned by the potential for reduced compliance in our tax law. I must warn my colleagues, the Treasury Department, and the IRS that the American people will not continue to support a voluntary tax system that doesn't work.

ARIAS CALLS FOR END TO ALL CONTRA AID

(Mr. BONIOR of Michigan asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BONIOR of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, today Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez receives the Nobel Peace Prize—the highest tribute the world can pay to those who risk all in the name of peace.

Arias reiterated his strong opposition to any Contra aid, including humanitarian and the so-called nonlethal aid which the administration has been seeking.

According to Arias, the Contras are "the problem, not the solution." The Reagan administration's continued support of their cause only provides Nicaragua an excuse to keep fighting.

If only President Reagan would listen.

The President has indeed shown he can be a peacemaker in his meetings with Secretary Gorbachev, and we all applaud his efforts in achieving arms reduction.

Perhaps he can be convinced that in Central America, too, the best path toward peace and security for the United States, the best path toward freedom and democracy, lies in negotiations.

Mr. President, I urge you to heed Arias' message. Stop funding the Contras and get on board with the peace process.

Let us join in a united effort to achieve a ceasefire in Nicaragua by Christmas. It would be the greatest gift the people of the Americas could receive.

ON HUMAN RIGHTS DAY SUPPORT EAST GERMAN HUMAN RIGHTS

(Mr. PORTER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 39th anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

With this anniversary, we can reflect on the progress made this year on human rights—rising Soviet emigration levels, increasing numbers of persons permitted to travel from East Germany, the lifting of martial law in Taiwan, free elections in Korea and Turkey and promising negotiations toward peace in Central America. But we know that hard work helped to make this possible and we cannot rest until basic human rights are restored to individuals everywhere.

Today I am introducing a resolution regarding the recent arrest of four people in East Berlin. While in Berlin Thanksgiving weekend, I learned that on November 24, the East German secret police entered the Zion Protestant Church and detained members of an unofficial environmentalist/human rights group who were working in the church's basement offices. The police confiscated their literature and printing equipment. Four people were arrested.

Mr. Speaker, in the spirit of International Human Rights Day, I urge my colleagues to cosponsor this resolution to bring attention to this human rights violation.

LEGISLATION TO DESIGNATE THE LAST WILD SECTION OF THE UPPER KLAMATH RIVER AS A COMPONENT OF WILD AND SCENIC RIVERS SYSTEM

(Mr. DEFAZIO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, apparently the view is obscured from the left because the gentleman from Pennsylvania has only been able to see papers placed on this side, but I would hope that he would get a better vantage point in the future.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I have only 1 minute, I am sorry.

Mr. WALKER. Even though the gentleman from Oregon mentioned my name?

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I did not mention the gentleman's name.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TORRES). The gentleman from Oregon [Mr. DEFAZIO] may proceed.

Mr. DEFAZIO. The Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Hodel, recently proposed ripping down a dam to expose the Hetch-Hetchy Valley, reportedly to be one of the most beautiful valleys in the country, again to the light of day. Unfortunately, that valley has been obscured beneath a sterile reservoir throughout this century. We have an opportunity in southern Oregon to preserve a likely source from that same ruin, to preserve the Klamath River. The Klamath River is the most spectacular white water in southern Oregon and one of the best wild and scenic areas in the United States.

I will be introducing legislation today to that effect.

Mr. Speaker, today I will join my colleague from Oregon, Mr. AUCOIN, in introducing a bill to designate the last wild section of the Upper Klamath River a component of our Wild and Scenic Rivers System.

The Klamath provides the best summer whitewater recreation in Oregon. When other rivers in my State run low the Klamath is a challenging 19 miles of class IV and better rapids through an astoundingly beautiful canyon.

It is home to some of the best trout fishing in the State as well—and in Oregon that is quite a superlative. The Klamath attracts flyfishers from around the region.

In previous times the Klamath River canyon was haven to Oregon and California tribes who sought refuge from marauding neighbors or the U.S. Army. In the canyon are sites sacred to those tribes.

The National Park Service included the Klamath on its 1982 inventory of the rivers suited to wild and scenic designation. Today, when development threatens those characteristics protection is urgently needed. Congressman AUCOIN and I hope to provide that protection and recognition by designating the Klamath a national wild and scenic river. I urge my colleagues' support.

ONE THOUSAND DAYS OF CAPTIVITY FOR TERRY ANDERSON

(Mr. COBLE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COBLE. Mr. Speaker, I remind my colleagues again that today, as has been mentioned previously, is the 1,000th day of captivity for Terry Anderson. We viewed prison uprisings recently in Louisiana and Georgia, and we saw as a result of that, that the winning of freedom for hostages can be realized. I urge Members of this body that so long as one American remains in captivity, so long as one American does not enjoy freedom, we have a situation where this House should keep the heat on. We should continue to focus attention on this fact. Let us hope that Terry Anderson and any others who are held in captivity in the Middle East and other parts of the world will soon be released to freedom and will soon be able to enjoy that very precious ingredient of life.

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

(Mr. YATRON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, I welcome "International Human Rights Day." On this day, we remind ourselves that human rights should be realized by every citizen in every country of the world.

The international human rights movement is based on the premise that every nation has an obligation to protect the human rights of its citizens. There are far too many countries which do not honor this international standard—governments whose violations are directed against the integrity of the person, through torture, disappearances, killings, and denials of due process. There are also those regimes which deny civil and political rights—freedom of association, speech, and press, as well as economic and social rights.

We must examine in an unbiased manner the victims of human rights abuse whether they are in the Soviet Union, South Africa, Nicaragua, Chile, Vietnam, Iran, or in countries where violations are more difficult to assess. After we have determined that a human rights situation is serious, we must act swiftly regardless of whether the violator is from a friendly or unfriendly government.

There are steps which can be taken to address grievous human rights conditions. In Congress, hearings, resolutions, and statements denouncing vio-

lators are often effective. Where appropriate, Congress has disassociated itself from governments with deplorable human rights records by voting against economic and military assistance, as well as by advocating diplomatic distance. The Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, entrusted with the responsibility for human rights legislation in Congress, has also initiated legal measures to protect the integrity of an individual from torture, disappearances, and gross denials of due process.

Even when the success of our efforts cannot be determined, calling worldwide attention to the plight of those victimized is always advantageous. In recognition of "International Human Rights Day," it is necessary to reaffirm our commitment to the oppressed, to let them know we join them in their struggle for freedom.

□ 1110

SENSE OF CONGRESS THAT NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE SHOULD DESIST FROM AID TO NICARAGUA UNTIL IT LIVES UP TO THE GUATEMALA PEACE PLAN

(Mr. BEREUTER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, many of the nations of Western Europe have been providing substantial amounts of direct government-to-government aid to the Government of Nicaragua during recent years. Last year such aid exceeded $70 million, and several of those nations gave more to Nicaragua than to all of the other nations of Central America combined.

Today I am introducing a sense-of-the-Congress resolution, the details of which are found in a special order in yesterday's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, which would ask these nations to desist from their contributions until Nicaragua meets the requirements of the Guatemala City peace accord. I am suggesting that alternatively they provide that assistance to the Common Market Organization of Central America or to the proposed but not yet activated Central American Development Organization, or that they channel it through private voluntary organizations, international or European domestic organizations.

I ask my colleagues to consider advancing this proposal with me and to cosponsor this sense-of-the-Congress resolution which I will offer today.

URGING GORBACHEV TO HEED THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

(Mr. SCHEUER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, as Mr. Gorbachev prepares to depart from our country today on "International Human Rights Day," he can take great pride in his enormous contribution to the signing of this INF Treaty between our two great countries. And on this 39th anniversary of the signing of the International Declaration of Human Rights, Mr. Gorbachev could make a very significant contribution to the field of human rights and to the prestige and honor and credibility of himself and his country by announcing a true reform of Soviet emigration policy as it affects Jews and other members of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Gorbachev told us that the people of our two nations are way ahead of our countries' leaders in terms of their sentiments and their feelings, and he is right.

Mr. Gorbachev, please take your own words to heart.

Heed the pleas of millions of concerned people the world over who ask that the Soviet Government honor its freely assumed commitments under the Helsinki accords and give your people the rights of free passage that are enjoyed by every other civilized Western nation.

Surely, Mr. Gorbachev you are now aware of the strong sentiments of hundreds of thousands of Americans of every race, creed, and ethnic origin who called for a fair and responsible emigration policy for the Soviet Union.

We have great respect for the Soviet Union's military might, its rich cultural contributions, and its superb accomplishments in science and technology.

But the Soviet Government's continuing and systematic violation of its Helsinki accord commitments will continue to overshadow its many accomplishments and complicate the great goal of achieving the mutual respect and trust between our two great countries which must undergird our negotiations on arms control and regional conflicts.

Please Mr. Gorbachev, give your superb leadership to solving this problem of defiance of international legal and moral norms—a posture which is beneath the dignity of your great country and great people.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

(Mr. EDWARDS of Oklahoma asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EDWARDS of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, today brings together a couple of important occasions. One is a celebration of human rights, and one is the trip of Oscar Arias to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

Both peace and human rights are very important values to the people in this world. I think that President Arias needs to remember that as he accepts the Peace Prize it was the Contras and the pressure that they created on the Sandinistas that brought them to the negotiating table, and it is going to require a great balancing act to make sure that as he accepts the prize for peace he does not by his remarks help to institutionalize the loss of human rights in Central America.

DESIGNATING UPPER KLAMATH RIVER AS A WILD AND SCENIC RIVER

(Mr. AUCOIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. AUCOIN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing, along with my colleague, Mr. DEFAZIO, a bill to designate the Upper Klamath River a wild and scenic river.

The Oregon State Parks Division gives this river a rating of "outstanding" for its native trout population, and the National Park Service says its white water rafting rapids are among the very best in the West.

The Upper Klamath River—in its free-flowing state—already means $2½ million a year to the area economy. Increasing its tourism potential will only increase its economic dividends.

Mr. Speaker, some would allow development, including hydroelectric dam construction on the river.

But it is not simply to stop something that I introduce this bill. It is to affirm something: To affirm the magnificent freedom of a great river in its wild state, to be enjoyed and to be respected for all the years to come.

IRAN-CONTRA COMMITTEE SHOULD NOT BE EXTENDED

(Mr. WALKER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, further I ask unanimous consent I be permitted to read from papers.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TORRES). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The objection comes too late and the gentleman was not on his feet.

The Chair has ruled that the gentleman from Pennsylvania may proceed for 1 minute.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, we have long suspected that the Iran-Contra investigation had substantial partisan overtones. Today the majority seems

determined to confirm those suspicions.

Mr. Speaker, last night the majority sought permission to bring to the floor a resolution to extend the life of the Iran-Contra committee until the end of this Congress. Mr. Speaker, this committee has issued its report. Continuing its existence is purely a partisan effort to undermine the President. That particular idea ought to be withdrawn. That committee should end this Sunday as previously agreed to.

FOREIGN AID AND THE WAR ON DRUGS

(Mr. HOCHBRUECKNER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HOCHBRUECKNER. Mr. Speaker, as the House prepares to complete consideration of the foreign aid authorization bill (H.R. 3100), I want to raise a very serious concern about the international drug problem.

The Anti-Drug Abuse Act (Public Law 99-570) passed by the 99th Congress included a provision to discourage international drug production and drug trafficking. It provided for a 50-percent reduction in aid to countries which are not cooperating fully with the United States in trying to halt the flow of drugs. The President of the United States is empowered under this act to reduce foreign aid to uncooperative nations. Unfortunately, our President has failed to utilize this important tool.

Last March, the President of the United States certified as "fully cooperative" several countries such as Mexico, Panama, and the Bahamas—recipients of United States taxpayers dollars—which, in fact, had not taken serious action to discourage the flow of drugs. By this action, the President sent U.S. aid to nations which we know are the source of illegal drugs reaching American streets. In my view, this is intolerable.

As Members are aware, the 1986 Anti-Drug Abuse Act enables the Congress to override a Presidential foreign aid certification if we determine that a given country is not fully cooperating with the United States in combatting drugs. I pledge today that if we are faced with the same situation in 1988, I will introduce measures to void any certifications which are unjustified. Furthermore, if this crucial tool in the war on drugs continues to be ignored, I will offer legislation to strengthen the process of leveraging foreign aid in order to discourage drug production.

Our domestic drug crisis has only worsened since passage of the landmark 1986 Drug Act. Now is not the time to give up the battle, but rather to rearm the war on drugs. I have sent a letter to the President of the United States urging that he use the tools which have been provided him to discourage the international drug flow. I include this letter in the RECORD at this point:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, December 9, 1987.

Hon. RONALD REAGAN,
The White House, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Today the House of Representatives is considering the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill (H.R. 3100). I feel it is an appropriate time to raise a concern I have about our foreign aid process and the War on Drugs.

As you know, Section 481 of the Foreign Assistance Act was amended by the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 (Public Law 99-570) to strengthen the process whereby foreign aid may be withheld to discourage foreign drug production and trafficking. Specifically, that law provides for a 50 percent reduction in foreign aid to countries which you certify are not cooperating fully with the United States in halting the international flow of drugs. Public Law 99-570 also includes a provision allowing Congress to pass a resolution disapproving a Presidential certification that a given country has fully cooperated with our nation in combating drugs.

I was greatly disappointed, as were many of my colleagues in the House and Senate, when in March of this year you certified as "fully cooperative" several countries, such as Panama, Mexico and the Bahamas—recipients of our tax dollars—who by reliable accounts had not taken serious action to discourage drug production or prevent drug trafficking. Perhaps because the process for Congressional disapproval was new and untested, Members of the 100th Congress were reluctant to seriously challenge these certifications. However, I am confident that if a similar situation arises next spring, the Congress will take action to reduce assistance to certified nations which are demonstrated to be less than "fully cooperative" with the United States in the War on Drugs.

In order to avoid a possible confrontation between your Administration and the Congress over foreign assistance and the War on Drugs, I respectfully request that you personally review foreign drug activities with the utmost care before issuing certifications on March 1, 1988. Our domestic drug problem is worsening, not improving, and this is due in large part to the continuing influx of illegal drugs across U.S. borders. It is my hope that you will exercise leadership in the 1988 certification process and not reward nations which are less than serious about combatting drugs.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,
GEORGE J. HOCHBRUECKNER,
Member of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot permit U.S. taxpayer dollars to be sent to nations which are not working vigorously to prevent illegal drugs from reaching American shores. We must use our foreign aid process to discourage the international drug flow, and to encourage other nations to stop growing drug crops and begin growing food crops.

COMMENTS ON PROCEDURES AND SCHEDULING PRACTICES OF THE HOUSE—THE ARIAS PEACE PLAN

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to address the House for 1 minute, and I further ask I be permitted to read from some papers.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Objection is heard.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, if I am correct, I understand that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALKER] is objecting because the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] is reading from some papers?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. COELHO. I understand that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has objected to individuals from this side of the aisle reading from papers also.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. COELHO. And that the House has been in session now, Mr. Speaker, for 1 hour and 20 minutes, is that correct?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is correct.

The Chair would advise the gentleman from California that there being an objection, the Chair will now put the question on whether the gentleman from Indiana shall be permitted to read.

Mr. COELHO. But Mr. Speaker, my parliamentary inquiry is that we have been in session for 1 hour and 20 minutes but it appears that there are Members trying to delay the process of this House, and I think the American public should know that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. That is not a proper inquiry. The Chair now asks: Shall the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] be permitted to read from papers?

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 400, nays

5, answered "present," 1, not voting 27, as follows:

[Roll No. 468]

YEAS—400

Ackerman
Akaka
Alexander
Anderson
Andrews
Annunzio
Anthony
Applegate
Archer
Armey
Atkins
AuCoin
Badham
Baker
Ballenger
Barnard
Bartlett
Barton
Bateman
Bates
Beilenson
Bennett
Bereuter
Berman
Bevill
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bliley
Boehlert
Boggs
Bonior
Bonker
Borski
Bosco
Boucher
Boulter
Boxer
Brennan
Brooks
Broomfield
Brown (CA)
Brown (CO)
Bruce
Bryant
Buechner
Bunning
Burton
Bustamante
Byron
Callahan
Campbell
Cardin
Carper
Carr
Chandler
Chapman
Chappell
Cheney
Clarke
Clay
Clinger
Coats
Coble
Coleman (MO)
Coleman (TX)
Collins
Combest
Conte
Conyers
Cooper
Coughlin
Courter
Coyne
Craig
Crane
Dannemeyer
Darden
Daub
Davis (IL)
Davis (MI)
de la Garza
DeLay
Dellums
Derrick
DeWine
Dickinson
DioGuardi
Donnelly
Dorgan (ND)
Dornan (CA)
Downey
Dreier
Duncan
Durbin
Dwyer
Dymally
Dyson
Early
Edwards (CA)
Edwards (OK)
Emerson
English
Erdreich
Espy
Evans
Fascell
Fawell
Fazio
Feighan
Fields
Fish
Flake
Flippo
Florio
Foglietta
Foley
Ford (MI)
Frank
Frenzel
Frost
Gallegly
Gallo
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Luken, Thomas
Lukens, Donald
Lungren
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MacKay
Madigan
Manton
Markey
Marlenee
Martin (IL)
Martin (NY)
Martinez
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Williams
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Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NAYS—5

Coelho
DeFazio
Goodling
Konnyu
Perkins

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Hopkins

NOT VOTING—27

Aspin
Bentley
Biaggi
Boland
Crockett
Daniel
Dicks
Dingell
Dixon
Dowdy
Eckart
Ford (TN)
Garcia
Gephardt
Gray (PA)
Hall (OH)
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Roemer
Smith (FL)
Smith (TX)
Stark
Stokes
Sweeney
Waxman

□ 1125

So the request was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TORRES). The Chair would also announce that after this reading there will be no more 1-minute speeches and the House will resolve into the Committee of the Whole.

□ 1140

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TORRES). The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] may proceed.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I thank the Chair and I thank my colleagues for their overwhelming vote of confidence to allow me to read, but after having received that tremendous vote, I have decided not to read.

I would just like to make a couple of brief comments, first of all, on the so-called dilatory tactics that are taking place today. Those tactics are taking place because some of the Members feel that an extension of the Iran-Contra committee for another year will serve no useful purpose. All it will do is cause political bickering and more partisanship in this body, and it is designed to try to make the President of the United States look bad during the last year of his term of office.

I think it is being done to try to create the illusion that the Republican Party is corrupt so that we cannot elect a Republican President, which is very likely in 1988.

Along with that, I would just like to say that I heard some comments earlier today about Mr. Arias and his peace proposal and about how we should not be aiding the Contras in Central America because Mr. Arias says we should not. The fact of the matter is that the Communists have been trying to expand their sphere of influence in Central America and throughout that region. We in the United States of America should be concerned about that and should support the Contras, who are fighting for freedom down there.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair wishes to announce that he will recognize for two 1-minute speeches, one on each side, and the Chair at this time will recognize the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DURBIN].

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DOWNED OVER NICARAGUA SEEKS ACCESS TO UNITED STATES EMBASSY

(Mr. DURBIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. Speaker, last Tuesday a resident of my congressional district, James Denby of Carlinville, IL, was shot down as he piloted a light plane between the Costa Rican and Nicaragua borders. The circumstances surrounding this incident are not clear. The Nicaraguan Government has claimed that he violated their airspace and charged that he was carrying materials that suggest he was involved in some illicit activity. We have not heard Mr. Denby's side of the story.

Today at 5 p.m. I will be meeting with the Ambassador from Nicaragua in my office. I will request in the strongest terms possible that Mr. Denby be given access as quickly as possible to representatives of the U.S. Government from the Embassy in Managua. Whatever the charges against

Mr. Denby, he is entitled to fair and humane treatment. Denying Mr. Denby access to the American Embassy staff is inconsistent with the most basic principles of justice.

"GOOD VIBES" FOR GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV

(Mr. DORNAN of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Speaker, this is a true story. The Soviet Embassy asked the U.S. Information Agency to send over two American films for late night viewing at the embassy. I guess General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his lovely wife Raisa are working off adrenalin, as most tourists do, and are staying up late. The films were "Top Gun," produced by one of our major studios, and "Platoon," an independent film. I understand they did not like the ending of "Top Gun." They did like the ending of "Platoon."

The General Secretary said yesterday he would like some "good vibes" from our House of Representatives. Well, I will give him some good vibes, after I point out that we just had a press conference about children from Afghanistan who are missing arms, burned over their bodies, with terrible scarring from the vicious Soviet aggression in Afghanistan.

The good vibes are these: this Member will not in 3 or 4 years object to the General Secretary standing up there and addressing a joint session of Congress if about 400,000 Jews and Pentacostals are out of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Army is no longer in Afghanistan.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Hallen, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 3319. An act for the relief of Susan A. Sampeck.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 2700. An act making appropriations for energy and water development for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1988, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 2700) "An act making appropriations for energy and water development for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1988, and for other purposes," and requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. STENNIS, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. SASSER, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. MCCLURE, Mr. GARN, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. DOMENICI, and Mr. SPECTER, to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that Mr. INOUYE, Mr. MELCHER, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. EVANS, Mr. MURKOWSKI, and Mr. MCCAIN be appointed conferees, on the part of the Senate, on the bill (H.R. 5), "An act to improve elementary and secondary education, and for other purposes," for the consideration of title XI.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION ACT OF 1987

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 293 and rule XXIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill, H.R. 3100.

□ 1528

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 3100) to authorize international security and development assistance programs and Peace Corps programs for fiscal years 1988 and 1989, and for other purposes, with Mr. AUCOIN in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee of the Whole rose on Wednesday, December 9, 1987, title VIII was open for amendment at any point.

Subject to clause 6 of rule XXIII, 36 minutes were remaining on debate on all amendments printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on or before November 10, 1987.

Are there further amendments to title VIII?

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] is recognized for 5 minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry, but I was engaged in conversation. Did I understand the Chair to state that 36 minutes are left under the rule?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that 36 minutes remain under the rule.

Mr. FASCELL. I thank the Chair. That means, then, that after that we will move, pursuant to the rule, to consider those amendments that are printed in the RECORD and which may be offered, with 10 minutes of debate; am I correct in that?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state to the gentleman that that is correct.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, we are now on title VIII, and we are proceeding as rapidly and as hard as we can to work out satisfactory understandings with respect to amendments that are printed in the RECORD. If we can do that, we have an outside chance that we might get finished with this bill today, although there are still several other titles in the bill.

I just want to ask my colleagues to bear with us. We are doing the best we can under the most unusual circumstances, I think, that anybody has ever faced in bringing a bill to the floor of the House. But that is not our fault, and it is not the fault of the leadership. It is just that sometimes, unfortunately, the way we operate around here, or the way we have to operate.

So Members may be seeing too much of us or seeing more of us than they would like, but we are doing our best.

As far as the funding levels on this bill are concerned, I want to remind Members that this bill is significantly below the 1987 authorization and the appropriation level, as well as below the President's request. I want to repeat that. This bill is $1.133 billion below the President's request for fiscal year 1988. It is $574 million below the fiscal year 1987 freeze level, and it is nearly $2 billion below the 1987 authorization levels.

Therefore, this bill—if we continue in the fashion that we have, and I believe we will—is totally consistent with the cap that was placed on the fiscal year 1988 foreign affairs spending by the budget agreement in the so-called summit between the President and the Congress.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FASCELL. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I just want to ask this question of the gentleman: It is my understanding from a review of the budget resolution that it is fair and accurate to state that no function of Government has been cut more than the 150 function on foreign assistance and foreign relations, with the exception of the elimination of general revenue sharing, since the passage of Gramm-Rudman; is that correct?

Mr. FASCELL. The gentleman is absolutely correct. We have provided more out of this account for other programs of Government than from any other account.

Even with these budget restraints, Mr. Chairman, that I just mentioned, this is below the President's request, it is below the 1987 authorization, it is below the appropriation level, and it is below freeze levels. In spite of all that,

we have managed a readjustment, and this has been worked out in a bipartisan fashion.

I also want to note that we have provided $400 million in additional funding for base rights countries.

□ 1150

We have provided funding in a fashion for Africa so that it does not squeeze other countries in the same account.

We have also managed to increase funding for child survival and the Peace Corps Program.

We have fully funded the President's request for antiterrorism and antinarcotics efforts.

We have fully funded the Camp David peace process and other arrangements which I am sure my colleagues of both parties will find very satisfactory.

We have done the best we know how to meeting the budget constraints that this country faces and still maintain the absolutely vital and essential elements of our foreign aid program to provide for the security interests of this country, our economic interests, and humanitarian concerns.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I hope that my colleagues will continue in the spirit we have up until today to go through the rest of this bill and that they will then be in a position to support it.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BURTON OF INDIANA

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

Mr. LELAND. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point of order on the Burton amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. LELAND] reserves a point of order on the amendment.

The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BURTON of Indiana: Page 201, after line 8, insert the following:

SEC. 830. PROHIBITION ON ASSISTANCE TO THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

(a) PROHIBITION.—None of the funds authorized to be appropriated by this or any other Act may be used to support, directly or indirectly, activities of the African National Congress.

(b) WAIVER.—Subsection (a) may be waived by the President if he certifies to the Congress that—

(1) the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress has taken a stand publicly and officially opposing the practice of "necklacing", the practice of execution by fire, used against South African blacks;

(2) members of the South African Communist Party no longer hold key positions on the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress; and

(3) the African National Congress no longer receives its primary financial, military, and training support from the Soviet Union or other Communist countries listed in section 620(f) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, this is a straightforward amendment. It is essentially the same as an amendment that was passed by this House by a vote of 365 to 49 after it was accepted by the chairman of the Africa Subcommittee last year.

Since it was an amendment to H.R. 4868, the Anti-Apartheid Act, rather than the Dellums substitute which ultimately passed this House, it is not on the books now. It is, however, still necessary because the administration has requested $25 million for disadvantaged South Africans in fiscal year 1988.

The Anti-Apartheid Act carefully stipulates that none of the money in this program be used or directed by the South African Government.

This amendment stipulates with equal care that none of the money in this bill go to the African National Congress, as long as it has South African Communist Party members holding key positions on its executive committee, and so long as it will not officially denounce the act of "necklacing," and receives its primary financial and military support from the Soviet bloc.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we have adequate evidence that the African National Congress Executive Committee is controlled by the South African Communist Party and its members, and we have a number of quotes to back that up.

In February 1986, Winnie Mandela, a board member, said:

The Soviet Union is a torchbearer for all our hopes and aspirations. In Soviet Russia genuine power of the people has been transformed from dreams into reality.

Alfred Nzo, in the Kommunist in 1986 on page 79 said:

The CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) is the bulwark of peace on earth.

On April 13, 1986, Winnie Mandela said:

With our necklaces—

That is putting a tire around people's necks filled with gasoline and burning them to death—

With our necklaces, we shall liberate this country.

Again, Johnny Makatini, on October 9, 1986, said:

If there were 4 million of us (black South Africans) left (out of 17 million) after the revolution, that would be better than the present situation.

Winnie Mandela said in TASS, the Soviet organ, on February 18, 1986:

I have waited four long years to personally send my militant salute to the land of the Soviets and thank it for its fraternal support.

Mr. Speaker, nothing in this amendment should imply that we are deliberately aiding or that aid has been requested for the ANC, just as the stipulations in the Anti-Apartheid Act do not imply that we are aiding the South African Government.

I truly hope that the ANC will turn to the peaceful non-Communist organization that it was through much of its long and distinguished history. Unfortunately, the ANC is not the same organization that it was when it was founded on January 8, 1912.

As Dr. Michael Radu writes in the July-August issue of problems of Communism:

(The ANC) has changed from a semi-nationalist organization dedicated to the pursuit of civil and political rights for South Africa's blacks, to a "vanguard" type organization with strong Marxist/Leninist elements . . . operating on Leninist principles . . . and pursuing goals that are congruent with Soviet Union foreign policy objectives.

Mr. Speaker, this is a straightforward and commonsense amendment. It was accepted by the chairman on the House floor and passed the House overwhelmingly with the support of the majority of this committee. I ask for its adoption.

POINT OF ORDER

Mr. LELAND. Mr. Chairman, I raise a point of order against the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. LELAND. The point of order has to do with germaneness, Mr. Chairman. The gentleman's amendment goes a lot farther beyond the purview of the responsibility of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and thus also the parameters of the bill itself that we are debating here. It reaches the interest of other agencies that are not within the jurisdiction of the consideration of this legislation at this time, and therefore it is nongermane to the arguments that we pursue here today.

Also Mr. Chairman, the amendment that the gentleman has offered goes a lot farther than any other amendment that has been offered here today. It is much broader, the scope of which is too far reaching to be relevant to the discussions we have here today under the foreign aid bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Indiana wish to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I do.

I believe this is germane, because it directly impacts upon $25 million for disadvantaged South Africans which

are in this bill, and when you are talking about the allocation of spending of $25 million, it is germane on how it is spent. I think the people of the United States, the taxpayers, have a right to know that the money that they are spending, their taxpayers' dollars, are being spent by this bill or authorized by this bill as being spent for a purpose with which they agree, and to support a Communist organization that is involved in terrorist activities is not what the American taxpayers want to see their money used for, so $25 million is involved in this particular amendment and I think it is germane and I ask for a favorable ruling from the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Texas wish to be heard further on the point of order?

Mr. LELAND. Just to make the point, Mr. Chairman, that the gentleman is correct, I am sure, in his statement, but he also forgets or did not state that this amendment also reaches out beyond what is being debated here today and covers other issues that would be covered under the purview of other legislative responsibilities, as well as other committee actions.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Indiana wish to be heard further?

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Yes, Mr. Chairman. One other comment.

This amendment was germane. It is almost exactly—in fact, it is exactly the same amendment that I mentioned before. This very amendment was passed by this body last year 365 to 49. There was no issue of germaneness at that time. I fail to see any reason for it to be raised today.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. AUCOIN). The Chair is prepared to rule.

The Chair would state that according to the Procedures of the House, and quoting from section 8, chapter 28, the following:

> * * * a bill authorizing appropriations for a particular program for 10 fiscal years, an amendment restricting authorizations under any act of Congress for any fiscal year contingent upon implementation of a plan to reduce spending under the bill was held not germane as not confined to the bill under consideration.

The Chair would note in reading that amendment of the gentleman from Indiana that the gentleman provides a prohibition on funds appropriated by this or any other act, and the Chair can find in no other instance in title VIII as amended where there is any similar prohibition.

For that reason, the Chair would rule that the gentleman's amendment goes beyond the scope of title VIII and is not germane. Therefore, the point of order is sustained.

Are there further amendments to title VIII?

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word. I had prepared an amendment that would establish a famine early warning signal, but because AID is contemplating installing and instituting such a program, I am not going to introduce my amendment.

Mr. Chairman, in the 99th Congress, the Science, Space, and Technology Subcommittee on Natural Resources, Agriculture Research and Environment, which I chair, held 5 days of hearings on the famine in sub-Saharan Africa.

Noted scientists told our panel that the drought which triggered the last terrible famine would surely come again. Unfortunately, recent reports indicate that their prophecy is coming true. But those experts also told us that the inevitable drought need not be accompanied by famine and human devastation.

With adequate advance warning, donor countries and aid agencies could mobilize and send emergency food supplies to targeted areas well in advance of famine. The experts told us that we have the technology to do precisely that.

By coordinating and integrating satellite-based observations with ground observations of health and demograhpic factors, we can identify with remarkable precision the areas vulnerable to famine.

Spurred by the last African famine, AID and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration developed a pilot project, the famine early warning systems [FEWS].

From all accounts, the FEWS program has already demonstrated the potential of an effective drought monitoring program. In 1986, for example, FEWS helped avert disaster in Mali by providing an accurate estimate of the total food needed to avoid starvation.

The new drought in Ethopia was likewise detected early by the FEWS system, enabling aid agencies to rush food supplies to the area in advance of widespread famine.

Unfortunately, as well known, those food supplies were destroyed by rebel troops in Ethopia. Drought monitoring is cost-effective.

Indeed, if the advance warning given by FEWS helps us avoid the need for even just one emergency food airlift, it would pay for itself.

At our hearings, several witnesses expressed concern about the future of the FEWS program. Many expressed concern that as the headlines of famine faded, the FEWS program would quietly succumb to budgetary pressures.

To be effective, of course, a monitoring program must be in place before a drought and famine occurs. Such programs must be supported at stable funding levels over a long period to be effective.

The amendment I have written would ensure that AID continues to support the FEWS program as a long-term program.

Mr. Chairman, in the last week, I have received assurances from AID that the FEWS program will continue to be fully supported in the Africa Bureau.

In fact, I understand that the program is being improved and implemented for at least a 5-year period. I have also been assured that the distinguished chairman of the Africa Subcommittee, Mr. WOLPE, shares my views about the importance of the FEWS program and will continue to ensure adequate support of this program at AID.

Mr. Chairman, in light of these assurances, it appears that my amendment is unnecessary and I will therefore withdraw my amendment.

The amendment reads:

Page 201, after line 8, insert the following:

SEC. 830. AFRICA DROUGHT MONITORING PROGRAM.

The President shall establish an interagency drought monitoring program which integrates satellite, meteorological, agricultural, health, and demographic information with respect to Africa in order to assess drought impacts, provide quantitative assessments of food production and food aid needs, and minimize food supply problems caused by drought in Africa. Not later than September 30 of each year, the President shall submit to Congress a report evaluating this program's success in monitoring and predicting severe regional drought and food problems in Africa.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SOLOMON

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SOLOMON: Page 166, strike out lines 7 through 15; line 16, strike out "(n)" and insert in lieu thereof "(m)"; page 167, line 21, strike out "(o)" and insert in lieu thereof "(n)"; and page 168, line 3, strike out "(p)" and insert in lieu thereof "(o)".

Mr. SOLOMON (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, the committee bill establishes a new fund for Africa. One of the provisions in this new fund that especially concerns me is that the "buy America" requirement in the overall Foreign Assistance Act has been waived, and all of you on that side of the aisle, as well as this side of the aisle, should pay particular attention to this. It waives the Buy America Act.

Now, section 604(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 requires as a general rule that funds made available for foreign assistance may be used for the procurement of goods and services outside the United States only if the President determines that such procurement will not result in adverse effects upon the economy of the United States of America.

Now, specifically, the law encourages the use of American companies in providing goods and services that are furnished as part of foreign aid. That is existing law today.

The law provides a waiver for the President to use if he determines that a waiver would not disadvantage the United States and only—repeat, only—

if the price is lower than the market price prevailing in the United States.

The effect of the provision in this bill is permit, indeed specify, that no such consideration shall apply with regard to this new Africa fund.

I am not questioning the $450 million here. I am questioning the "buy America" clause.

The bill establishes 450 million dollars' worth of new spending without any requirement that preference be given to U.S. companies, U.S. business, and without the requirement that prices be lower than those for U.S. goods and services. That just does not make any sense.

Mr. Chairman, at a time when the Congress is vitally concerned with the trade deficit, I hardly think this is the occasion to take away as much as $400 million, a half billion dollars, in money spent at home and divert it to spending in other countries.

I will point out, too, in this connection that the committee bill does not require the money to even be spent in Africa. It could be spent anywhere else. That ought to concern some of you on that side of the aisle, too.

So I would just conclude by saying to my good friends in the House, and particularly to my good chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, particularly those on the other side of the aisle, that if you like the Torricelli amendment on cargo preference that you all voted for not too long ago, and I supported you, you will love the Solomon amendment on "buy America."

I would urge your support for it.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

□ 1205

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. DYMALLY].

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Chairman, it was my intention to speak on the question of SWAPO but in the interest of time I would like to defer back to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE], the chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa.

Mr. Chairman, I had planned to introduce an amendment which proposed to remove SWAPO, the South West Africa People's Organization, from a list of organizations of which a proportionate share of United States funding to the U.N. would be withheld if the U.N. project would benefit SWAPO.

At this point, my decision not to offer the amendment, is based on my belief that the Members of this body have not had the chance to learn about ther everyday reality of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, and the struggle of its people to attain their freedom.

Let us consider the facts. Namibia was invaded by South Africa in 1915, and from that day on, the hateful regime of apartheid has imposed itself on the population. Blacks and whites live in separate and unequal societies. Blacks have almost no rights in their own country. They live in the poorest of conditions while the white minority occupies the land which legitimately belongs to the black majority. Such stark inequities confirm the very existence of such a discriminatory system. Figures show that, of the 1,600,000 citizens, 95 percent are black Africans. The remaining 5 percent, and an estimated 100,000 South African troops, constitute the white minority. Within the black majority, the annual per capita income is a mere $150, as compared to whites who average an annual $3,750.

As in any situation where oppression prevails, eventually people rise against their oppressor. The South West Africa Peoples Organization [SWAPO], after the failure of passive resistance to accomplish the liberation of its people, resorted to waging a war of independence against South Africa, for over 20 years now. This war of independence came in response to the intensified oppression of its members and people, by the South African facade of a government. SWAPO's approach and intent, are very similar to what our forefathers had to confront in America, over 200 years ago, to liberate themselves from the yoke of British colonialism.

South Africa, frustrated by its inability to break the will of the Namibian people, has killed many civilians supporting SWAPO while torturing and imprisoning many others. To justify such barbaric acts, South Africa claims it is combating communism through its allegations that SWAPO is a "Marxist backed terrorist" organization. Yet, the real reason lies with South Africa's economic and strategic interests in Namibia.

To South Africa, Namibia serves as a convenient vantage point from which to attack neighboring countries supporting antiapartheid activities. Also, a fear exists that if Namibia were to liberate itself from South Africa's occupation, it could easily serve as a haven to those victims of apartheid seeking refuge from South Africa. South Africa also fears that if Namibia gains independence, it would require the removal of all South African companies and the eventual cessation of mining for precious resources, and subsequently a loss of profit would be incurred by South Africa.

Obviously, these are very concrete and profitable reasons for South Africa to continue its tyranny over Namibia. Therefore, allowing South Africa to continue its illegal occupation of Namibia sets us in collusion with apartheid, and it is counter to the spirit of the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, and contributes to the obstruction of freedom and democracy in Namibia.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to insert into the RECORD the following statements by church groups giving us the facts about Namibia and a record, though by no means all inclusive, of atrocities which take place on a daily basis in Namibia.

DATELINE: NAMIBIA

WHAT IS NAMIBIA?

Namibia is a land in the southern part of Africa along the western coast. Although the country is very large—about the size of California, Oregon and Washington State combined—its people number less than 2 million. This is because much of Namibia is desert and cannot support a large population. Still, the land is blessed with vast riches. Along Namibia's shores is the largest diamond mine in the world. Inland are great deposits of valuable minerals, such as uranium and copper. Many tons of fish are taken each year from Namibia's coastal waters, and Namibian farmers raise cattle and Karakul sheep, prized for their soft and beautiful wool. Yet despite the bounty of the land, Namibia's people are among the poorest in the world.

WHO LIVES THERE?

Most Namibians are black. Before the coming of Europeans in the 1800s, many Namibians made their living from the land. In the fertile north, where most people still live, the main occupation was farming. Farther south, where there is less, water, many Namibians raised cattle for meat and milk. Other lives as fishers and hunters.

Namibians developed their own rich and distinctive lifestyle and culture—music, art, dance, moral and spiritual values and beliefs—along with forms of government suited to their lives and needs. At the heart of Namibian life was the family. Many people lived in great homesteads called kraals. Sometimes kraals grew to include dozens of people, because in Namibia, even distant cousins, aunts and uncles were always welcome.

ARE THERE LUTHERANS IN NAMIBIA?

It was with such traditional hospitality that Namibians greeted the first European visitors to their country, welcoming and sometimes conducting a brisk business with these strangers, swapping cattle, produce and locally made goods for European-made tools, firearms and other products. Lutheran missionaries were among the first white people to live permanently in Namibia, bringing with them not only their Christian faith, but also schools, health care and modern technology. Many Namibians were favorably impressed with the missionaries and their teachings, and by the opportunities for education and employment that they offered, and decided to become Christians themselves. Today, 70 percent of all Namibians are Christians, some 600,000 of them Lutherans. Part of the Lutheran Church in America's special concern for Namibia comes from our shared faith and from contacts between North American and Namibian Lutherans over many years.

But many of the changes that whites brought to Namibia were not for the better. For the whites came not only to live and work in Namibia, but also to rule. Today, Namibians are not able to choose their government, vote for the political party of their choice or freely speak their minds. Instead, for the past 100 years Namibians have been ruled by foreign invaders, first from Germany and later from white-ruled South Africa. Foreign rule began in the 1880s, when German soldiers arrived to make Namibia part of the German empire. Under this colonial rule the Namibian people were driven off their ancestral lands and forced to work as virtual slaves for the Germans. The Namibians fought bravely to defend their land and liberty, but could not match the powerful machine guns and cannons of the colonizers. In 1906 the Germans nearly exterminated the entire Herero people of central Namibia in a bloody campaign to crush resistance to colonial rule. (Much the same fate was suffered by the indigenous peoples of our own lands, Native Americans and Native Canadians, at the hands of the invading Europeans.)

In 1915, South African soldiers invaded Namibia and threw out the German colonizers. A few years later, the United States and other Western nations agreed to let South Africa rule Namibia after its government promised to promote "to the utmost the material well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants." South Africa further pledged to prepare Namibians to become a truly free and independent country, a pledge known as a "sacred trust of civilization." But it was to be a promise broken, a trust betrayed. Instead of freedom, the Namibians and the Western countries soon discovered that they had only exchanged one oppressor for another.

WHAT IS APARTHEID ANYWAY?

For with South African rule came South Africa's system of legalized racial discrimination, a system now known as the doctrine of apartheid. (In the Afrikaans language, apartheid—pronounced "apart-hate"—means "separateness" or "apart-ness.") Under apartheid laws, blacks and whites must always live apart in separate and unequal societies. Only whites may vote and exercise political rights. In Namibia, the new rulers declared that whites alone would own the fertile land and minerals of Namibia. Thousands of black Namibians were driven from their homes in the newly declared "white" areas by the army and police, and forced to live far from jobs, school, churchs and store in blacks-only ghettos and rural reserves.

Under South Africa's race laws everything in Namibian life became segregated—housing, health care, jobs, even church services. It became illegal, for instance, for Namibians working in the mines and factories to move permanently to the white areas, forcing thousands of Namibian husbands and fathers to abandon their families in the countryside and travel far away to work—living in overcrowed, men-only barracks that became breeding grounds for alcoholism, violence and despair. Namibian workers were prevented from joining labor unions and were not allowed to bargain for decent wages and working conditions. As a result, wage for blacks were far lower than those paid whites, and poverty, malnutrition and suffering became their fate.

ARE SCHOOLS SEGREGATED TOO?

A special, inferior kind of education was developed for black students—an education designed to teach only obedience and servitude toward the white masters. Under this system nearly eight times as much money is spent on each white student as is spent on blacks. The shortage of classrooms, books and teachers in black schools is so serious that today only one black student in five is able to attend school at all. Such is the injustice of South African rule in Namibia.

SWAPO? WHAT'S THAT?

In 1959, some Namibians decided to seek the end of South African rule. They formed a group that soon became known as SWAPO, the South West Africa Peoples Organization, to bring Namibians together to work peacefully for freedom. But South Africa responded to Namibian pleas for liberation with greater repression—arresting political leaders, disrupting peaceful marches and meetings, and giving the police vast powers to harass and intimidate even peaceful advocates for justice.

For all of these reasons, the United Nations revoked South Africa's right to rule Namibia in 1966. A few years later, the World Court ruled that South African occupation of Namibia was illegal and ordered them to leave. South Africa refused. It was the refusal of South Africa to obey international law that finally forced SWAPO to take up arms to win their independence, just as England's thirteen American colonies did in 1776. And, despite the power of the South African army. SWAPO's war continues to this day, nearly 20 years later.

The South African army, unable to defeat SWAPO on the battlefield, has turned its anger and frustration on the Namibian people. Many Namibian civilians have been killed by South African forces for supporting SWAPO. Some have been tortured, others have been arrested and held in secret prisons without ever coming to court or being charged with breaking the laws. The South African soldiers just take them away, sometimes for years.

WHAT DO CHRISTIANS SAY?

In the face of such injustice and suffering, it has fallen to Namibia's Christian churches to bear witness to the brutalities of South African rule and to act as a national voice for reconciliation, justice and independence. Working together as the council of Churches in Namibia, the country's main Christian churches—Lutheran, Catholic, Anglican, and Methodist—have called for an end to the war, for South African withdrawal from Namibia, for an end to all discriminatory laws and practices, and for free and fair elections under international supervision.

As a result of these actions, the Namibian churches have suffered great persecution at the hands of the South African authorities. Church leaders have been arrested and deported. Church services have been disrupted by South African soldiers, and pastors prevented from performing their pastoral duties. The Lutheran printing press has been "mysteriously" blown up twice, and church workers terrorized and even killed by South African soldiers.

In response to the appeals of the Namibian churches for prayers and actions in support of peace and freedom in Namibia, almost every nation and church denomination in the world has condemned South Africa's continuing hold on Namibia and its gross violations of the Namibian people's human and civil rights. There have been many efforts at the Untied Nations to punish South Africa with trade sanctions for its failure to obey international law.

WHY SHOULD WE CARE?

Why should Christians in North America be concerned about events in faraway Namibia? Isn't it one-sided, even hypocritical, to worry so much about Namibia when human rights are being violated in other countries throughout Africa, Latin America, and Asia—and right here at home, often in our own communities?

As Christians we are called to stand with the needy and persecuted without fear or favor, and to seek in word and deed an end to suffering and injustice for all of God's people. But North American Christians can find two clear reasons for a particular concern about Namibia.

The first is the tragedy of racial discrimination—a condition shared by Namibians and North Americans. As residents of the United States and Canada we have contributed to and suffered from the terrible burden of racism—the destruction of human lives, the violence, the indulgence of racial pride and hatred. We know, for example, that the legacy of legalized racism—thirty years after its abolition in the United States—continues to haunt that land, twisting the lives of its young, raising barriers among God's people, and challenging our most cherished ideals of liberty and justice for all.

Today, South Africa is the only nation in the world in which racism is the law of the land—a nation that enshrines racial injustice in its very constitution. South Africa has imposed this doctrine of white supremacy on the Namibian people and on its own black majority. This makes South Africa's a special challenge for North Americans who themselves have endured the agonies of racism, and who continue to seek an equality of opportunity and justice that knows no color or creed.

The second reason for Christians' special concern about Namibia is that the injustices inflicted on Namibian Christians are done in the name of Jesus Christ. South Africa's white rulers claims to be devout Christians. They say that the South African system of apartheid is based on Scripture. South Africa's Dutch Reformed Church, the main denomination of the ruling whites, was at the heart of apartheid's creation; maintains that separation of the races is the will of God; and refuses to recognize that the resulting poverty, oppression, and denial of black people's human rights is a travesty of what Christians believe to be God's will for all people.

Christians around the world reject the system of apartheid as contrary to God's teachings. The Lutheran World Federation, for example, has called apartheid a hersey. In 1977, LWF declared opposition to apartheid to be a matter of status confession is for all Lutherans; in 1984, it suspended the white South African and Namibian Lutheran churches from LWF membership for their continued practice of that evil doctrine. The same strong measures were taken against the South African and Namibian Dutch Reformed churches by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in 1982, after that body had also declared apartheid a heresy.

As Christians we accept responsibility for opposing injustice wherever it may occur. But where persons claim biblical justification for their crimes, many of us find a special obligation to speak out. This is why many Christians in North America feel particularly involved in the struggle for justice in southern Africa.

WHY WON'T SOUTH AFRICA LEAVE?

Why, then, does South Africa, whose government considers itself a Christian government, refuse to abide by law and morality and remain in possession of Namibia? Why does it spend over a billion dollars annually and risk having its vital trading links cut to rule an impoverished and peaceful people against their will? These are important questions, and the answers that South Africa gives—that their soldiers are fighting Soviet communism and preventing a takeover of Namibia by the Cuban-backed "terrorists" of SWAPO—are not convincing.

South Africa's white rulers have other reasons for wanting to stay in control of their Namibian colony. One reason is military. From Namibia, South African soldiers regularly attack other countries whose leaders support the South African and Namibian people in their struggle for justice. Another reason is geographic. Namibia can act as a "buffer" between South Africa and its independent neighbors, making it more difficult for the victims and opponents of the South African government to find sanctuary near South Africa's borders. Still another reason is economic. South Africa fears

that its companies may be prevented from continuing their profitable mining of Namibian uranium, diamonds and minerals after independence.

At times South Africa has tried to disguise its rule over Namibia by appointing its allies to political positions. In 1978, for example, a white Namibian rancher was appointed by the South African government to head a so-called Namibian government. It was rejected as a farce by the overwhelming majority of black Namibians and by nations around the world, and it soon collapsed. In 1985, South Africa tried once again to impose an undemocratic pro-apartheid government, the so-called Multi-Party Conference (MPC). When Namibians gathered to demonstrate peacefully in opposition to this maneuver, South African soldiers attacked with whips and clubs, injuring many of the protesters. As before, no other nation has accepted the MPC as the real government of Namibia, and the United States has declared South Africa's move "null and void."

Perhaps a greater reason for South Africa's refusal to heed Namibian pleas for independence is fear—fear that South Africa's own oppressed black majority will be encouraged in their own liberation struggle by Namibian freedom. South Africa's unjust white rulers fear that independence for Namibia will demonstrate to black South Africans that with courage and determination the South African army and police force can be defeated and freedom won. In a land where fewer than five million whites have absolute power over 22 million blacks, such an example could threaten white rule.

No, South Africa stays in Namibia not to fight communism, but to preserve its evil, whites-only political system at home.

BUT WON'T THE COMMUNISTS TAKE OVER?

SWAPO is not a political party with a fixed ideology, but a national liberation movement. That is, SWAPO membership is open to Namibians of all political and religious persuasions who oppose South Africa's colonial rule and are prepared to work for the establishment of democratic rights for all.

There are both communists and capitalists in SWAPO, as well as those with no allegiance to either ideology. SWAPO counts among its members Lutherans, Catholics, Anglicans and Methodists, black people and white people, men and women, the very young and the very old. Two hundred years ago another liberation movement, led by a man named George Washington, fought a war to end British colonial rule in America. Like SWAPO, the American revolutionary movement brought together all manner of patriotic Americans, including those with conflicting political and religious beliefs, to struggle for liberty.

It is true that SWAPO receives arms from the Soviet Union, but it is unfair to say that this makes SWAPO a tool of communism. As Namibia's church leaders point out, SWAPO turned to the East for help in its freedom struggle only after the Western democratic nations refused their support.

Today, support for Namibians in their struggle comes from every part of the globe. The Lutheran World Federation, for example, provides humanitarian assistance—food, clothing, schoolbooks and medicines—to Namibian refugees who have fled their homes to escape the terror of South African rule. There are large Christian congregations and regular worship services in SWAPO's refugee camps, and Lutherans in SWAPO's guerrilla army.

Namibia's Christian churches, like our own, support no political parties or ideologies, but they defend SWAPO against accusations of communism because SWAPO has made only one political demand of the South African government—that it allow Namibians to determine their own political destiny through fair, free, and internationally supervised elections.

WHAT IS THE UNITED STATES DOING?

What has our government done to help the Namibian people achieve their liberty? This is a question many Namibians are asking, because in 1978 the United States, Canada and three other Western countries promised to use their great influence with South Africa to achieve Namibia's independence under a plan for elections called United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

Sadly, it has been a promise unkept. Instead of freedom, in the years since 1978 the repression and killing of Namibians by the South African army have only grown worse, and freedom is nowhere in sight. The reason for this is not that our nation is powerless to change South African policy, but that it has chosen not to use that power. This is because the United States has put other concerns—including its $15 billion financial investment in South Africa, and global competition with the Soviet Union—ahead of Namibia's independence.

In 1981, for instance, America demanded that freedom for Namibia be linked to the removal of Cuban troops stationed in neighboring Angola—even though the Cubans are there at the invitation of the Angolan government and even though the Cuban soldiers are helping to defend Angola from South African attacks.

Namibians say this is unfair. Why, they ask, should their independence depend on what happens in some other country? Why should Namibians suffer and die because the United States and Angola disagree about an issue that is unrelated to Namibia and over which Namibians have no control?

Instead of pressing South Africa to leave Namibia, the United States, through this linkage, has given South Africa an excuse to stay.

ARE WE BEING FAIR?

Look at the difference between America's treatment of South Africa and Poland. When the Polish government outlawed the Solidarity trade union, America imposed strong economic sanctions on that courtry—cutting off trade, bank loans and sales of machinery, and calling on our allies to do the same.

But against South Africa, whose government has committed much worse crimes against black people in Namibia and within South Africa itself, the United States has done almost nothing. Until very recently, the United States government refused to put any economic pressures for change on South Africa. President Reagan finally agreed to put some weak restrictions on trade with South Africa but only after Congress threatened to impose stiffer penalties. Indeed, under the current administration, some earlier trade limits were dropped, and South Africa was allowed to increase the number of its diplomats here and even send its military personnel to the United States for training. At the United Nations, the United States continues to use its veto powers to prevent the world body from imposing strong economic sanctions against apartheid, ensuring that South Africa goes unpunished for its crimes and is under no real international pressure to change its racist policies.

This situation has left Namibian church leaders angry and confused. How can the United States, the leader of the free world and champion of democracy, they ask, defend South Africa in its occupation of Namibia? Why does the United States have one standard for human rights in Poland and another for human rights in Namibia? Could it be because the victims of Polish oppression are white, while South Africa's victims are black? And if the United States is so concerned about communism, they ask, why do they force the Namibian people to turn to the East for help in the struggle to liberate their country?

WHAT CAN I DO?

As individuals and as church and community groups, there is much that we can do to express our concern for Namibia and our solidarity with the Namibian people. The first is to learn more about Namibia and South Africa, and about apartheid. There are excellent films, books, magazines and newsletters available, many of which can be obtained for no charge through the church. These can help you to become an effective and well-informed advocate for Namibian freedom in your community.

PRAY FOR NAMIBIANS

Again and again, Namibians say, "Please. Pray for us. Remember us in your prayers." How often does anyone in your congregation offer a petition for Namibia? It is one important thing you can do.

WORK WITH AND FOR NAMIBIANS

Many thousands of Namibians have fled the terror and oppression of South African rule for a life of hardship and exile in neighboring countries. Conditions for Namibian refugees are extremely difficult. They have asked their sisters and brothers in North America and Europe for food, clothing, school books, medicines, tools and building materials. As a way of informing yourself and others, and as a way of gathering contributions, you might sponsor a Namibia evening in your church or community with a speaker or film and a discussion period. There are many Namibian students studying in North America—some at Lutheran colleges. They are eager to meet young Americans and to share their lives and experiences under colonial occupation. Your study group or congregation might sponsor a visit by a Namibian student to learn first hand about the injustices of life in Namibia.

BECOME AN ADVOCATE

In Namibia and South Africa it is against the law for black people to advocate and work for their freedom. Many books, magazines, and films about the plight of black South Africans and Namibians—even church publications—are banned in those countries. The white authorities hope that in this way, Americans will never hear black people's cries for freedom. But by becoming an advocate for justice in your community, you can make sure that the voices of the Namibian and South African people will be heard. Let the President and your representatives in Congress or Parliament know of your concern for Namibia. In May 1985, Colorado Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder introduced a bill in the U.S. House of Representatives, H.R. 2589, that would end the mining of Namibia's natural resources by U.S. companies until the day of independence. Find out how your representatives plans to vote on this bill, and whether

or not he/she supports effective pressures on South Africa to leave Namibia.

Press your state and local government officials to support Namibian and South African freedom. Are your state and municipal pension funds and tax monies being used to support South Africa? Are local businesses selling South African and Namibian products? Does your bank make loans to South Africa? If the answer to any of these questions is yes, then you can join with others to end these ties to injustice. Working together, we can make a difference in the struggle to free Namibia!

WHAT ARE LUTHERANS DOING?

Lutherans in the United States are working closely with government officials and with their Namibian brothers and sisters to find answers to these troubling questions. In Washington, Lutheran advocates have focused the attention of Congress and the State Department on the plight of the Namibian people under South African rule, and have called on our government to take effective steps to bring Namibia to independence under the international blueprints for free elections contained in United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

Within the church, the LCA and the ALC, together with Lutheran World Ministries and other concerned church groups, have created educational and advocacy resources for use by synods and congregations. The LCA has endorsed the principle of economic pressure on South Africa as one way to help achieve Namibian independence, including the sale of stocks in U.S. businesses operating in South Africa. In 1982, the LCA's biennial convention declared such a divestment strategy to be "an option effective in publicly expressing solidarity with the people opposed to apartheid in Namibia and South Africa." The church has sold some of its stock in these companies and has tried to persuade other companies to end their presence there, as, in the view of many, U.S. and foreign companies strengthen South Africa in its control of Namibia and in its unjust policies at home.

Individually, many Lutherans are active in efforts to persuade state and municipal governments to divest, and in campaigns to provide humanitarian assistance to Namibian refugees.

Internationally, through the Lutheran World Federation, the World Council of Churches and ecumenical agencies like the Namibia Communications Centre in England, Lutherans stay in touch with their Namibian brothers and sisters, sharing in their brave witness for justice, and helping to ease the burden of persecution and oppression.

ATROCITIES IN NAMIBIA

Martha Jona and three of her sons between ages 9 to 15 are seriously wounded after five drunk soldiers reportedly opened fire on the family car (Sept. 1). The eldest son, Gabriel Jona, 19, said he was driving the car and narrowly escaped injury. The four victims were treated at Onandjokwe Hospital. (Nam)

Zambian citizen Isimwaa Walubita is released from detention in Namibia after being held for eight days by South African soldiers. The Zambian Daily Mail quoted Walubita as saying that he was beaten and tortured with electric shocks. Walubita, who had legally entered the territory, said he was released only after his captors were convinced that no knowledge of SWAPO bases in Zambia.

Reports are published concerning the detention of 160 children, mostly teenagers, held at an army camp near Grootfontein Township near the Angolan border (Sept. 4). The newspaper report cited sources who allege that the youth, all boys, were dressed in army clothes. Some of the boys were shackled with chains on their arms and feet. A SWATF spokesman denied knowledge of the alleged training camp. (Nam)

The family doctor of detained SWAPO leader Daniel Tjongarero is denied access to him after Tjongarero undergoes surgery for a kidney ailment (Sept. 8). Also denied visiting rights were family members of Tjongarero who was hospitalized a week earlier after being jailed on August 18 along with other ranking SWAPO and union leaders. (Nam, NCC)

Johannes Gottlieb files a complaint with the Ovambo Administration, a tribal governing body, that Koevoet men arrived at his home in the Oshigambo area, ostensibly searching for SWAPO insurgents (Sept. 10). He said his home was ransacked, furniture was damaged and the front fence was destroyed. Gottlieb said when the soldiers returned several days later to collect the poles from the fence, his house was set on fire. (Nam)

Maria Isak reports a similar incident, saying that her fence was downed with a large road grader (Sept. 15). In a related incident, Johannes Anakali, a ranking member of the tribal administration, says his house was searched, property stolen and an explosive device planted near the cattle path of his farm. Anakali said he has been subjected to repeated searches since 1984. He said incidents were reported to the nearby Oshivelo base, but the culprits were never brought to justice. Residents of the area meet to address the presence of South African soldiers (Sept. 18). They conclude that the unwarranted house searches for SWAPO insurgents are a pretext, and they call for the withdrawal of South African military forces from the area. (Nam)

Lawyers of Frederika Gideon, a 67-year-old northern Namibian woman confirm that they have filed a suit against the Ovambo tribal Administration (Sept. 11). Mrs. Gideon alleged that she was held over night at the Ohanguena base where she was severely beaten. She reportedly suffered three broken ribs and was treated at the Oshakati Hospital. (Nam)

Residents of the Okahao village lodge complaints of being assaulted and threatened by soldiers from Battalion 911 who they reportedly described as "on the rampage". Jafet Pelema, 27, the owner of a small tavern, said he was visited by drunken soldiers who demanded that he show identification and guns (Sept. 13). Pelema said when he replied that he had no gun, the soldiers beat him until he was nearly unconscious. Pelema said that one of the soldiers used a mortar to assault him on his stomach. (Nam)

In that same complex, the soldiers reportedly stripped themselves nude. They proceeded to bathe in pails of water belonging to residents who complained that they had laboriously collected the water and was distressed to see it wasted.

Other reports were filed by residents and prominent community leaders of the Ongandjera region including the pastor of the Lutheran Church at Okahao who showed reporters walls riddled with bullet holes. The hospital has also been hit. However, officials decided to reinforce the windows with protective grills to ensure that bullets would not hit patients. (Nam)

A series of massive explosive devices are detonated at the Roman Catholic Church at Ombalantu in northern Namibia, totally desecrating the structure and causing damage estimated in the tens of thousands of rands (Sept. 20). No one was hurt in the bombing which occurred only a few hours after the Sunday mass. SWATF blamed the bombing on SWAPO, however, church leaders and local residents firmly rejected that claim, stopping short of pointing to the nearby South African police headquarters. (Nam, NCC).

Barnabus Tjizu, a leader of the National Union of Namibian Workers files a complaint after being jailed for 12 hours with out food with 14 hardened criminals in what South African authorities call a case of mistaken identity (Sept. 21). Tjizu, returning to Namibia from a trade union conference in Zimbabwe, was arrested at the airport in Johannesburg. Police said they wrongly believed Tjizu to be a SWAPO member or a member of the Coalition of South African Trade Unions. (Nam)

The South African-installed Windhoek government force, some 4,000 men living in single sex hostels in Katatura to vacate the premises in preparation of demolition of the facilities (Sept. 30). Officials issued a public statement that lumber and building materials could be taken, leading to widespread looting of personal property and clashes between township residents and the men who resided in the hostels. The evictions leave homeless most of the men who will be forced to stay in crowded dwellings in the township, which South Africa has divided along ethnic lines. Others will be forced to return to barren rural regions. (Nam)

SWAPO's Lusaka office confirms that Eliazer Tuhadeleni and his wife Pricilla have gone into exile (Sept. 27), joining the estimated 75,000 Namibians who have been forced to live outside of the country. Tuhadeleni, a veteran SWAPO member, left Namibia shortly after his release from prison. During his 18-year prison term, Tuhadeleni had been severely tortured and beaten. (Nam).

CHURCHES IN NAMIBIA APPEAL AND FIGHT FOR ONLY ONE THING: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 435

Statement by Bishop Kleopas Dumeni at the Lutheran World Federation Executive Meeting in Munich, July 1986. Bishop Dumeni is head of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia, the country's largest church body with 380,000 members.

Honourable Mr. Chairman, it always pleases me whenever the issue of Namibian independence is placed on the table for discussion. Quite often I am haunted by the feeling that it has been put aside and forgotten. This kind of feeling becomes a temptation that drives a Namibian to a sense of hopelessness. The situation of unending warfare in Namibia does have a tremendously bad effect upon the whole work and ministry of the Church.

Hence, I am herewith heartily expressing thanks and gratitude to all the friends of Namibia.

You have heard much in the news about events in South Africa. I want to describe to you the situation in Namibia last month.

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Killings of people in cold blood, beatings, throwing people in jail, destruction of properties, torturing people with electric shocks, bomb blasts on roads and other cruel oppressive measures have made the situation

during June even far more worse and dangerous than it was in May.

Here are some sentiments expressed by many grassroot Namibians in the parishes which I visited from June 15th-21st, 1986. Both pastors, lay Church workers and parishioners have expressed themselves in the following terms:

"These past two weeks we have more people killed in such a short period than ever before. Throughout our region people are being molested and beaten up by members of the South African Defense Forces (SADF). On our way to Church on Sundays, never mind whether one travels by car, bicycle or on foot, we are being stopped by the S.A. Army Soldiers for the duration of the Church services—some being beaten up and others given electric shocks reportedly as the SADF try to extract some information regarding the whereabouts of SWAPO guerrillas from the local community. Even during the night, nowadays, we are sleeping fully dressed up warmly, simply because the SADF keep on roaming in and around our dwelling houses and sleeping places armed with sticks, clubs, weapons and flash lights, forcing people to join them in the open fields. We are then being beaten up and, worst of all, if one is caught undressed, you will have to endure and suffer terrible cold for the rest of the night. Our fences as well as crops are being trampled down and destroyed by heavy armoured vehicles. When pupils go home from boarding schools to be with their parents over the week-end, cars are being stopped on the way and pupils being beaten up. We are sick and tired on account of the cruel and barbaric treatment perpetrated by the South African army forces against us. We want peace. We want national elections to be conducted as soon as possible in order that this wave of sufferings may come to an end."

Thus says the Namibian people.

SOME NAMES OF PEOPLE KILLED OR BEATEN UP DURING JUNE, 1986:

Mr. Daniel Shifula has been forcefully abducted from his home at night. An explosive device was tied against his body which totally destroyed him to pieces. A lay Church worker, Mr. Samuel Namulo of Okahao has been abducted from his home by force at night and cold-bloodedly killed in the bush. Mrs. Hilja Daniel, the young wife of Johannes Hango of Uukwandongo, Okahao, was brutally shot to death in their house in broad day light. Mr. Lisias Tobias, a teacher from Afoti was killed in broad day light on his way home back from school. Two teachers, Mr. Salomo Tomas Hasheela and Mrs. Emilia Nghuumono of Endolo, died in a bomb blast on their way to school. Mr. Tertullianus Nafine was likewise also killed. In Windhoek newspapers reported an attempt on the life of Mr. Josuah Hoebeb, chairman of our United Lutheran Synod, which did not succeed. Almost every week the South African controlled SWABC announces the death of a number of SWAPO querrillas. Now and then it is also being reported that even the SADF has lost a number of its soldiers in contact with the forces of SWAPO. Oshakati, the main town in the North, has been attacked and properties destroyed. Mr. Paulus Ekandjo and Johannes Hamutwe were severely beaten up. I am not in a position to pinpoint in each and every case who was responsible for these killings, for I don't know who has done it all. For personal security reasons I also did not mention the names of those individuals who supplied me with this information. All I do know, for sure, is that those people were indeed either killed or beaten up. I just want to emphatically make it clear here that every murder committed in this way, every act of torture and beating, as well as every other threat or bodily harm perpetrated against whoever, is being perpetrated against an individual creature of God and as such cannot be condoned by us, as a Church. It is not good news to us at all, regardless of who actually committed these acts.

We do condemn outright these acts of naked violence. As a matter of fact, these killings are continuing to this day, simply because of the South African Government's refusal to sign a ceasefire agreement between her troops and those of SWAPO. In her constant refusal, South Africa is being fully supported by the American Government and other Western governments.

SPIRITUAL LIFE IN THE CHURCH

In the midst of this violence, the spiritual life of the Church is being recognized among her parishioners both in their words and in their prayers as they gather together around the Word of God as well as in their daily living out of the word. Their good Faith in coming together for worship is commendable. They freely express their thoughts and feelings in their prayers in the following terms:

"We know, we have sinned against our God. God has likewise turned against us." Hence they cry out to God: "God have mercy upon us and forgive us our sins."

There are Namibians both in jail and in exile. Many of them are even praying for their persecutors in order for them to repent, that their sins be forgiven and they be saved. On June 16, 1986, the special day of prayer for South Africa and Namibia, they did pray for the South African rulers to recognize and obey the will of God in order to bring an end to the senseless killings of people in South Africa and Namibia as soon as possible.

PREPARATION FOR INDEPENDENCE

Despite all these troubles and hardships, we are nevertheless continuing to prepare ourselves for independence. We are fully confident that the day of independence will be coming. Hence in anticipation thereof, we ask all friends of Namibia to assist us in making ourselves ready and better prepared for that day and time.

I do herewith plead for many more Namibians both, from inside and from exile outside the country, to be granted scholarships. I would sincerely like to commend the Lutheran Churches and Colleges in the USA for their goodwill towards Namibia in deciding freely to increase the number of enrollment of Namibian students at American Colleges and Universities. I urge our friends to start up and continue with some vital development projects inside Namibia, through the churches, including leadership training and development of personnel projects and to draw up some contingent plans of rebuilding and reconstructing the country soon after independence.

As a result of the warfare situation in the region, Churches in both Namibia and South Africa have got a tremendously difficult and hard task after a just peace, namely the work of reconciliation. Reconciliation and mutual forgiveness will be badly needed in Namibia as well as in South Africa.

The South African government is infected by the evil policy of apartheid. It needs to be liberated, the sooner the better. It is the South African government which delays the independence of Namibia by way of continually raising up unrelated and irrelevant pre-conditions since 1978, with the full support of her collaborators. It is a fact that what we do today will eventually effect the future whether positively or negatively. It will be right and beneficial for the coming generations, if we start building peace today. But if the government hard-heartedly continues with its brutal repression, beatings, mass arrests of innocent people and all kinds of violent measures in an attempt to save the status quo, then these things will make life hard for the coming generations by sowing the seed of unnecessary grudges and acts of violence in the future. Hence, I do have a special appeal requesting the South African Government to seriously take that fact and truth into consideration and heed to it. There is still a chance to achieve freedom and independence and to arrive at our goal peacefully by obeying and bending to the will of the majority in Namibia; which will only become known after the holding of a fair and free general election.

Hence, once again I would like to make it crystal clear to all here that: "Churches in Namibia, which are the voice of the voiceless and represent the overwhelming majority of the Namibian people, appeal for and request only one thing, i.e. the immediate implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 without any more further delays." That is all what we need and request. To secure this, therefore, we do need your consistent support in this noble effort, in order that Resolution 435 of the UNSC might be implemented with a minimum of delay. That means:

Being faithful to her divine mission, the Church is ever calling out for peace, actually demanding the immediate signing of a ceasefire between the South African Defence Forces and the SWAPO guerrillas. But the Church is calling for peace with justice, peace with self-determination. The Church cannot remain silent while people are suffering unjustly.

In conclusion, I would like to repeat what I said in Brussels last month:

"I am quite convinced that the independence of Namibia will be coming. Then we will share the same rights. Peace will prevail in Namibia. Blacks and whites will live together in peace and harmony. For we hold firmly this truth that all men are created equal. In this faith let us persevere in the struggle, praying together, working together and standing together, firmly believing and hoping that Namibia will be free one day and that peace, justice equality and human rights for all will be protected and safeguarded by law, where it now is being despised and violated. I am still fully convinced that truth and justice will eventually prevail. The day of Namibian independence is surely coming. I plead with you, act now, be with us so the day of freedom will be tomorrow!"

Jesus Christ is lord and He is our Peace.

HOUSE OF BISHOPS,
GENERAL CONVENTION OF
THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
Little Rock, AR, November 12, 1987.

Hon. MERVYN M. DYMALLY,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. DYMALLY: The House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church held its 1987 interim meeting at The Pheasant Run in St. Charles, Illinois, from September 25 until October 2. During this time, resolutions concerning the Arms Race and Nuclear Deterrence, Southern Africa, Namibia, South

Africa, Central America, and Fiji were adopted, each charging me to share the information contained therein with you.

As Secretary of the House, I relay these six resolutions to you. I urge you to examine each one and respond to all of them in a positive manner. Please be assured that the thoughts and prayers of all of the Bishops of the Episcopal Church are very much with you in your most important work in managing the affairs of our country.

Faithfully,

HERBERT D. NOVAN.

THE ARMS RACE, DISARMAMENT, AND NUCLEAR DETERRENCE

Resolved, That this House of Bishops, meeting in St. Charles, Illinois, commends the President of the United States and the Chairman of the U.S.S.R. for the steps taken in recent months toward an interim treaty to reduce the numbers of our respective intermediate nuclear weapons, thereby reducing the threat of nuclear war; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge President Reagan to continue to press these negotiations forward to a satisfactory conclusion; and to continue negotiations that a significant reduction may be had in strategic nuclear weapons; and be it further

Resolved, That we express our hope that such reductions in intermediate weapons is only the first step toward the ultimate and early abandonment of a strategy based on nuclear deterrence or mutually assured destruction; and be it further

Resolved, That we call on all our people to join us in holding before the world's leaders a vision of peace which does not depend on weapons of mass destruction or violence of any kind, but rather on the Salom of God; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the Secretary of this House to the President, the Secretary of State, and the Episcopal Representatives in both Houses of Congress.

Resolution adopted: 9/30/87.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Whereas, the Executive Council at its meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, June 16-19, drew specific attention to the enormous human and material needs in Southern Africa, in affirming The Lusaka Statement; therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Bishops

Pledges to uphold the work of the churches in the Frontline States in their prayers;

Expresses its solidarity with Bishops Sengulana and Manhique and the Church in Mozambique, the Christian Council of Angola, and the Church of the Province of Central Africa, as they minister to the victims of drought, starvation, and war;

Affirms the Executive Council action on The Lusaka Statement;

Urges businesses and corporations that have taken concrete measures to disinvest in South Africa to explore opportunities for creative investment in the Frontline States, through the Southern Africa Development Coordinating Council (SADCC);

Urges our government to provide the economic, political, and diplomatic support necessary to enable the Frontline States to decrease their dependence on South Africa; and

Directs copies of this Resolution to be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and Episcopal Members of Congress.

Resolution adopted: 9/30/87.

RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA

Whereas, next year, 1988, will mark the Tenth anniversary of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 calling on South Africa to withdraw its military and political occupation from Namibia, and

Whereas, the South African government has installed a so-called transitional government as a delaying tactic to avoid compliance with UN Security Council Resolution 435, and

Whereas, South Africa still perpetuates its repressive war waged by the South African Defense Forces against the people of Namibia, and

Whereas, the recent mine-workers strike at Tsumeb represents yet another sign of the frustration felt by the Namibian people over the tendency of the international community to regard their national crisis as a "foot-note" to the South African tragedy or some other crisis like the conflict in Angola, and

Whereas, the widespread destruction of church property, harassment, imprisonment, torture and killing of clergy and lay people in Namibia is perpetuated by the repressive war waged by the South African Defense Force and its surrogates;

Resolved, That the House of Bishops

Gives thanks to Almighty God for the courageous witness of the Right Reverend James Kauluma and the Church in Namibia in the struggle for human dignity, justice, and the liberation of Namibia;

Supports the proposal of the Anglican Primates and Bishops of Africa that the Lambeth Conference next year should appoint an "Imminent Persons Group" (an international mediation group) on Namibia;

Calls upon the Reagan Administration to abandon "linking" the UN Plan for the independence of Namibia to issues outside of the country which have no bearing on the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence;

Supports whatever initiatives the Presiding Bishop may take to assure that increased visibility and advocacy be given to the Namibian issue; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this Resolution be sent to Bishop Kauluma, the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and Episcopal members of Congress.

Resolution adopted: 9/30/87.

SOUTH AFRICA

Whereas, the struggle for justice in South Africa continues to demand the solidarity of this Church with Archbishop Tutu and all who struggle to dismantle the apartheid system and its injustices against black people in South Africa; and

Whereas, the Executive Council, at its meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, June 16-19, affirmed *The Lusaka Statement*, issued by a consultation in "The Churches' Search for Justice and Peace in Southern Africa," convened by the World Council of Churches; and

Whereas, countless South African children continue to be brutalized by the repressive apartheid government, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee in South Africa, estimating that over 1000 children under 18 are still in detention; and

Whereas, Archbishop Tutu has expressed particular anguish in the plight of South Africa's children, asking for support of the worldwide Church; and

Whereas, legislation is now before the United States Congress calling on the South African government to release all children held under the State of Emergency regulations; therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Bishops:

Affirms the Executive Council action on The Lusaka Statement and the declarations on South Africa and Namibia issued by the Pre-Lambeth Conference of Anglican primates and Bishops in Africa; and

Pledges its prayerful support for Archbishop Tutu and the people of South Africa, with special concern for the children being held; and

Condemns the victimization of the children at the hands of South Africa's police state; and

Urges the Bishops of the Church to press for the timely passage of legislation now before Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That we affirm the leadership of the Presiding Bishop in calling for continued American economic pressure to end apartheid; and

Request that copies of this resolution be sent to Archbishop Tutu, the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and Episcopal members of Congress.

Resolution adopted: 9/30/87.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Resolved, That the House of Bishops records its support for "The Central American Peace Agreement," signed on August 6-7, 1987, by the Presidents of the Republics of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. And be it further

Resolved, That the House of Bishops calls upon the Government of the United States to respond and support the continuing diplomatic efforts, and specifically those agreed upon by the five Central American countries, to bring a just, lasting, and peaceful solution to the suffering and bloodshed in Central America. And be it further

Resolved, That the House of Bishops does reaffirm its strong opposition to the continuing intervention by the United States Government in Nicaragua by providing funds for arms and the U.S. military personnel to train the Contra forces, and through the standing embargo that prevents Nicaragua from obtaining sufficient food, medical supplies, and other necessities through normal trade, and that the House of Bishops does reaffirm its strong opposition to the continuing Soviet and Cuban military intervention, which provides arms and military personnel to train the Armed Forces of the Nicaraguan government, both intervention serving to the continuation of the violence in that country and as a threat to any future peace in the region. And be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent by the Secretary of the House of Bishops to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, and to members of the Episcopal Congressional delegation.

Resolution adopted: 9/30/87.

Whereas, the recent Partners-in-Mission Consultation of the South Pacific Anglican Council, meeting in Fiji, witnessed the tragic aftermath of the May coup d'etat which overthrew the legitimate democratic government of that nation, placing in peril the civil and human rights of non-ethnic Fijians; therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Bishops commends the Anglican Church in Fiji for its great courage, virtually alone among the churches there, in speaking out in support of a pluralistic, multi-ethnic democracy; and be it further

Resolved, That the House of Bishops express its firm solidarity with the Rt. Rev. Jabez Bryce and the people of the Diocese of Polynesia in their ministry of reconciliation among the diverse ethnic groups in the nation of Fiji, assuring them of its prayers and support; and be it further

Resolved, That this House commend the Secretary of State for denouncing the military coup, calling for a return of a fully representative government and for urging a reconsideration of U.S. aid and policy toward Fiji pending the return of a legitimate elected government; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent by the Secretary to the President, the Secretary of State, and Episcopal members of Congress.

Resolution adopted: 9/30/87.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, first of all I want to commend the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON], my good friend, for the amendment that he is offering.

I certainly do support the thrust of the amendment. As he knows, I have supported virtually every buy-American provision sponsored in this body. I will not oppose his amendment, but it should be noted that the administration has raised some legitimate concerns in terms of this provision as it operates in foreign lands. Existing procurement restrictions are often very costly and hinder project implementation.

There have been times when American equipment has been provided but there is no supply network or delayed deliveries of equipment or spare parts have hampered the operations of projects. In some cases medicines for important village-level primary health care programs often come with doses written in English. I hope these technical concerns might be addressed in conference.

Having made that one reservation, I accept the amendment.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE], the chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, has been most reasonable on this issue, and I understand the hard work he has put into this effort. I just want to point out that there is waiver authority for the President but there is a long way to go between now and the time this bill passes the Senate and the time we confer, and I am certainly more than willing to work with the gentleman from Michigan. I do appreciate his concern.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON].

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there further amendments to title VIII?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SOLOMON

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SOLOMON: Page 190, strike line 22 and all that follows through page 192, line 20.

Mr. SOLOMON (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, this amendment concerns the establishment of a $50 million earmark in development assistance for the SADCC countries of South Africa. There are a number of problems with this idea, section 822 in the bill, so I have decided to go with an amendment that strikes the whole section.

First let me just say that a 4-year earmark is very, very presumptuous. In fact it may well be as unprecedented as it is presumptuous. It suggests a reluctance to consider this issue on its merits the next time a foreign aid bill is considered in the House, which will probably be next spring, and knowing the administration's difficulty in supporting earmarks it is also suggesting a desire for yet another confrontation, this time ironically on the issue of which there is ample opportunity to reach a consensus.

In any event this Member can neither be so naive on the one hand or clairvoyant on the other as to be led to support a 4-year earmark for one of the most volatile regions in the world.

Hardly a human rights paradise to begin with, southern Africa is a region where there are countries that have official relations of every kind of shade ranging from very good relations to none at all. Let us not lock ourselves into a position.

Second, it needs to be said that the countries which comprise the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference, or SADCC as it is known, has received more than $2 billion in development assistance during 1985 alone, the last year for which complete figures are available. I am not saying that the OECD has compiled these figures. The World Bank was the largest single donor followed by Italy and the United States, in that order.

They have received $2 billion in 1 year alone. That is a huge sum of money, and moreover the one SADCC country for which we have no official relations, that being Angola, is being kept afloat in large measure by oil sales to the United States of America.

So the free world is already heavily committed to southern Africa. They are so heavily committed that an audit would be more appropriate, I think, than an earmark at this point in time particularly a 4-year earmark.

Third, there is no provision in section 822 that would waive the so-called Brook amendment, and for those who may not have been here in those days that amendment prohibits aid to countries that have defaulted in their past obligations.

I do not see any language that vests waiver authority in the Congress. That authority is vested in the President of the United States, whoever that might be.

The initiative for waiving applicability under that section is to come from the executive branch and not from the Congress. This seems to be one more indication that this issue has difficulty standing on its own merits, otherwise we would not have to resort to subterfuge.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we all know that these SADCC countries constantly hold out their hands for more and more money, yet every chance they get, most of them bad-mouth the United States and vote against us in the United Nations. A 4-year earmark is just going to take away all of the leverage that we have. After all, if we are going to give these countries money and aid and help, the least they could do is to support us in our efforts throughout the world.

These countries, and I do not have to mention them all, are Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, and it goes on and on. Think about that when we talk about this 4-year earmark. My amendment would wipe out that earmark and I would appreciate support for it.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Solomon amendment.

Mr. Chairman, while the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] and I have worked very closely together on many issues, and I have enormous respect for his approach to the general problems of the African continent, on this issue we differ.

Make no mistake about it, there is probably no part of the African continent that is more vital in terms of the American interests than is the region of South Africa. It is precisely in recognition of that importance to American national interests that this earmark has been established within the authorization. First of all, let me address the issue of the long-term nature of the authorization. We are talking here about a 5-year authorization. The notion of providing a longer term authorization is widely supported by AID officials and others precisely because too frequently we move year to year without any kind of planning and foresight which makes it much more difficult for the development of a sound economic program whether in Africa or elsewhere. It makes it very difficult for those countries trying to prepare

for a more stable economic future to do so.

At the same time, While we have a 5-year authorization in this legislation, the appropriations process continues to operate on an annual basis and each year funds that would be authorized in this legislation would have to be appropriated by the Appropriations Committee which provides us with the necessary leverage and tactical flexibility that the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] seeks to accomplish by this particular amendment but would totally eliminate the earmark.

We need to be clear. Cutting aid to the southern Africa black-ruled countries at this point, eliminating the earmark, would effectively be understood as a weakening of America's commitment to those countries in the region, thereby enhancing the activities of the South African Government and the apartheid regime that are seeking to destabilize by every means available to them those countries in the region.

The focus of the earmark was precisehy to make clear that this country, the Ujited States of America, is not any longer going to allow itself to be an accomplice to South African aggression against the states of southern Africa. We wish to signal our long-term commitment to assist them in reducing their economic and political vulnerability to South African aggression.

Let me say finally that there is no money in this legislation whatsoever for Angola. That should be understood clearly. I know there are concerns among Members of the Congress with respect to whatever assistance may flow to Angola. There are no dollars whatsoever that would flow to Angola under this legislation. The dollars would be available for the other states of southern Africa.

The administration has been enormously successful, for example, in working with countries like Mozambique that has previously had a hostile relationship toward the United States, ideological and doctrinaire in their commitment to Marxism, and I give the Reagan administration credit in successfuly weaning the Mozambique government away from the Soviet Union.

I cannot think of anything more counterproductive to our goal of resisting the spread of communism within southern Africa than to take a position that makes it appear that we are going to be supportive of the South African Government in its destabilizing campaign and resistance to providing the kind of economic support which is required in this region.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, could the gentleman name for me just one country that has been weaned away from the Soviet Union?

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I just mentioned one country, Mozambique. The Mozambique Government is clearly manifesting a very different policy from that of previous years. It is now moving to establish itself with western economic institutions, it is significant that President Chissano when he first came to power did not visit the Soviet Union, the first visit he made upon coming to power was to Great Britain. Margaret Thatcher has doubled the level of assistance flowing to Mozambique, and I hardly think Margaret Thatcher is somehow not sympathetic to the anti-Communist efforts that this country has been waging in that region. She is doing so because she understands as does President Reagan that this is an instance where we have a country that has demonstrated a pragmatic commitment to work with the West and is seeking assistance from the West in resisting the aggression of South Africa.

Let me say in addition that there are a number of countries on the African Continent that have, in fact, moved away from the Soviet Union over the years, Somalia, Guinea, Sudan, and Egypt. We sometimes give far too much credit to the power of the Soviet Union. We do not recognize very often the enormous strengths that this country, the United States of America, brings to bear within the African Continent. These countries respect our economic power, they respect our technical skills, and they respect our historic anticolonial commitment. Let us not compromise it in this way.

Mr. Chairman, I urge a "no" vote on the Solomon amendment.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word, and rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, it is important to establish a long-term financial commitment, commensurate with our political commitment to promote political change in the region, as expressed in the passage of the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. We must aid southern Africa development projects, particularly those in the critical transportation and energy sectors, to combat South Africa's countersanctions against SADCC countries and its general drive to regional hegemony to buttress the apartheid system. Events in recent years have demonstrated the rising significance to the United States of those countries bordering South Africa. Critical to United States policy is the awareness that South Africa's regional destabilization and economic warfare have generated political turmoil and economic hardship and created opportunities for increased Soviet influence in the region. By helping SADCC countries resist South Africa, we are effectively counteracting the growth of Soviet influence.

The Reagan administration has supported aid to SADCC countries since 1981. This commitment has occurred because of a recognition that southern Africa's political orientation, stability, and economic well-being are central to U.S. policy. America's interests are best served by states which are secure from external threats and which are supported by open and competitive economies.

The amendment by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL], the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which we adopted in this House, to earmark $85 million in ESF for Africa will ensure that security assistance is available to other nations without ending development assistance to these critical SADCC nations.

Mr. Chairman, therefore, I ask the Members to reject the Solomon amendment.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE], the chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, said that we are having much success in weaning Mozambique away from the Soviet bloc.

I would like to read a statement by the President of that country, Mr. Chissano, and I quote:

> We have been holding talks with the IMF and the World Bank. One might feel that we are having doubts about the Socialist option. We chose socialism and we did not do it arbitrarily because of some dream. We have combined our experiences with the scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

□ 1220

This is a hardcore, Communist, and when Members of this body say that they are going to wean Mozambique away from the Soviet Union and when the State Department says it, they have their head in the sand. These gentlemen, by their own admission, say they are hardcore Marxist-Leninists and they have no intention of changing.

Let me read some more.

They have received over $1 billion in Soviet military assistance and they control less than one-fourth of the country.

They have hundreds of Soviet, East German, Cuban, North Korean, and other East bloc advisers, and thousands of Zimbabwean and Tanzanian troops.

They vote against the United States 92 percent of the time. Is that weaning them away from the Soviet Union? They vote with us 8 percent.

They have a 20-year Friendship and Cooperation Treaty with the Soviet Union, one of only four such treaties in Africa.

They ignore pleas from the Catholic bishops to bring a negotiated end to the civil war.

That country is a Communist country. They have no intention of breaking their ties with the Soviet Union.

The reason they go to Great Britain and to the United States is to get economic aid that they are not getting from the Soviet Union, because the Soviets have supplied over $1 billion in military assistance, and they are trying to dupe us into giving them economic aid to keep their rotten regime going.

Now let us talk about some of the other SADCC countries.

Mr. Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, another SADCC state, here is a quote from him: "* * * the (U.S.) Senate voice is dominantly the voice of whites who value more the color of their skin than justice being done to black people. They cannot, as racists at heart * * * " now get that, he is calling the United States Senate racists, and the President of the United States, and the Senate voted overwhelmingly in favor of the South African sanctions bill, but he calls them racists. And he went on to say "be expected to do any better than demonstrating what they really are and stand for. They are undoubtedly supporters of Botha because Botha is white and stands for white supremacy in South Africa as they do in the United States." He is saying the United States is for white supremacy, and the U.S. Senate stands for white supremacy in this country.

Then he goes on to say "* * * no, Mr. Reagan, no honorable Senators, we would rather live in poverty and hunger than receive the filthy lucre in purchase of our sacred principles."

He is throwing it right back in our face. This man obviously does not want our assistance, and I think we should oblige him, just like we should oblige Mr. Chissano, who is tied inextricably to the Soviet Union. Obviously he believes that the Congress is too racist a body to be worthy of giving Zimbabwe assistance.

I think the American people would be appalled that we are not only aiding but earmarking taxpayer dollars for countries that have turned slandering the United States into a competitive sport. I think it is outrageous that anyone would take seriously the moral posturing of Robert Mugabe, who slaughtered thousands of his opponents in Matabeleland, or Chissano, for that matter, who supervised Mozambique's so-called reeducation camps.

The front-line states received over $2 billion in foreign assistance last year from a multitude of countries. This $50 million earmark is simply our meager contribution to an enormous Western slush fund fed by guilt and rhetorical blackmail. The more they insult us, the more they insult us, the more we say we must not be giving enough. This money is worse than a handout, it is a payoff, a payoff to countries whose own policies, foreign and domestic, are bankrupting their countries and oppressing their peoples.

Enough is enough. These are Communist countries.

Zimbabwe is going to get Mig-29's. They have gone to the Soviet Union and said that they want to purchase Mig-29 fighter-bombers. They are getting in bed with the Soviet Union. Angola is getting in bed with the Soviet Union, Mozambique is getting in bed with the Soviet Union.

Earmarking funds for these countries is ludicrous, and we should not be using American taxpayer dollars to further the Communist cause around the world.

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words, and I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that after the gentleman from Pennsylvaina [Mr. MURTHA] finishes his 5 minutes, all time under the rule will have expired. There will be no time left on this amendment.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylviana [Mr. MURTHA].

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your comments.

Mr. Chairman, I do not follow the argument by my good friend. The Reagan administration supports this aid. These amendments, it seems to me, do the opposite of what the gentleman and I would normally be trying to do. They actually play into the hands of the regime in South Africa, and these amendments undercut our influence as far as I can tell in the mineral-rich countries we are so interested in making sure we have good relations with.

Aid to Mozambique, as I understand it, is strongly supported by great Britain, and they are even sending military aid to Mozambique.

And none of this aid goes to Angola. I am concerned that this particular amendment does the opposite of what the gentleman wants to do, and I would very strongly oppose the amendment.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURTHA. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CONYERS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I had the privilege of attending a luncheon when President Joachim Chissano came to the Hill and my colleague, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON], was there. As a matter of fact, he questioned him quite extensively, and I thought that we had reached some rapproachement because President Chissano, I remember the thrust of these kinds of questions, was suggesting that he was moving in a middle course, that he did not belong with the Western bloc or the Soviet bloc.

So I do not want us to be counterproductive. I thought it was a very instructive meeting for the Members that were there, and I certainly oppose any amendment that would force them back.

Mr. MURTHA. I appreciate what the gentleman has said.

Mr. RAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURTHA. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. RAY. Mr. Chairman, today the House will debate the question of aid to Mozambique. Because our country has the undistinguished position of being the largest debtor nation in the world, with a national debt approaching $3 trillion, I am generally opposed to foreign aid, in principle.

However, because foreign aid for Mozambique is being debated, I would like for the record to show that Mozambique is among the poorest countries in the world. More than one-fourth of the total population of 14 million are affected by severe malnutrition and hunger.

I am aware of the Communist influence in this country, but, nevertheless, every Western European country, as well as Japan, Brazil, and Canada is providing assistance because there is a possibility that Mozambique can be rescued from the Communist influence.

I am told that since 1981, Mozambique has moved steadily away from traditional Soviet-style development and toward free-market policies. Large tracts of State farms have been turned over to private farmers, price controls on fruits and vegetables have been lifted, and foreign investment is now encouraged. Further, the constitutional revision, expected to be approved in 1988, contemplates a provision calling for direct election of the President with multiple candidates.

The information I have received confirms that Mozambique now absents itself on the Afghanistan, Cambodian, and Israeli credential questions in the United Nations. Prior to 1985, Mozambique voted in line with the Soviet Union. Last year, they voted with the United States 7.2 percent of the time.

Great Britain, led by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who has a close relationship with President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, has begun to train several hundred troops in Mozambique. Two officers are also being trained at Sandhurst in England, making Mozambique the only non-Commonwealth country to have cadets there.

I certainly am not in any sense of the word sympathetic to countries

which lean toward communism or the Marxist philosophy. I fully understand my colleagues who are in opposition.

However, the full story must be presented and I am happy to do my best to present it for the consideration of aid to Mozambique.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would interrupt just long enough to inform Members of what the situation is.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MURTHA] was recognized under the 5-minute rule, and when his time has elapsed, should he choose to use his entire 5 minutes, then all time under the rule will have expired. We will then go directly to a vote. So the gentleman from Pennsylvania has the time under the 5-minute rule, and when he yields, he will yield for so long as he yields and cannot yield specific amounts of time.

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Chairman, how much time do I have remaining?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MURTHA. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, the reasons to object to this particular amendment are clear as far as I am concerned. It is neither too much money nor are we really going against the best interests of the United States. Let us not throw Angola into the pot. It is not involved here. It is off limits. There is no assistance of any kind.

As far as Tanzania is concerned, it had nothing to do with philosophic or political reasons. It was a matter which had to do with economics. They are now reworking their debt repayment. They are moving back in terms of private industry. They are well on the way to making their peace with the IMF.

As far as Mozambique is concerned, I agree with the comments which have been made about Mozambique. These are people who are now relying on the British, not the Soviets. And more importantly, the money that we would give to Mozambique would be for rolling stock which would make the south African or the sub-Saharan countries less dependent upon South Africa so that they could open up a saltwater port, and that would free up that whole area. I think that it is in the best long-term interests of the United States to be able to follow that procedure, and I support my President on this.

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Chairman, how much time do I have remaining?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has 20 seconds remaining.

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Chairman, I apologize to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON]. I wanted to yield to him, but let me just say this: we only have one Secretary of State. All 435 of us would like to make suggestions to the Secretary of State and to the President, but in this particular case I agree with the administration and Mrs. Thatcher. I think we would make a real mistake if we passed this amendment.

I urge the Members to oppose this amendment.

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendments which would restrict or eliminate aid to the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference [SADCC], an organization of the nine "front-line" States located near South Africa. SADCC's members are Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Swaziland, Angola, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

SADCC was created in 1980 to promote regional development and reduce the region's dependence on South Africa. Since that time, progress has been made toward achieving these goals.

Critics will argue that United States assistance to some African countries should be rejected for political reasons—a case in point being Mozambique.

As we know, in the years immediately following its independence, Mozambique's Socialist policies resulted in strained relations with the United States and other Western nations. However, in the past 5 years, Mozambique has taken significant steps to align itself more closely with the West.

These important positive developments were acknowledged by President Reagan when he met with Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano at the White House on October 5, 1987. Some of the impressive changes include:

The number of Western advisers in Mozambique is roughly equal to those of the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc nations;

Having accepted substantial increases in direct security assistance from Great Britain, Portugal, and Italy;

Successful use of U.S. developmental assistance to promote private agriculture;

A solid commitment to macroeconomic reform. Both international monetary fund and World Bank officials have described Mozambique's economic recovery program as the most far-reaching in Africa;

The moderating diplomatic influence Mozambique has had within the southern African region. It has continued to adhere to the United States-brokered Nkomatic accord with South Africa despite repeated evidence of South Africa's noncompliance.

While restricting United States aid to any SADCC recipient would be counterproductive, this is especially true in the case of Mozambique. SADCC's primary emphasis is on developing rail links for the land-locked nations—Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Malawi—of the region, and three of the most important railways run through Mozambique. By prohibiting funding for these projects, the proposed amendments would exclude the United States from a meaningful role in supporting SADCC's efforts.

A chief priority of the 100th Congress must be to do all that is feasible to help abolish apartheid in South Africa. Support for SADCC is essential to achieve this goal because only through strength and independence will front-line States be able to provide the pressure necessary for change in South Africa. Pieter W. Botha's government has already applied countersanctions against these nations and has threatened to impose more. Continued U.S. support is one of the most effective ways to prevent SADCC from suffering increased hardship.

From political, economic, and strategic perspectives, the United States cannot afford to take the nations of Africa for granted. From a humanitarian perspective, we cannot in good conscience turn our backs on a land being ravished by widespread starvation, overwhelming poverty, crippling debt, and regional wars. For these reasons, I ask that my colleagues join me in opposing these ill-advised amendments which threaten the well-being of sub-Saharan Africa.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BURTON OF INDIANA

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BURTON of Indiana: Page 190, strike out line 22 and all that follows through line 20 on page 192 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SEC. 822. SUPPORT FOR FRIENDS IN AFRICA.

Of the aggregate amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 1 of part I (relating to development assistance), chapter 7 of part I (relating to Africa famine recovery and development), and chapter 4 of part II (relating to the economic support fund) of the foreign Assistance Act of 1961, not less than $50,000,000 shall be available for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $50,000,000 shall be available for fiscal year 1989 only to assist countries in Africa that demonstrate their cooperation and support for the policies, interests, and values of the United States—

(1) by having formal facilities access agreements with the United States or routinely providing access and overflight rights on an informal basis; or

(2) by having open political systems characterized by regular, free and fair, multiparty elections; freedoms of the press, speech, religion, and association; and general respect for internationally recognized human rights.

The CHAIRMAN. Under rule XXIII, clause 6, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] will be recognized for 5 minutes and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE] will be recognized for 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON].

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, the American people are a generous people, but many are against foreign aid. Why? Because the American people do not want to be giving handouts to countries that are constantly kicking us in the teeth. It is hard to

find a group of countries outside the Soviet bloc that attack the United States more than the front-line states of southern Africa, yet we are not only giving these countries money—we're earmarking it for them.

What is more, these countries are already receiving more foreign aid than they know what to do with. Last year, $2 billion went into the front-line states—and now we're going to earmark another $50 million a year?

What my amendment does is restore the purpose of foreign aid that the American people can support. It says, when times are tough, help your friends, not your attackers. Why should our friends be the first to feel the budget cuts while our attackers are rewarded with earmarks?

This amendment would add a new section titled "Support for Friends in Africa". This section would redirect the $50 million earmark for SADCC—southern Africa—to our best friends in Africa. To qualify, a country would either have to—

have a formal facilities access agreement with the United States, or routinely provide access and overflight privileges to our military; or

have an exceptionally good record of political and human rights—that is, countries with healthy democratic systems, a free press, religious freedom—in short, countries that reflect American values of a free society.

Why not, in a time of tight budgets, have an earmark that would partly restore cuts made to our best friends in Africa?

In 1985, 20 African countries received economic support funds. This year, ESF will go to only eight countries in Africa. Of these eight, four will be cut drastically even at the administration's 1988 request levels. Compared to 1985, Kenya will be cut 30 percent, Somalia 30 percent, Liberia 60 percent, and Sudan 80 percent. And that's if the administration got what it wanted.

In committee, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KOSTMAYER] blasted an amndment on the Cyprus problem saying that it sent the message, "Stand with us and we'll kick you right in the teeth." I am afraid that if we do not redirect this earmark we will be doing just that to our friends in Africa.

I'm just thinking that it must be like sitting in a country like Kenya, which provides us with tangible support—a formal military access agreement—and has one of the best human rights records in Africa. It must be unsettling for them to watch this committee earmark funds for countries like Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

These countries have all just hosted one or more delegations from the Soviet bloc this year, and announced new bilateral agreements. On March 11 Prime Minister Machungo of Mozambique expressed his desire to "strengthen relations between Mozambique and the Soviet Union." Mozambique also hosted high-level delegations from East Germany and North Korea. Zambia announced a new agreement with North Korea, and Zimbabwean officials went to Moscow to negotiate a deal reportedly worth $100 million.

Some people might say, we should rush in there and compete with the Soviets in aiding these countries. But where does that leave our friends in Africa? Do we really want to increase support for countries that have turned bashing the United States into a high art? Last year, a Zimbabwean official was so insulting to the United States that President Carter, who was in the audience, walked out in protest and the administration cut aid to Zimbabwe. Yet this is one of the countries this bill earmarks.

To me that's just saying to our friends—as my good friend from Pennsylvania said—"Stand with us and we'll kick you right in the teeth." I don't think that is the way we ought to treat our friends, at least if we want to keep them.

This amendment does not, of course, prohibit one dime from going to SADCC. All it does is remove the earmark, which the administration opposes. In fact, Botswana, a SADCC nation, would qualify under my amendment earmark because it has a democratic government and an admirable human rights record.

To summarize, we don't have much to go around in Africa. If you want to spend it chasing after countries that have turned to the Soviets for support, vote against this amendment. But if you think we should concentrate on restoring cuts to our strongest supporters in Africa, vote for this amendment.

□ 1235

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SOLOMON. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman makes a great deal of sense. In response to some of his statements, one from my colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. HOUGHTON] I would like to point out that a country such as Tanzania does not border South Africa and it has a port, thus it doesn't need to ship its exports and imports through South Africa.

But Tanzania is bankrupt, no thanks to South Africa, but thanks to its own Socialist policies.

Tanzania, for 20 years, has received more aid from Western countries than any country in Africa—and it is still bankrupt.

They've defaulted on their U.S. loans, and refuse to make the necessary reforms to put their economy in order.

Let's beware of throwing good money after bad. The committee bill rides roughshod over the Brooke amendment in order to provide aid to countries such as Tanzania. That is an idea whose time hasn't come.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment of the gentleman from Indiana.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE] is recognized for 5 minutes under the rule.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, the committee strongly opposes this amendment as does the administration.

Make no mistake about it, the effect of this amendment and others that may follow would be to seriously disrupt American relationships in southern Africa and undermine American national interests there. The policy issue raised by this amendment of the gentleman from Indiana is the same as raised by the previous amendment. It attempts to delete or restrict assistance to the southern African countries that are trying to reduce their economic vulnerability vis-a-vis the aggression of South Africa.

Mr. Chairman, I urge a "no" on this amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MCCURDY].

Mr. MCCURDY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON].

Not long ago, I had the opportunity to meet with President Chissano of Mozambique. My impression is that he is a leader who is trying to move his country in a new direction, more in line with free market development and a pro-Western foreign policy.

Chissano has not denounced Marxism-Leninism. He has not renounced his ties to the Soviet Union. But in the vitally important southern African region, Mozambique has cooperated with the United States, and its government has the support of the Reagan administration. Against the wishes of the Soviet Union, Mozambique signed an accord with South Africa by which each government renounced support of irregular forces in the other's country.

Mozambique has complied with the accord. South Africa, unfortunately, has not. Mozambique is now challenged by well-armed guerrillas supported by South Africa, and this is why it is seeking military aid not only from the Soviet Union, but also from the West. Great Britain already is providing assistance.

Right now in Mozambique, people are debating a revision of the Constitution. Serious consideration is being given to changing the present system from one in which the ruling party chooses the President to an open election with multiple candidates. Where Mozambique will be in 2 or 5 or 10 years is still an open question. But I agree with the administration that at this critical time it makes sense to work with them and encourage continuing movement toward the West.

On this issue, Mr. Chairman, I support the Reagan administration and urge that the amendment be defeated.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GRAY].

Mr. GRAY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment of the gentleman from Indiana.

I would point out that the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference [SADCC] has been very helpful in terms of working out new alliances in that region, with this State Department.

Secretary Shultz and the Reagan administration has made some significant initiatives in policy in this area.

It is very clear that if we are to make this area strong economically we have a responsibility to live up to the Nkomati accords as well as to help them get off the economic ties and infrastructure ties of the old colonial days with South Africa.

So therefore this amendment would essentially take that money that will go for transportation, agricultural infrastructure development and eradicate it totally and once again will make those states totally dependent upon the economic infrastructure of South Africa. I do not think any of us want that. I think all of us would like these countries to become developed on their own and not tied to the apartheid regime.

A vote for the gentleman's amendment is in effect a vote to link the SADCC countries closer to the apartheid regime in Pretoria and I am sure no one wants to do that. If you want to avoid it, vote "no" against this amendment.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. BERMAN].

Mr. BERMAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment does not simply remove an earmark. It hamstrings the administration's own flexibility by seeking to impose criteria which could prevent, if enacted, the administration from funding those very recipients that they now seek to fund. It is far more than the previous amendment which we defeated resoundingly. This would hamstring the administration and have the peculiar and I think very counterproductive purpose of essentially telling a country "If you cooperate with the United States militarily it doesn't matter what you do on human rights. Crush your own minorities, crush your dissidents, squelch freedom of the press. If you have a military agreement to allow some basing rights we don't care what you do to your own people."

I think it is a very bad amendment and should be defeated.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion slashing aid to the southern African countries that would be impacted by the Burton amendment will completely undercut American influence in mineral-rich southern Africa, allowing the Soviet Union to profit from the turmoil created by South African aggression.

I cannot think of a better script for the Soviet Union. It does not serve American interests to proceed in that fashion. The countries that would be the recipients of additional allocations under the Burton amendment were already recipients of additional allocations under the Fascell amendment which we passed yesterday. This amendment established a $85 million earmark precisely for the countries enumerated in the Burton amendment.

I urge a "no" vote on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON].

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the noes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device and there were—ayes 172, noes 236, not voting 25, as follows:

[Roll No. 469]

AYES—172

Andrews
Applegate
Archer
Armey
Badham
Baker
Ballenger
Barnard
Bartlett
Barton
Bennett
Bentley
Bilirakis
Bliley
Boulter
Broomfield
Brown (CO)
Buechner
Bunning
Burton
Byron
Callahan
Campbell
Chandler
Chapman
Chappell
Cheney
Clinger
Coats
Coble
Coleman (MO)
Combest
Courter
Craig
Crane
Daniel
Dannemeyer
Daub
Davis (IL)
Davis (MI)
DeLay
DeWine
Dickinson
DioGuardi
Dornan (CA)
Dreier
Duncan
Dyson
Edwards (OK)
Emerson
Fawell
Fields
Gallegly
Gallo
Gekas
Gingrich
Gradison
Grandy
Grant
Gregg
Gunderson
Hall (TX)
Hammerschmidt
Hansen
Hastert
Hefley
Hefner
Herger
Hiler
Holloway
Hopkins
Hubbard
Hunter
Hutto
Hyde
Inhofe
Jenkins
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (SD)
Kasich
Kolbe
Konnyu
Kyl
Lagomarsino
Latta
Leath (TX)
Lent
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (FL)
Lightfoot
Livingston
Lott
Lowery (CA)
Lujan
Lukens, Donald
Lungren
Madigan
Martin (IL)
Martin (NY)
McCandless
McCollum
McDade
McEwen
McGrath
Meyers
Michel
Miller (OH)
Miller (WA)
Molinari
Montgomery
Moorhead
Murphy
Myers
Nielson
Oxley
Packard
Parris
Pashayan
Petri
Quillen
Ravenel
Regula
Rhodes
Ridge
Ritter
Roberts
Robinson
Rogers
Roth
Rowland (CT)
Saxton
Schaefer
Schuette
Schulze
Sensenbrenner
Shaw
Shumway
Shuster
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter (VA)
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith, Denny (OR)
Smith, Robert (NH)
Smith, Robert (OR)
Solomon
Spence
Stangeland
Stenholm
Stratton
Stump
Sundquist
Swindall
Tallon
Tauzin
Taylor
Thomas (CA)
Traficant
Upton
Valentine
Vander Jagt
Vucanovich
Walker
Weber
Weldon
Whittaker
Wilson
Wolf
Wortley
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOES—236

Ackerman
Akaka
Alexander
Anderson
Annunzio
Anthony
Aspin
Atkins
AuCoin
Bateman
Bates
Bellenson
Bereuter
Berman
Bevill
Bilbray
Boehlert
Boggs
Boland
Bonker
Borski
Bosco
Boucher
Boxer
Brennan
Brooks
Brown (CA)
Bruce
Bryant
Bustamante
Cardin
Carper
Carr
Clarke
Clay
Coelho
Coleman (TX)
Collins
Conte
Conyers
Cooper
Coughlin
Coyne
Crockett
Darden
de la Garza
DeFazio
Dellums
Derrick
Dicks
Dingell
Donnelly
Dorgan (ND)
Downey
Durbin
Dwyer
Dymally
Early
Eckart
Edwards (CA)
English
Erdreich
Evans
Fascell
Fazio
Feighan
Fish
Flake
Flippo
Florio
Foglietta
Ford (MI)
Ford (TN)
Frank
Frenzel
Frost
Gaydos
Gejdenson
Gibbons
Gilman
Glickman
Gonzalez
Goodling
Gordon
Gray (IL)
Gray (PA)
Green
Guarini
Hamilton
Harris
Hatcher
Hawkins
Hayes (IL)
Hayes (LA)
Henry
Hertel
Hochbrueckner
Horton
Houghton
Howard
Hoyer
Huckaby
Hughes
Jacobs
Jeffords
Jones (NC)
Jones (TN)
Jontz
Kanjorski
Kastenmeier
Kennedy
Kennelly
Kildee
Kleczka
Kolter
Kostmayer
LaFalce
Lancaster
Lantos
Leach (IA)
Lehman (CA)
Lehman (FL)
Leland
Levin (MI)
Levine (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Lloyd
Lowry (WA)
MacKay
Manton
Matsui
Mavroules
Mazzoli
McCloskey
McCurdy
McHugh
McMillen (MD)
Mfume
Mica
Miller (CA)
Mineta
Moakley
Mollohan
Moody
Morella
Morrison (CT)
Morrison (WA)
Mrazek
Murtha
Nagle
Natcher
Neal
Nelson
Nichols
Nowak
Oakar
Oberstar
Obey
Olin
Ortiz
Owens (NY)
Owens (UT)
Panetta
Patterson
Pease
Pelosi
Penny
Pepper
Perkins
Pickett
Pickle
Porter
Price (IL)
Price (NC)
Pursell
Rahall

Rangel	Shays	Torres
Ray	Sikorski	Torricelli
Richardson	Sisisky	Towns
Rinaldo	Skaggs	Traxler
Rodino	Slattery	Vento
Roe	Slaughter (NY)	Visclosky
Rose	Smith (FL)	Volkmer
Rostenkowski	Smith (IA)	Walgren
Roukema	Snowe	Watkins
Rowland (GA)	Solarz	Waxman
Roybal	Spratt	Weiss
Russo	St Germain	Wheat
Saiki	Staggers	Whitten
Savage	Stallings	Williams
Sawyer	Stokes	Wise
Scheuer	Studds	Wolpe
Schneider	Swift	Wyden
Schroeder	Synar	Yates
Schumer	Tauke	Yatron
Sharp	Thomas (GA)	

NOT VOTING—25

Biaggi	Ireland	Roemer
Bonior	Kaptur	Sabo
Dixon	Kemp	Smith (TX)
Dowdy	Luken, Thomas	Stark
Espy	Mack	Sweeney
Foley	Markey	Udall
Garcia	Marlenee	Wylie
Gephardt	Martinez	
Hall (OH)	McMillan (NC)	

□ 1300

Mr. DERRICK changed his vote from "aye" to "no."

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there further amendments to title VIII?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BURTON OF INDIANA

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BURTON of Indiana: Page 197, strike out line 15 and all that follows through line 10 on page 199 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SEC. 827. ASSISTANCE FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) mutual interests, bilateral and regional in nature, bind the United States and Mozambique;

(2) there is encouraging proof of—

(A) shifts in the Mozambique Government's macroeconomic policy and its openness to the West, and

(B) actions taken by the Government of Mozambique to improve human rights, as detailed in the State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1986, including the recent halt to the execution of insurgents and persons guilty of economic sabotage, and the campaign begun in 1985 to improve the legal rights of detainees;

(3) together these changes raise the possibility of improved relations between the United States and this strategically important country;

(4) the military conflict with the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) has created an extremely difficult domestic climate, involving significant evidence of systematic human rights abuses by RENAMO;

(5) there is nonetheless a continuing need for the Government of Mozambique to take deliberate steps to improve human rights, particularly with respect to the unlimited power to detain which is presently enjoyed by the state security forces (SNASP), the continued killing of innocent civilians during military operations, the capricious and cruel treatment of prisoners, and the excessive and illegal floggings of individuals; and

(6) the Catholic Bishops of Mozambique, in the Pastoral Letter of April 30, 1987, stated that "the only solution for peace and honor is dialogue and national reconciliation . . . We are appealing to all people, organizations and governments, to help the country achieve peace through peaceful means and political dialogue, and national reconciliation to help our people build a society of brotherhood and prosperity".

(b) ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.—The funds authorized to be appropriate for fiscal years 1988 and 1989 to carry out chapter 7 of part I (relating to Africa famine recovery and development) and chapter 4 of part II (relating to the economic support fund) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 that are allocated for bilateral assistance to the People's Republic of Mozambique shall be used solely for assistance to the private sector of the economy of Mozambique to the maximum extent practicable. To the maximum extent practicable, such funds shall be channeled to non-governmental entities in Mozambique.

(c) MILITARY ASSISTANCE.—

(1) CONDITION ON ASSISTANCE.—None of the funds authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year 1988 or fiscal year 1989 to carry out chapter 2 of part II (relating to grant military assistance) or chapter 5 of part II (relating to international military education and training) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shall be used to provide assistance to the People's Republic of Mozambique unless the President makes the certification described in paragraph (2) before providing any such assistance for that fiscal year.

(2) CERTIFICATION REQUIRED.—The certification required by paragraph (1) is a certification by the President to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate that the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique—

(A) is making a concerted and significant effort to comply with internationally recognized human rights;

(B) is making continued progress in implementing essential economic and political reforms, including the restoration of private property and respect for the right to engage in free enterprise in all sectors of the economy;

(C) has reduced the number of foreign military personnel to no more than 55; and

(D) has held or is committed to holding free elections, and to that end has demonstrated its good faith efforts to begin discussions with all major political factions in Mozambique which have declared their willingness to find and implement an equitable political solution to the conflict, with such solution to involve a commitment to the electoral process with internationally recognized observers and the elimination of all restrictions on the formation and activities of opposition political parties.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, this amendment would simply restore existing law regarding military and economic assistance to Mozambique, while including all of the findings in H.R. 3100. I actually disagree with some of the findings that the majority passed in committee, but I have included them in order to expedite this measure.

Mr. Chairman, I do not think this should be controversial. Members in the past have objected to measures that make across-the-board cuts for one reason or another. They say, if there are particular programs or countries that you object to, why not go after them individually? Well, that is what we are doing here.

This amendment simply says the United States will continue to deny military aid to Mozambique.

Mozambique has received over $1 billion in Soviet military assistance but controls less than one-quarter of its territory.

Mozambique has thousands of Soviet, East German, Cuban, North Korean, and other East bloc advisers, and thousands of Zimbabwean and Tanzanian troops there as well.

According to the Defense Department's report, "Soviet Military Power," there are 850 Soviet military advisers in Mozambique.

In fact, if you look in "Soviet Military Power" on page 128, there is a map of the world entitled Soviet Global Power Projection. Mozambique is a busy place on this map: It is green, signifying that it received up to $1 billion in military aid from 1981 to 1986. There is a little red man on the map, signifying up to 1,000 Soviet military personnel. There is a red star, signifying a Soviety treaty of friendship and cooperation, and there is red cross-hatching, signifying major Cuban presence.

The only other countries I can see on this map with a similar profusion of symbols are Nicaragua, Angola, Ethiopia, and South Yemen, all Communist countries.

The question is, should we be giving a country like Mozambique this military aid? Current law prohibits military aid, and so the administration has not requested military aid for fiscal year 1988. But unless we reinstitute current law, the State Department could send military aid to Mozambique.

I might add, the State Department a couple years ago in the foreign aid bill tried to get military assistance for this country, a Communist country. We were able to defeat it and I think today we should restate our position that we do not want any military assistance going to a Communist country, but unless we reinstitute current law, the State Department could send military aid.

This amendment also continues the waiver provision in current law, which states that we could send military as-

sistance if the President certifies that Mozambique has committed to holding free elections and has reduced foreign military personnel to 55 which is how many we are allowed in El Salvador.

This amendment also continues the restriction on economic assistance to nongovernemtnal entities, a provision which is already in H.R. 3100.

A vote for this amendment is a vote to continue current law, a vote against military aid to Communist Mozambique, and against joining the Soviets, Cubans, East Germans, and North Koreans in oppressing the Mozambican people.

Let me just conclude, Mr. Chairman, by saying that not only by their words, but by their actions we know this is a hard-core Communist country. We should not be giving them military assistance.

Mr. Chissano recently stated:

> We have combined our experiences with the scientific teachings of Marxism/Leninism. He made it clear that although Mozambique is negotiating with the IMF and other financial organizations this does not mean that it is relinquishing its principles—

That being that he believes in Marxism/Leninism.

He said:

> We have been holding talks with the IMF and the World Bank. One might feel that we are having doubts about the Socialist option. No, that is not the case. We must not confuse the issue. We chose Socialism and we did not do it arbitrarily because of some dream. That is not the case. We chose Socialism-Communism as a result of our experiences. We have combined these experiences with the scientific teachings of Marxism/Leninism.

You cannot get any clearer than that. We most certainly should not be supplying military assistance to a self-avowed Communist leader in a Communist country.

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to support it. We should support it unanimously and not even have a vote on it.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the gentleman's amendment.

I plan, Mr. Chairman, to offer an amendment to the amendment that has been offered by the gentleman from Indiana, at the appropriate time.

I endorse the general intent behind the modifications that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] has offered in the substitute Mozambique language. Before the United States introduces military assistance to Mozambique, there should be additional evidence that Mozambique is making significant progress in improving human rights and putting in place enduring political and macroeconomic reforms.

In proposing the Presidential certification, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] has added detail and strength to our original language which stipulated that any future assistance to Mozambique shall bear relation to the Mozambique Government taking significant steps toward improving human rights conditions; however, there is a serious problem with two of the specific conditions which the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] proposed to include within the Presidential certification.

Conditions (C) and (D) are unacceptable and seriously counterproductive. I therefore in a moment will be offering an amendment which would modify those two conditions, while retaining intact the remainder of the amendment of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON].

Condition (C) of the amendment of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] requires that the number of foreign military personnel be reduced to no more than 55. This would cover foreign military personnel of any description. If we were to set this condition, we would as a matter of policy be henceforth into the future denying American military assistance because Mozambique enlisted the help of Zimbabwe forces or of British, Portuguese, and Italian personnel, our allies. That obviously makes no sense.

I therefore will be offering in addition substitute language for condition (C) that would read:

> Continues to show significant progress in reducing Soviet bloc advisers.

Condition (D) of the amendment of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] requires free elections and a commitment to begin discussions with all major political factions; that is, Renamo, to require free elections.

What we are trying to do here is to make clear that we are not going to acknowledge Renamo as a particular political force; assuming the Mozambiquean Government should negotiate, the administration would be opposed to that kind of condition. It undermines entirely the effort the administration has so successfully been making in reaching a new kind of understanding and relationship with Mozambique. It would undermine American national interests in Mozambique and in the region.

Before offering the amendment, Mr. Chairman, may I inquire as to how much time remains?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has 2½ minutes remaining on his time.

□ 1315

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, reclaiming my time, let me say that to accept the condition in the Burton amendment would be to signal a tilt to Renamo and by implication, toward South Africa. The United States has no business being on the side of South Africa within that region. It undermines American national interests.

Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the Burton amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that the gentleman from Michigan will have to yield back his time before he offers the amendment that he intends to offer.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. HOUGHTON].

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Wolpe amendment to the Burton amendment.

I may be reiterating some of the things that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE] has said, but I would like to put my own twist on this.

The administration is opposed to the stipulation in the Burton amendment, and I am supporting the administration. I think personally it is an impractical approach. I have always been told that I should not try to practice foreign policy without a license, and also since this seems to be such a neat packaging I think we would hurt ourselves.

There are four stipulations, two are all right in terms of progress in human rights, economic and political reform. I do not know how we measure these things but there is no problem there.

As far as reduction of foreign military personnel, this is supported by Mrs. Thatcher, and no more conservative person is there.

She thinks the British military training of the Mozambique forces is going forward well and to cut that off and reduce it to 55 I think is wrong.

As far as free elections and negotiations, the MNR has brutalized the population in Mozambique. There is no way possible to negotiate with that group, and I think it is wrong to tilt toward this mercenary group from South Africa.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, on the rule under which we are operating, under the 10-minute debate procedures we are operating under at this point in the rule, if the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE], the chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, offers an amendment to an amendment, is there 10 additional minutes of debate provided on that amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that is the case only if such amendment is printed in the RECORD.

That is not the case here.

Therefore, the Committee will go directly to a vote.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, reclaiming my time, the amendment that I am about to offer would stipulate that no military assistance in any event, and none is in the bill now, could ever go to Mozambique unless there is substantial progress in reducing Soviet bloc advisers; and second, that unless there is a commitment to holding com-

petitive elections and political amnesty of the regular forces within Mozambique occurs.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. WOLPE TO THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BURTON OF INDIANA

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the Burton amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WOLPE to the amendment offered by Mr. BURTON of Indiana: In subsection (c)(2) of the section proposed to be added to the bill by the Burton amendment, strike out subparagraphs (C) and (D) and insert in lieu thereof the following:

(C) continues to show signs of progress in reducing the number of Soviet bloc advisors; and

(D) has held or is committed to holding competitive elections, and has offered political amnesty to opposition paramilitary forces, including the right to participate nonviolently in the national political process.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I have a parliamentary inquiry

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, is there no debate time?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would ask the gentleman to restate his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, is there no debate time on the amendment to my amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that all time has expired on the debate on the gentleman's original amendment.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, further inquiring under my parliamentary inquiry, when an amendment is offered, and we are under the 5-minute rule, we have 5 minutes to debate the amendment.

Our time has expired, we cannot reserve any of our time, the time runs to the other side and they then offer a perfecting amendment. It seems to me there ought to be some justice so that the person offering the initial amendment would have some time to respond.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that under the rule that can be the case only if time has been yielded for that purpose, from the 5 minutes granted in opposition to the original amendment.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE] to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON].

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device; and there were—ayes 218, noes 177, not voting 38, as follows:

[Roll No. 470]

AYES—218

Ackerman
Akaka
Alexander
Anderson
Annunzio
Anthony
Aspin
Atkins
AuCoin
Bateman
Bates
Beilenson
Bennett
Bereuter
Berman
Bilbray
Boehlert
Boland
Bonker
Borski
Bosco
Boucher
Boxer
Brennan
Brooks
Brown (CA)
Bruce
Bryant
Bustamante
Cardin
Carper
Carr
Clarke
Clay
Coelho
Coleman (TX)
Collins
Conte
Conyers
Cooper
Coyne
Crockett
Daniel
de la Garza
DeFazio
Dellums
Dicks
Dingell
Donnelly
Dorgan (ND)
Downey
Durbin
Dwyer
Dymally
Early
Eckart
Edwards (CA)
Evans
Fascell
Fawell
Fazio
Feighan
Fish
Flake
Florio
Foglietta
Ford (MI)
Ford (TN)
Frank
Frost
Gaydos
Gejdenson
Gilman
Glickman
Gonzalez
Goodling
Gordon
Gray (IL)
Gray (PA)
Green
Guarini
Hamilton
Hawkins
Hayes (IL)
Hefner
Henry
Hertel
Hochbrueckner
Horton
Houghton
Howard
Hoyer
Hughes
Jeffords
Johnson (SD)
Jones (NC)
Jones (TN)
Jontz
Kanjorski
Kastenmeier
Kennedy
Kennelly
Kildee
Kleczka
Kolbe
Kolter
Kostmayer
LaFalce
Lantos
Leach (IA)
Lehman (CA)
Lehman (FL)
Leland
Levin (MI)
Levine (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Lowry (WA)
MacKay
Manton
Markey
Martin (IL)
Mavroules
Mazzoli
McCloskey
McCurdy
McDade
McHugh
McMillen (MD)
Mfume
Mica
Miller (CA)
Mineta
Moakley
Mollohan
Moody
Morella
Morrison (CT)
Morrison (WA)
Mrazek
Murtha
Nagle
Natcher
Neal
Nowak
Oakar
Oberstar
Obey
Olin
Ortiz
Owens (NY)
Owens (UT)
Panetta
Pease
Pelosi
Penny
Pepper
Perkins
Pickett
Pickle
Porter
Price (IL)
Price (NC)
Rahall
Rangel
Richardson
Rodino
Roe
Rose
Rostenkowski
Roukema
Roybal
Russo
Sabo
Saiki
Savage
Sawyer
Scheuer
Schroeder
Schumer
Sharp
Shays
Sikorski
Sisisky
Skaggs
Slattery
Slaughter (NY)
Smith (IA)
Snowe
Solarz
Spratt
St Germain
Staggers
Stokes
Studds
Swift
Synar
Tauke
Torres
Torricelli
Towns
Traficant
Traxler
Udall
Vento
Visclosky
Walgren
Waxman
Weiss
Wheat
Whitten
Williams
Wise
Wolpe
Wyden
Yates
Yatron
Young (AK)

NOES—177

Andrews
Applegate
Archer
Armey
Badham
Baker
Ballenger
Barnard
Bartlett
Barton
Bentley
Bilirakis
Bliley
Boulter
Broomfield
Brown (CO)
Buechner
Bunning
Burton
Byron
Callahan
Campbell
Chapman
Cheney
Clinger
Coats
Coble
Coleman (MO)
Combest
Courter
Craig
Crane
Dannemeyer
Darden
Daub
Davis (IL)
Davis (MI)
DeLay
Derrick
DeWine
Dickinson
DioGuardi
Dornan (CA)
Dreier
Duncan
Dyson
Edwards (OK)
Emerson
English
Erdreich
Fields
Flippo
Gallegly
Gallo
Gekas
Gingrich
Gradison
Grandy
Grant
Gregg
Gunderson
Hall (TX)
Hansen
Harris
Hastert
Hatcher
Hayes (LA)
Hefley
Herger
Hiler
Holloway
Hopkins
Huckaby
Hunter
Hutto
Hyde
Inhofe
Jacobs
Jenkins
Kasich
Konnyu
Kyl
Lagomarsino
Lancaster
Latta
Leath (TX)
Lent
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (FL)
Lightfoot
Livingston
Lott
Lowery (CA)
Lujan
Lukens, Donald
Lungren
Madigan
Marlenee
Martin (NY)
McCandless
McCollum
McEwen
McGrath
McMillan (NC)
Miller (OH)
Molinari
Montgomery
Moorhead
Murphy
Myers
Nelson
Nichols
Nielson
Oxley
Packard
Parris
Pashayan
Patterson
Pursell
Quillen
Ravenel
Ray
Regula
Rhodes
Ridge
Rinaldo
Ritter
Roberts
Robinson
Rogers
Roth
Rowland (CT)
Rowland (GA)
Saxton
Schaefer
Schneider
Schuette
Schulze
Sensenbrenner
Shaw
Shumway
Shuster
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter (VA)
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith, Denny (OR)
Smith, Robert (NH)
Smith, Robert (OR)
Solomon
Spence
Stallings
Stangeland
Stenholm
Stratton
Stump
Sundquist
Swindall
Tallon
Tauzin
Thomas (CA)
Thomas (GA)
Upton
Valentine
Vander Jagt
Volkmer
Vucanovich
Walker
Watkins
Weber
Weldon
Whittaker
Wilson
Wolf
Wortley
Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—38

Bevill
Biaggi
Boggs
Bonior
Chandler
Chappell
Coughlin
Dixon
Dowdy
Espy
Foley
Frenzel
Garcia
Gephardt
Gibbons
Hall (OH)
Hammerschmidt
Hubbard
Ireland
Johnson (CT)
Kaptur
Kemp
Lloyd
Luken, Thomas
Mack
Martinez
Matsui
Meyers
Michel
Miller (WA)
Petri
Roemer
Smith (FL)
Smith (TX)
Stark
Sweeney
Taylor
Wylie

□1330

Messrs. KLECZKA, FROST, LELAND, YOUNG of Alaska, SHAYS, and Mrs. SAIKI changed their votes from "no to "aye."

So the amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON], as amended.

The amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. DONALD E. LUKENS

Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS: Page 150, strike out line 16 and all that follows through line 4 on page 151; page 177, at the end of line 22, insert closing quotation marks and a period; and page 178,

strike out line 1 and all that follows through line 10 on page 180.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS. Mr. Chairman, I have the unusual position today of offering an amendment that has the support of the administration on this foreign-aid bill, H.R. 3100.

The purpose of my amendment is simply to strike language providing a debt moratorium for African nations. The cost of the moratorium, by our figures, verified by the Department of Treasury, could be as much as $396 million, almost as much as is provided for the continent of Africa in the entire funding year.

Colleagues of the House, this provision can cost us, the American taxpayer, the American farmer and the working man and woman almost $400 million in the outyears. It is not the cost of the first year that is of concern, it is the cost of the additional 5 years after the first.

Very briefly, countries should be given a 5-year grace period. The U.S. Congress should not be in the position of forgiving debts for foreign countries while farmers and working people are still paying off their debts, and in some cases losing their property.

The bill as currently constructed, without this amendment, would actually forbid a country to repay a debt if it decided to repay its debt to the United States with American aid money. That is to say, if a country decided that the best use for their aid money was to show that it was an honest nation by repaying its debt to the American people, the bill, as constructed, forbids its doing so.

Fourth, it is a dangerous precedent. Countries all over the world are clamoring for their debts to be forgiven for a period. We simply cannot afford to set a precedent like this more than what we have already done.

Fifth, delaying repayment sends the wrong message to the people who owe the money to this country's people and our Government.

Sixth and finally, the provision of the bill sets a standard by which countries should be judged to decide if they are eligible for the debt moratorium, but sets it so low that virtually any country is qualified.

Please join me in voting for this very sensible and money-saving amendment to H.R. 3100.

Mr. Chairman, I retain the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wants to explain once again for all Members' benefit that under the rule the Committee now is operating not on a controlled-time situation so that it is not possible for a Member to reserve time. A Member is recognized in behalf of his amendment for 5 minutes and must use his 5 minutes. He cannot reserve time.

If the gentleman from Ohio wants to yield back his time at this point, he may, but he cannot reserve his time.

Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS. Mr. Chairman, I have not yielded back my time, but I was trying to speed up the process because I know members of the committee have heard enough on the bill and are ready to vote on certain amendments, and certainly our committee has gone through this several times. I am willing to speed up the process but I do not wish to lose my time by being considerate enough to yield.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I should inform the gentleman there are a couple of Members who do wish to have brief comments on this amendment, and I do not want to blindside the gentleman if he wishes to use more time.

Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS. In that case, I will consume all of my time, Mr. Chairman, and I thank the gentleman.

It was confirmed in committee testimony that the potential cost of a debt moratorium would be $396 million. I received a document from the Department of the Treasury that confirms that amount.

Each year the United States should receive about $80 million in revenue from African nations repaying their loans. This provision of the bill could wipe this revenue out unless we pass this amendment.

This provision of the bill will add significantly to the cost of the entire African aid program unnecessarily, because we are under Gramm-Rudman and these funds must be subtracted somewhere else. This cost is spent over the life of the loan, but the dollar amount is almost as much as the entire total of the aid program for Africa this year.

The countries are given a 5-year grace period; thus, we are in a position of forgiving foreign debts for foreign countries while farmers in my district and the districts of other Members must pay their debts, and in some cases are losing their farms and property.

□ 1345

We would set a dangerous precedent. Countries all over the world are really now clamoring for their debts to be forgiven for this year's period. We cannot afford to set a precedent like this, in my opinion, in the United States, especially in the continent of Africa where it could cost us a third of a billion dollars.

This idea should be considered in context of a world loaded with big debtors like those of Latin America and other countries. We are opening a Pandora's box unless we strike this provision. My amendment strikes this provision.

The countries which have done the least to reform their economies are rewarded the most by this legislation. In fact, adoption of free market policies would allow a country to repay its debts and better the standard of living of its people. This provision, as it stands without my amendment, would give no country any incentive to reform.

The provision of the bill currently sets a loan repayment schedule so low that virtually every nation in the world qualifies. The only reason to ever reschedule a debt is if that country shows strong improvement which would lead to later repayment. I repeat, if you wish to save the American taxpayers and our Government almost $400 million in the next 5 years, especially in the stretch-out years, my amendment makes sense. I would hope for bipartisan support of this proposal.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE] for 5 minutes.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word and I rise in opposition to the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio. Let us be very clear: The debt rescheduling provisions that are in the bill that is before us are very modest, they are very limited, they are an effort to deal with a crushing problem of low-income African debt. But the language in the bill as it is before you is advisory, it is not mandatory. It simply urges the President to do what he already has authority to do. There is no mandate in this legislation.

Second, it is not debt forgiveness. There is no call for debt forgiveness in this bill. What is proposed, or urged or recommended is only a 5-year postponement of payment without charges. It is restricted furthermore only to the poorest countries, those under $550 per year per capita. And it is conditioned on countries meeting tough economic policy conditions, such as the INF standby agreement or World Bank Structural Adjustment Program. The language is in there on an advisory basis because we think that will be a positive incentive to encourage economic policy reform.

The last two points that I think need to be stressed is that if the President in fact chose to implement this provision—and he is, as I said earlier, given that discretion—its cost would be low, no more than $23 million to $33 million per year, a far cry from the $400 million figure that was just mentioned. That is far less than that which is already incurred—it would be far less than that which is already in-

curred through Presidential rescheduling of African debt. However, under the advisory language of our bill that rescheduling would be better targeted at needy and economically reforming countries than is the existing rescheduling and it could become a model for other donor actions.

A final point I would make is that what we are really doing is basing this model that we are suggesting which is already being pursued by other Western creditors, such as Canada. It is something that would really assist the nations that are the poorest and also America's national self-interest by increasing their economic capacity, making it easier for them to do business with the United States. So I would urge a "no" vote on that amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I yield for a further comment to the gentleman from Connecticut and then I would be pleased to yield to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER].

Mr. MORRISON of Connecticut. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of his position in opposition to this amendment. It seems to me this amendment is wrong-headed to the core. What is in the bill is the least that we can do to address the oppressive burden of debt in the poorest African countries. It is penny wise and pound foolish to try to squeeze the last dime out of these depressed economies. The targeting provisions that are recommended here say that with economic reform and with forebearance for a period of time, these countries can begin to grow again and can provide for their own people and to trade with the United States and to become full-fledged members of the world economic community.

That is in the long-term interests of the United States. To strike this provision would be foolhardy.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the Congress not to do so.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER].

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the provisions on African debt policy as presently found in H.R. 3100 and therefore in opposition to this amendment to strike them offered by my friend and colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LUKENS).

The provisions contained in the bill are a careful and circumscribed approach to the very serious debt repayment problems of the poorest African countries.

Debt as a proportion of exports and of GNP is higher in many African countries than in Latin America. There are 18 African countries classified by the World Bank as low-income and debt-distressed, paying over 30 percent of their export earnings simply to service their debts.

One of the agreements at the Venice Summit this year was to develop a plan for special assistance to the debt-distressed African nations.

Just last week in Paris, 17 donor countries came together with the international financial institutions to discuss how to raise the funds that are necessary to help those debt-distressed African countries that are willing to engage in major structural reforms such as privatization, eliminating government subsidies and import barriers, and reforming their economies along free enterprise lines.

The recommendation of the meeting was that $6.4 billion in bilateral assistance to Africa would be needed over the next 3 years to support adjustment programs, in some cases through various forms of debt relief.

A number of European countries and Canada are already taking a forgiveness approach of converting old loans to grants. An overall total of $2.8 billion owed by the least-developed countries has already been forgiven by our allies.

For a variety of good reasons and necessary precedent-avoidance, this forgiveness approach does not make sense for the United States. The approach taken in H.R. 3100 is therefore not forgiveness of debts and is not constraining the President.

Instead section 478 simply urges the President to consider a 5-year grace period on payments and accrual of interest only for the poorest African countries—those with average per capita annual income of less than $550—and only for those that are engaged in serious structural reform under the supervision of the IMF or the World Bank. There would be a delay in approximate $70 million in principal and interest payment annually owed to the United States by some 29 Africans nations covered by this section, but the real costs are estimates to be $2.8 million annually for the 5-year period. Actual payment would be about $20 to $25 million instead of $70 million.

The African debt provisions in H.R. 3100 are not binding on the President, but they do effectively recognize the seriousness of the Africa debt problem. They provide one acceptable way to create breathing space in repayment of official debts to the United States and an additional reason for countries affected to seriously address and implement necessary reforms.

For these and other cogent reasons I urge retention of the existing language in H.R. 3100 and opposition to this amendment.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for his comments. I urge a "no" vote on the amendment before us.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. MURTHA). The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS].

The question was taken; and the Chairman pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 125, noes 259, answered "present" 1, not voting 48, as follows:

[Roll No. 471]

AYES—125

Applegate
Archer
Armey
Badham
Baker
Ballenger
Bartlett
Barton
Bentley
Bilirakis
Boulter
Broomfield
Brown (CO)
Buechner
Burton
Callahan
Cheney
Coats
Coble
Coleman (MO)
Combest
Cooper
Courter
Craig
Crane
Dannemeyer
Daub
Davis (IL)
DeLay
DeWine
Dickinson
DioGuardi
Duncan
Edwards (OK)
Erdreich
Fawell
Fields
Flippo
Gallegly
Gallo
Gekas
Gingrich
Gradison
Gregg
Hammerschmidt
Hansen
Harris
Hastert
Hayes (LA)
Hefley
Herger
Hiler
Holloway
Hopkins
Hunter
Hyde
Inhofe
Johnson (SD)
Kasich
Konnyu
Kyl
Lagomarsino
Latta
Leath (TX)
Lent
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (FL)
Livingston
Lott
Lowery (CA)
Lujan
Lukens, Donald
Marlenee
Martin (NY)
McCollum
McEwen
McGrath
Michel
Miller (OH)
Molinari
Moorhead
Morrison (WA)
Nichols
Nielson
Oxley
Packard
Pashayan
Quillen
Regula
Rhodes
Ridge
Ritter
Robinson
Rogers
Roth
Saxton
Schaefer
Schuette
Schulze
Shaw
Shumway
Shuster
Skeen
Smith (NE)
Smith, Denny (OR)
Smith, Robert (NH)
Smith, Robert (OR)
Solomon
Spence
Stangeland
Stump
Sundquist
Swindall
Tauzin
Taylor
Thomas (CA)
Upton
Vander Jagt
Vucanovich
Walker
Watkins
Weldon
Wortley
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOES—259

Ackerman
Akaka
Alexander
Anderson
Andrews
Annunzio
Anthony
Aspin
Atkins
AuCoin
Barnard
Bateman
Bates
Beilenson
Bennett
Bereuter
Berman
Bliley
Boehlert
Boland
Bonior
Bonker
Borski
Bosco
Boucher
Boxer
Brennan
Brooks
Brown (CA)
Bruce
Bryant
Bunning
Bustamante
Byron
Campbell
Cardin
Carper
Carr
Chapman
Chappell
Clarke
Clay
Clinger
Coelho
Coleman (TX)
Collins
Conte
Conyers
Coyne
Crockett
Darden
Davis (MI)
de la Garza
DeFazio
Dellums
Derrick
Dicks
Dingell
Donnelly
Dorgan (ND)
Downey
Durbin
Dwyer
Dymally
Dyson
Early
Eckart
Edwards (CA)
Emerson
Evans
Fascell
Feighan
Fish
Flake
Florio

Foglietta
Ford (MI)
Ford (TN)
Frank
Frost
Gaydos
Gejdenson
Gilman
Glickman
Gonzalez
Goodling
Gordon
Grandy
Grant
Gray (IL)
Gray (PA)
Green
Guarini
Gunderson
Hamilton
Hatcher
Hawkins
Hayes (IL)
Hefner
Henry
Hertel
Hochbrueckner
Horton
Howard
Hoyer
Huckaby
Hughes
Jacobs
Jeffords
Jones (NC)
Jones (TN)
Jontz
Kanjorski
Kastenmeier
Kennedy
Kildee
Kleczka
Kolbe
Kolter
Kostmayer
LaFalce
Lancaster
Lantos
Leach (IA)
Lehman (CA)
Lehman (FL)
Leland
Levin (MI)
Lewis (GA)
Lightfoot
Lipinski
Lowry (WA)
Lungren
MacKay
Madigan
Manton
Markey
Martin (IL)
Mavroules
Mazzoli
McCandless
McCloskey
McDade
McHugh
McMillan (NC)
McMillen (MD)
Mfume
Mica
Miller (CA)
Mineta
Moakley
Mollohan
Moody
Morella
Morrison (CT)
Mrazek
Murphy
Murtha
Myers
Nagle
Natcher
Neal
Nelson
Nowak
Oakar
Oberstar
Olin
Ortiz
Owens (NY)
Owens (UT)
Panetta
Parris
Patterson
Pease
Pelosi
Penny
Pepper
Perkins
Pickett
Pickle
Porter
Price (IL)
Price (NC)
Pursell
Rahall
Rangel
Ravenel
Ray
Richardson
Rinaldo
Roberts
Rodino
Roe
Rose
Rostenkowski
Roukema
Rowland (CT)
Rowland (GA)
Roybal
Russo
Sabo
Saiki
Savage
Sawyer
Scheuer
Schneider
Schroeder
Schumer
Sensenbrenner
Sharp
Shays
Sikorski
Sisisky
Skaggs
Skelton
Slattery
Slaughter (NY)
Slaughter (VA)
Smith (FL)
Smith (IA)
Smith (NJ)
Snowe
Solarz
St Germain
Staggers
Stallings
Stokes
Stratton
Studds
Swift
Synar
Tallon
Tauke
Thomas (GA)
Torres
Torricelli
Towns
Traficant
Traxler
Udall
Valentine
Vento
Visclosky
Volkmer
Walgren
Waxman
Weber
Weiss
Wheat
Whittaker
Whitten
Williams
Wilson
Wise
Wolf
Wolpe
Wyden
Yates
Yatron

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Obey

NOT VOTING—48

Bevill
Biaggi
Bilbray
Boggs
Chandler
Coughlin
Daniel
Dixon
Dornan (CA)
Dowdy
Dreier
English
Espy
Fazio
Foley
Frenzel
Garcia
Gephardt
Gibbons
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Houghton
Hubbard
Hutto
Ireland
Jenkins
Johnson (CT)
Kaptur
Kemp
Kennelly
Levine (CA)
Lloyd
Luken, Thomas
Mack
Martinez
Matsui
McCurdy
Meyers
Miller (WA)
Montgomery
Petri
Roemer
Smith (TX)
Spratt
Stark
Stenholm
Sweeney
Wylie

□ 1410

Messrs. NAGLE, ROWLAND of Connecticut, SMITH of New Jersey, McMILLAN of North Carolina, GRANT, and PARRIS changed their votes from "aye" to "no."

Mr. TAUZIN and Mr. FLIPPO changed their votes from "no" to "aye."

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. DONALD E. LUKENS

Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS: Page 192, strike out lines 1 through 4.

Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this amendment is to strike language waiving the Brooks amendment to the SADCC nations of Southwest Africa. The Brooks amendment, section 620(q) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 would remain in effect. The Brooks amendment suspends additional aid to countries which have not paid their current debts to the United States

The Brooks amendment has made the United States a preferential lender. Debts to us are paid first because countries know if they do not pay, they put future foreign credit at risk.

The Brooks amendment is working. Only four countries are currently under the Brooks amendment provisions: Benin, Ethiopia, Liberia, and Tanzania. Under this provision of the bill, Tanzania would be given more aid despite not having paid back its loans. Ironically, the Brooks provisions are likely to be lifted for Tanzania soon because Tanzania is making the needed reforms. Without this leverage, Tanzania will have no reason to reform.

The most immediate beneficiary, Tanzania, of a Brooks waiver has probably received more aid per capita from the rest of the world over the last 15 years than any other African country; and yet all that aid, hundreds of millions of dollars, has not stopped the decline of the economy resulting from its Socialist policies. The answer to Tanzania's problems is reform, not a special exemption from the Brooks amendment.

American farmers and all Americans would be shocked to learn that America continues to give more aid to countries even when they refuse to pay their debts.

I would ask favorable consideration for this amendment. It restores to efficacy and working order the Brooks amendment, which is not working. There is no reason whatsoever, economically or politically, to suspend the Brooks amendment.

I would ask the support of the body for this amendment.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment that has just been offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

I will point out that the administration itself is also opposed to the Lukens amendment.

The purpose of waiving the Brooks amendment, section 620(q) of the Foreign Assistance Act is to insure that there will not be any disruption of urgent regional development projects if one of the southern African development coordination conference member states falls under Brooks.

The precedent for waiving Brooks was set during the 1985 famine relief effort for urgent rehabilitation assistance, such as the provision of seeds and farm implements.

The focus of aid to SADCC is to promote regional development assistance, and not bilateral assistance.

This amendment does not take into consideration that if one SADCC member finds itself under Brooks, it cannot receive U.S. assistance for a regional project, that impacts on several countries and could cause serious disruption to other regional members who are not under Brooks; however, we believe that due to the American commitment to SADCC that the administration will use its power to waive Brooks.

This language that we have in the bill simply expresses congressional support for the Brooks waiver by eliminating the need for further action.

Mr. Chairman, I urge a "no" vote on the Lukens amendment.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. MURTHA). The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS].

The amendment was rejected.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. DONALD E. LUKENS

Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS: Page 192, after line 20, insert the following:

(d) PROHIBITION ON ASSISTANCE TO CERTAIN COUNTRIES.—Assistance may not be provided under this section for projects or programs in any country—

(1) which receives from the Soviet Union more than three-quarters of the military assistance that it receives from foreign countries, or

(2) in which there are more than 55 military personnel (serving in any capacity) from the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, or any other Soviet bloc country.

Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS. Mr. Chairman, this amendment would withhold aid from any country which is overwhelmingly influenced by the Soviet Union until such time as it reduces its military cooperation with the U.S.S.R. and its satellites. Unless America sets a standard by which we give aid to Soviet influenced countries, we will continue to be used by the Soviets to feed countries they are subjugating and controlling.

This amendment sets a simple threshold after which we say, "That's too much, no more aid."

The standard set in this legislation is fair. If a country receives more than three-quarters of its military assistance from the Soviet bloc, we simply say, "That's enough," or if there are more than 55 Soviet bloc troops, the amount of our self-imposed quota on American advisers in El Salvador, occupying that country, we say again, you can support them to that extent, you do not need our help.

Many Communist countries cannot support themselves. The only thing that keeps them from collapsing is American aid. Americans should not be put in the position of keeping afloat weak Soviet-dominated allies, especially when most of their aid comes in the form of military assistance.

The nations most affected would be the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique. This amendment will end the spectacle, as happened earlier this year, of a country like the People's Republic of Angola, which is a wholesale violator of human rights and is a dictatorship with tens of thousands of Cuban mercenaries to maintain power and is waging full-scale war on its political opponents. Then it demands that the United States give aid.

This amendment, second, will give incentives to nations to reduce the Soviet military presence in order to remain eligible for American economic aid.

Americans believe that this is the way we spend our foreign aid money, anyway. If most Americans were aware that we give large sums of money in economic assistance to nations which receive their total military aid from the Soviet Union, they would think we are crazy, and yet we do exactly that.

In effect, our development aid is used to grow food to feed large numbers of foreign soldiers which are camped out in this sector.

Vote for the Lukens amendment on aid to any country which is overwhelmingly affected by Soviet military presence assistance.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS. I yield to my friend, the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Well, Mr. Chairman, I would just like, maybe in an effort that is futile, to lend my support to the gentleman's amendment. It seems today that we have passed a number of amendments which seem to be in support of Soviet positions in Africa. It is unfortunate that is taking place, but here we have a last ditch effort to show our concern about the Soviet expansionist policy in Africa, and the gentleman is right on the mark.

I would urge everybody to vote for this. If you really believe that we ought to stop the Communist expansionist policy in Africa, the gentleman's amendment makes a lot of sense.

I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Lukens amendment.

First of all, it should be noted that there is no assistance in this bill whatsoever to Angola. To raise the Angola question is simply to miss the mark.

Second, the administration opposes this amendment, not because it is pursuing Soviet objectives in the region, but because it is pursuing American national interests in the region. It is really the same issue as we have already voted on two or three times previously.

If the standard that is offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS] were to be applied anywhere else in the world, it would mean that the United States would have to end its assistance to Morocco, to India, and to Pakistan. It would mean that more than 22 countries in Africa, not just in SADCC, required by this amendment that would be applied elsewhere.

If we were to look at this amendment historically that has been in place over several decades, it would have blocked the historic opportunities which the United States successfully exploited in Egypt, the Sudan, and Somalia, where these countries agreed to expel their Soviet bloc advisers in return for essential American assistance.

This amendment again simply would keep the same kind of concern as those heard previously, those arguments heard previously. It compromises American national interests.

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOLPE. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Well, just very briefly, Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from Michigan could clarify two points for me; first, I listened to the gentleman's introduction of the amendment and frankly it was a very strong case, but when we add all the factors together, is it not the case that the Reagan administration strongly opposes the amendment?

Mr. WOLPE. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. And is it not also the case that if we go forth with this kind of policy, it will appear as if the United States of America will be supporting South Africa in the advancement of apartheid forces to the north of South Africa?

Mr. WOLPE. That is correct, and I cannot think of a better position for the Soviet Union than to have the United States perceived as an ally of South Africa.

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. So this would appear to be counter to principles upon which our foreign policy is currently premised; is that correct?

Mr. WOLPE. I think that is correct, and as I said, that is why, I take it, the Reagan administration has been so strongly opposed to this kind of amendment.

□ 1425

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, it just strikes me that as logical as it appears to be in its presentation, that it does have some effects that could be dramatically counterproductive. As much as I have had doubts about our policy toward South Africa, in this case I think it is reasonable for the Congress to stand up with the Reagan administration.

Mr. WOLPE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Iowa for his observation. I certainly would like to reinforce his conclusion. I think American national interests would be ill-served by adoption of the Lukens amendment.

I would like to stand with the administration in what I think has been a very solid policy in Mozambique and the South African countries in this case.

Mr. Chairman, I urge a "no" vote on the Lukens amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS].

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the noes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 190, noes 199, not voting 44, as follows:

[Roll No. 472]

AYES—190

Andrews	Coble	Gingrich
Applegate	Coleman (MO)	Goodling
Archer	Combest	Gradison
Armey	Courter	Grandy
Badham	Craig	Grant
Baker	Crane	Gregg
Ballenger	Dannemeyer	Gunderson
Barnard	Darden	Hammerschmidt
Bartlett	Daub	Hansen
Barton	Davis (IL)	Harris
Bateman	Davis (MI)	Hastert
Bennett	DeLay	Hatcher
Bentley	DeWine	Hayes (LA)
Bilirakis	Dickinson	Hefley
Bliley	DioGuardi	Hefner
Boulter	Dornan (CA)	Herger
Broomfield	Dreier	Hiler
Brown (CO)	Duncan	Holloway
Buechner	Dyson	Hopkins
Bunning	Edwards (OK)	Huckaby
Burton	Emerson	Hunter
Byron	Erdreich	Hyde
Callahan	Fawell	Inhofe
Chapman	Fields	Johnson (SD)
Chappell	Flippo	Jones (TN)
Cheney	Frost	Kasich
Clarke	Gallegly	Kolbe
Clinger	Gallo	Konnyu
Coats	Gekas	Kyl

Lagomarsino
Lancaster
Latta
Leath (TX)
Lent
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (FL)
Lightfoot
Lipinski
Livingston
Lott
Lujan
Lukens, Donald
Lungren
Madigan
Marlenee
Martin (IL)
Martin (NY)
McCandless
McCollum
McDade
McEwen
McGrath
McMillan (NC)
Mica
Michel
Miller (OH)
Molinari
Moorhead
Morrison (WA)
Myers
Natcher
Nelson
Nichols
Nielson
Oxley
Packard
Parris
Pashayan
Patterson
Pickle
Porter
Pursell
Quillen
Ravenel
Regula
Rhodes
Ridge
Rinaldo
Ritter
Roberts
Robinson
Rogers
Rowland (CT)
Rowland (GA)
Saiki
Saxton
Schaefer
Schuette
Schulze
Sensenbrenner
Shaw
Shumway
Shuster
Sisisky
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter (NY)
Slaughter (VA)
Smith (IA)
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith, Denny (OR)
Smith, Robert (NH)
Smith, Robert (OR)
Solomon
Spence
Stangeland
Stratton
Stump
Sundquist
Swindall
Tallon
Tauzin
Taylor
Thomas (CA)
Thomas (GA)
Upton
Valentine
Vander Jagt
Volkmer
Vucanovich
Walker
Watkins
Weber
Weldon
Whitten
Wilson
Wolf
Wortley
Yatron
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOES—199

Ackerman
Akaka
Alexander
Anderson
Annunzio
Anthony
Aspin
Atkins
AuCoin
Bates
Beilenson
Bereuter
Berman
Boehlert
Boland
Bonior
Bonker
Borski
Bosco
Boucher
Boxer
Brennan
Brooks
Brown (CA)
Bruce
Bryant
Bustamante
Campbell
Cardin
Carper
Carr
Clay
Coelho
Coleman (TX)
Collins
Conte
Conyers
Cooper
Coyne
Crockett
de la Garza
DeFazio
Dellums
Derrick
Dicks
Dingell
Donnelly
Dorgan (ND)
Downey
Durbin
Dwyer
Dymally
Early
Eckart
Edwards (CA)
Espy
Evans
Fascell
Feighan
Fish
Flake
Florio
Foglietta
Ford (MI)
Ford (TN)
Frank
Garcia
Gaydos
Gejdenson
Gilman
Glickman
Gordon
Gray (IL)
Gray (PA)
Green
Guarini
Hamilton
Hawkins
Hayes (IL)
Henry
Hertel
Hochbrueckner
Horton
Howard
Hoyer
Hughes
Jacobs
Jeffords
Jones (NC)
Jontz
Kanjorski
Kastenmeier
Kennedy
Kennelly
Kildee
Kleczka
Kolter
Kostmayer
LaFalce
Lantos
Leach (IA)
Lehman (CA)
Lehman (FL)
Leland
Levin (MI)
Levine (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lowery (CA)
Lowry (WA)
MacKay
Manton
Markey
Martinez
Mavroules
Mazzoli
McCloskey
McHugh
McMillen (MD)
Mfume
Miller (CA)
Mineta
Moakley
Mollohan
Moody
Morella
Morrison (CT)
Mrazek
Murphy
Murtha
Nagle
Neal
Nowak
Oakar
Oberstar
Obey
Olin
Ortiz
Owens (NY)
Owens (UT)
Panetta
Pease
Pelosi
Penny
Perkins
Pickett
Price (IL)
Price (NC)
Rahall
Rangel
Ray
Richardson
Rodino
Roe
Rose
Rostenkowski
Roukema
Roybal
Russo
Sabo
Savage
Sawyer
Scheuer
Schneider
Schroeder
Schumer
Sharp
Shays
Sikorski
Skaggs
Slattery
Smith (FL)
Snowe
Solarz
St Germain
Staggers
Stallings
Stokes
Studds
Swift
Synar
Tauke
Torres
Torricelli
Towns
Traficant
Traxler
Udall
Vento
Visclosky
Walgren
Waxman
Weiss
Wheat
Whittaker
Williams
Wise
Wolpe
Wyden
Yates

NOT VOTING—44

Bevill
Biaggi
Bilbray
Boggs
Chandler
Coughlin
Daniel
Dixon
Dowdy
English
Fazio
Foley
Frenzel
Gephardt
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Houghton
Hubbard
Hutto
Ireland
Jenkins
Johnson (CT)
Kaptur
Kemp
Lloyd
Luken, Thomas
Mack
Matsui
McCurdy
Meyers
Miller (WA)
Montgomery
Pepper
Petri
Roemer
Roth
Smith (TX)
Spratt
Stark
Stenholm
Sweeney
Wylie

Messrs. MARTINEZ, CARR, ORTIZ, and GRAY of Illinois changed their votes from "aye" to "no."

Mr. SKELTON, and Mrs. PATTERSON changed their votes from "no" to "aye."

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there further amendments to title VIII?

If not, the Clerk will designate title IX.

The text of title IX is as follows:

TITLE IX—ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

PART A—EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

SEC. 901. SUPPORT FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, in violation of its obligations under international law, including the United Nations Charter, invaded Cambodia in December 1978;

(2) in January 1979, Vietnam installed a puppet government in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, headed by Heng Samrin;

(3) eight years later Vietnam continues, with Soviet backing, to occupy Cambodia with over 140,000 troops;

(4) Vietnam has attempted to submerge Cambodian culture and heritage through the settlement of large numbers of Vietnamese in Cambodia;

(5) human rights observers have noted a pattern of torture, political detention, inhumane treatment, and other abuses of human rights by officials of the Vietnamese-backed puppet Cambodian regime;

(6) the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia has compounded the hardship and suffering of a people which had previously suffered barbaric crimes of genocide under Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge;

(7) in recognition of the illegal occupation of Cambodia by the Vietnamese, the United Nations has refused to recognize the credentials of the Heng Samrin regime and has instead continued to recognize the credentials of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk;

(8) the member states of the United Nations for the eighth time, and by a record vote of 115-21, approved a resolution at the forty-first session of the General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia;

(9) the 1981 United Nations-sponsored International Conference on Kampuchea called for the early withdrawal of foreign troops and the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision;

(10) the United States has supported the leadership role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the quest for a negotiated political settlement to the Cambodian problem;

(11) the President has indicated the United States is prepared to play a constructive role in such a settlement; and

(12) in the absence of such a settlement, the non-Communist Cambodian forces continue to wage a war of resistance against Vietnamese occupation forces.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—The Congress—

(1) deplores the continued violation of the sovereignty and territorial independence of Cambodia by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam;

(2) calls upon Vietnam to negotiate decisively to restore self-determination in Cambodia;

(3) calls upon Vietnam to withdraw completely its troops from Cambodia;

(4) believes that such negotiations and withdrawal by Vietnam, together with a satisfactory accounting of Americans still missing in action, would constitute positive steps that would help facilitate the prospect of normalization of relations between the United States and Vietnam;

(5) supports the efforts of the member nations of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the United Nations Secretary General, and the non-Communist Cambodian people to achieve a political settlement which would include such elements as internationally supervised free and fair elections, as well as assurances that there will be no return to the genocidal policies of the Pol Pot regime;

(6) supports efforts to establish an international tribunal to bring to justice those Khmer Rouge leaders during the reign of Pol Pot, and any others, responsible for crimes of genocide against the Cambodian people; and

(7) calls upon the international community to observe a special day of remembrance—

(A) in recognition of the suffering of the Cambodian people under Pol Pot,

(B) in protest of the efforts of Vietnam to suppress basic human rights and exterminate the culture and way of life of the Cambodian people, and

(C) in protest of the illegal occupation of Cambodia by Vietnamese troops.

SEC. 902. ASSISTANCE FOR THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE.

Section 905 of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 is amended by striking out "1986" and "1987" and inserting in lieu thereof "1988" and "1989", respectively.

SEC. 903. POLICIES REGARDING VIETNAM.

The Congress—

(1) calls upon Vietnam to release all political prisoners;

(2) calls upon Vietnam to adopt and promote a policy of family reunification;

(3) encourages Vietnam to adhere to its self-imposed 2-year target for providing the fullest possible accounting of American prisoners and missing in action; and

(4) calls upon Vietnam to withdraw its military forces from Cambodia and to permit a political settlement in which the

people of Cambodia will be permitted to determine their own future.

Contingent upon progress on the issues discussed in paragraphs (1) through (4), the Congress would encourage a wide range of non-official contacts between the United States and Vietnam to improve understanding between the two countries and to facilitate the solution of unresolved problems, including contacts involving persons in academic, cultural, scientific, journalistic, athletic, and political fields, as well as elected officials.

SEC. 904. JAPAN AND THE ARAB ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL.

It is the sense of the Congress that the United States should encourage the Government of Japan in its efforts to expand trade relations with Israel and to end compliance by Japanese commercial enterprises with the Arab economic boycott of Israel.

SEC. 905. ANNUAL REPORT REGARDING KOREA.

Section 25(a) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended—

(1) by repealing paragraph (9); and

(2) by redesignating paragraphs (10) through (12) as paragraph (9) through (11), respectively.

SEC. 906. ASSISTANCE FOR THE PHILIPPINES.

(a) ASSISTANCE PURSUANT TO BASE AGREEMENT.—

(1) FISCAL YEAR 1988.—For fiscal year 1988, there shall be available only for the Philippines—

(A) not less than $110,000,000 of the funds made available to carry out chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to grant military assistance), and

(B) not less than $124,000,000 of the funds made available to carry out chapter 4 of part II of that Act (relating to the economic support fund).

(2) FISCAL YEAR 1989.—For fiscal year 1989, there shall be available only for assistance for Philippines—

(A) of the funds made available to carry out chapter 2 of part II of that Act, and

(B) of the funds made available to carry out chapter 4 of part II of that Act,

not less than the amount necessary to provide the remaining amount of military and economic assistance specified in the 1983 amendment to the agreement between the United States and the Philippines concerning military bases.

(b) AGRARIAN REFORM.—Of the amounts made available to carry out chapter 4 of part II of that Act, not less than $50,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $50,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 shall be available only to assist in the implementation of agrarian reform in the Philippines if the Government of the Philippines initiates an effective agrarian reform program and requests United States assistance for that program and if a substantial majority of the resources for the implementation of that program each year will be provided by the Government of the Philippines or other non-United States donors, or both. If, however, those conditions are not met by the end of the 9th month of a fiscal year, the funds earmarked by this subsection for that fiscal year may be used for assistance for other countries.

(c) UNCOMMITTED FMS CREDITS.—Uncommitted balances of loans made to the Philippines pursuant to section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act since October 1, 1984, may be disbursed without requirement for repayment of principal or interest, except that the new budget authority provided by this subsection may be exercised only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.

SEC. 907. SOUTH PACIFIC REGIONAL PROGRAMS; SCHOLARSHIPS.

(a) EARMARKING.—Of the amounts made available to carry out chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance), not less than $6,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $6,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 shall be available only for South Pacific regional programs.

(b) SCHOLARSHIPS.—Of the amounts made available pursuant to subsection (a), not less than $2,000,000 each year shall be available only for scholarships for study at post-secondary institutions of education in the United States. Not more than 10 percent of the funds made available each fiscal year pursuant to this subsection may be used for scholarships for graduate study.

SEC. 908. AUTHORITY TO STOCKPILE DEFENSE ARTICLES IN THAILAND AND KOREA.

(a) STOCKPILING IN THAILAND.—Section 514(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting ", Thailand," after "Korea".

(b) AUTHORIZED LEVEL OF ADDITIONS TO STOCKPILES.—Section 514(b)(2) of that Act is amended to read as follows:

"(2) The value of such additions to stockpiles in foreign countries shall not exceed $116,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and shall not exceed $77,000,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 909. REFUGEES FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the United States remains firmly committed to the security of Thailand and to improving relations between our two nations;

(2) the United States refugee resettlement and humanitarian assistance programs constitute an important factor in bilateral relations between the United States and Thailand;

(3) the preservation of first asylum for those fleeing persecution is one of the primary objectives of the United States refugee program;

(4) the actions of another government in labeling refugee populations as "displaced persons" or closing its borders to new arrivals shall not constitute a barrier to the United States considering those individuals or groups to be refugees;

(5) it is in the national interest to facilitate the reunification of separated families of United States citizens and permanent residents, and the Congress will look with disfavor on any nation which seriously hinders emigration for such reunifications;

(6) the persecution of the Cambodian people under the Khmer Rouge rule from 1975-1979, which caused the deaths of up to two million people and in which the bulk of the Khmer people were subjected to life in an Asian Auschwitz, constituted one of the clearest examples of genocide in recent history;

(7) the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam and the subsequent occupation of that country by 140,000 Vietnamese troops backing up the Heng Samrin regime, which itself continues to seriously violate the human rights of Cambodians, and the presence of 40,000 heavily armed troops under the control of the same Khmer Rouge leaders, overwhelmingly demonstrate that the life or freedom of any Cambodian not allied with the Khmer Rouge or supporting Heng Samrin would be seriously endangered if such individual were forced by a country of first asylum to return to his or her homeland.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) any Cambodians who are, or had been, at Khao I Dang camp should be considered and interviewed for eligibility for the United States refugee program, irrespective of the date they entered Thailand or that refugee camp;

(2) any Cambodian rejected for admission to the United States who can demonstrate new or additional evidence relating to his claim should have his or her case reviewed;

(3) the United States should work with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the Government of Thailand to improve the security of all refugee facilities in Thailand and to prevent the forced repatriation of Cambodian refugees;

(4) the United States should treat with utmost seriousness the continued reports of forced repatriations to Laos of would-be asylum seekers, and should lodge strong and continuous protests with the Thai Government to bring about an end to these repatriations, which endanger the life and safety of those involuntarily returned to Laos;

(5) the United States will try to facilitate on a high priority basis the resumption of the Orderly Departure Program from Vietnam and the processing of Amerasians from Vietnam; and

(6) within the Orderly Departure Program the United States will give high priority consideration to determining the eligibility of serious health cases and cases involving children separated from both parents.

SEC. 910. COOPERATION ON POW/MIA ISSUE.

It is the sense of the Congress that the President should use available authority and appropriations to provide up to $200,000 in the fiscal year 1988 and up to $200,000 in the fiscal year 1989 for support of humanitarian projects in Laos directly associated with joint United States-Laotian cooperative efforts to resolve questions concerning Vietnam era prisoners of war or those missing in action.

PART B—SOUTH ASIA

SEC. 921. ASSISTANCE FOR THE AFGHAN PEOPLE.

(a) FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR ASSISTANCE.—Section 904 of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), by striking out "chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund)" and inserting in lieu thereof "chapter 1 of part I (relating to development assistance) and chapter 4 of part II (relating to the economic support fund) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961";

(2) by striking out "(a) AUTHORIZATION.—"; and

(3) by repealing subsections (b) and (c).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a)(1) does not apply with respect to funds appropriated prior to the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 922. DEMOCRACY IN BANGLADESH.

(a) PRIMARY PURPOSE OF UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE.—The primary purpose of United States economic assistance for Bangladesh is to foster economic development and political pluralism. Accordingly, in determining whether to provide economic assistance to Bangladesh and in determining how much assistance to provide, the President shall take into account whether—

(1) there is a credible electoral process, in which by-elections and eventual general elections accurately reflect the popular will;

(2) there is an effective parliament, in which both the majority and minority are able to make constructive contributions;

(3) the press is allowed to operate freely, and all points of view can be expressed in the press;

(4) there is effective elected government at the local and regional levels; and

(5) there is an independent judiciary.

(b) REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE.—Whenever requesting economic assistance for Bangladesh, the President shall report to the Congress with respect to each of the issues described in paragraph (1) through (5) of subsection (a).

SEC. 923. ISRAEL-INDIA RELATIONS.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the Government of India has blocked participation by Israelis in international academic gatherings and sporting events held in India; and

(2) India and Israel are sister democracies that share an interest in international cooperation and development.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the sense of the Congress that the growth of contacts between Indians and Israelis would benefit both countries and that the Government of India should facilitate such contacts in the future.

SEC. 924. WAIVER FOR PAKISTAN OF SECTION 669 PROHIBITION ON ASSISTANCE.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the United States considers the spread of nuclear weapons to South Asia to be potentially catastrophic for the countries of the region and, therefore, has made nuclear nonproliferation a vital element of United States policy toward the region;

(2) United States assistance is intended to induce Pakistan to forgo the development of nuclear weapons and, therefore, any effort by Pakistan to develop a nuclear weapons capability could have serious adverse consequences for the United States assistance relationship with Pakistan; and

(3) the most viable, long-term solution to the dangers posed by the threat of nuclear proliferation in South Asia is an agreement involving all countries of the region and, therefore, it is in the interest of the United States to encourage all countries to seek such an agreement.

(b) EXTENSION OF WAIVER.—Section 620E(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by striking out "1987" and inserting in lieu thereof "1989";

(2) by inserting "(1)" after "(d)"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

"(2)(A) Any waiver for Pakistan under this subsection shall cease to be effective if the President certifies to the Congress that India has formally accepted the application of appropriate, verifiab*** BAD MAG TAPE ***le, and reliable safeguards to all its nuclear materials.

"(B) If such a certification is made with respect to India and the President certifies to the Congress (at the same time or subsequently) that Pakistan has also formally accepted the application of appropriate, verifiable, and reliable safeguards to all its nuclear materials, such acceptance shall be deemed to constitute rehiable assurances, for purposes of section 669(b)(1)(B) of this Act, that Pakistan will not acquire or develop nuclear weapons or assist other nations in doing so.".

(c) ADDITIONAL CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—Section 620E(e) of that Act is amended—

(1) by striking out "device and" and inserting in lieu thereof "device,"; and

(2) by inserting before the period at the end ", and that Pakistan is taking responsible steps to reduce nuclear tensions on the Asian Subcontinent".

(d) INFORMATION ON PAKISTAN'S ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES.—The President shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report containing a factual description of the uranium enrichment levels which Pakistan has reached as of the time of the report. This report may be classified if necessary and shall be submitted when the extension (which is provided for in subsection (a)(1) of this section) of the waiver contained in section 620E(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 takes effect.

SEC. 925. SALES OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO PAKISTAN.

(a) AIRBORNE EARLY WARNING AIRCRAFT.—During the period beginning on the date of enactment of this Act and ending on September 30, 1989, the United States may not sell any airborne early warning aircraft to Pakistan unless the President certifies to the Congress that—

(1) no alternative system exists which could perform the same functions as those aircraft are intended to perform and which would be equally or more cost-effective; and

(2) those aircraft, in conjunction with Pakistani combat aircraft, will enable Pakistan to effectively counter violations of its airspace, and air attacks against its territory, from Afghanistan.

(b) LIMITATIONS ON USE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT.—Section 620E(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by inserting "solely" before "defensive purposes";

(2) by inserting "(1)" after "(c)"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

"(2) Defense articles which are not suitable for defending against the threat to Pakistan posed by the Soviet Union, including because of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, may not be provided to Pakistan under the Arms Export Control Act or the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.".

SEC. 926. DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN PAKISTAN.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the United States has a great interest in Pakistan's political stability;

(2) the completion of the process of democratization is essential for the establishment and maintenance of political stability in Pakistan;

(3) the lifting of martial law and the state of emergency in December 1985 was a positive step in the direction of political democracy;

(4) the holding of parliamentary elections and the lifting of censorship are additional welcome indications of Pakistan's intent to move toward a system of democracy; and

(5) a failure to conduct the next elections on a party basis would raise serious questions concerning the legitimacy of any government coming out of those elections.

(b) UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE.—Section 620E of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(f) United States assistance for Pakistan is intended to promote democratic and representative government and respect for internationally recognized human rights in Pakistan. Therefore, assistance may be provided for Pakistan under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the Arms Export Control Act, and the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 only if, each fiscal year at least 30 days before providing any such assistance, the President certifies in writing to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate that the Government of Pakistan—

"(1) intends to hold (or has held), in accordance with the current stipulations of the Pakistani constitution, free and fair multiparty-based elections open to the full participation of all eligible voters (as currently specified in that constitution);

"(2) has made significant and demonstrated progress in eliminating human rights violations, in particular the practice of torture, armed attacks against civilian noncombatants, prolonged arbitrary detention, and imprisonment on political grounds;

"(3) has made significant and demonstrated progress in promoting respect for freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom of peaceful assembly, and the right of all citizens to participate in political life; and

"(4) has made significant and demonstrated progress in restoring full civil and religious freedom to minority groups, such as the Ahmadis, and in removing restrictions on freedom of religious.

Each such certification shall discuss fully and completely the justification for making each of the determinations required by paragraphs (1) through (4).".

SEC. 927. ILLICIT DRUG PRODUCTION AND TRAFFICKING IN PAKISTAN.

In making determinations with respect to Pakistan pursuant to section 481(h)(2)(A)(i) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the President shall take into account the extent to which the Government of Pakistan—

(1) is reducing illicit narcotics cultivation;

(2) is increasing drug seizures;

(3) is increasing its suppression of the manufacture of illicit narcotics;

(4) is increasing the number of illicit laboratories destroyed;

(5) is increasing the number of arrests and successful prosecutions of violators, with particular emphasis on putting major traffickers out of business;

(6) has made changes in Pakistani legal codes in order to enable Pakistani law enforcement officials to move more effectively against narcotics traffickers, such as new conspiracy laws and new asset seizure laws; and

(7) is expeditiously processing United States extradition requests relating to narcotics trafficking.

SEC. 928. SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the interests of the United States are best served by the preservation of the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka and the preservation of its democratic form of government;

(2) the accumulated fears of the Sinhalese and Tamil communities have led to increasing civil strife in Sri Lanka, once considered the model for economic development and social equity in the developing world;

(3) India should be encouraged to play a more active role in facilitating a peaceful national reconciliation in Sri Lanka and to apply pressure on groups that advocate the use of violence in pursuit of their goals in Sri Lanka;

(4) the Government of Sri Lanka has made good-faith efforts to enter into negotiations with representatives of Tamil groups

and should be encouraged in those efforts; and

(5) the United States is committed to a peaceful solution to the ethnic strife which has affected Sri Lanka, a solution in which the legitimate grievances of all parties are addressed.

(b) POLICY.—It is, therefore, the sense of the Congress that—

(1) all acts of terrorism against citizens of Sri Lanka should be condemned;

(2) all parties in Sri Lanka, from all communities in and out of government, should renew their efforts to achieve a joint political settlement which meets the legitimate concerns of all the people of Sri Lanka, while preserving the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka; and

(3) all parties outside Sri Lanka should do nothing which would impede progress toward such a settlement.

(c) ADDITIONAL INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE IF CONFLICT PEACEFULLY RESOLVED.—It is the further sense of the Congress that if there is a peaceful political settlement of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, the United States should work with other countries to establish an international fund or other multilateral effort to provide additional development assistance for rehabilitation and reconstruction in Sri Lanka.

(d) UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE.—In considering future requests for assistance for Sri Lanka, the Congress will be significantly influenced by the following criteria:

(1) Whether the government is making progress in eliminating human rights violations by the security forces and police.

(2) Whether the number of innocent civilians killed by the security forces has increased or decreased in the preceding year.

(3) What steps have been taken to prosecute those members of the security forces who commit crimes.

(4) Whether international humanitarian organizations which operate confidentially have been permitted access to detainees and have been permitted to provide customary services, including relief and assistance in locating persons who have disappeared.

(5) Whether international humanitarian organizations and nongovernmental human rights organizations have access to all areas of conflict in that country, specifically including the northern and eastern areas of the country.

(6) Whether both sides to the conflict have proceeded in good faith to bring about a cease-fire that would create a more positive atmosphere for a negotiated solution.

SEC. 929. LIMITATION ON DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FOR INDIA.

For each of fiscal years 1988 and 1989, not more than $35,000,000 of the funds made available to carry out chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 may be made available for assistance for India.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there amendments to title IX?

EN BLOC AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. SOLARZ

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, pursuant to the rule, I offer amendments en bloc.

The CHAIRMAN. The clerk will designate the amendments en bloc.

The text of the amendments en bloc is as follows:

En bloc amendments offered by Mr. SOLARZ:

Page 207, strike out line 20 and all that follows through line 2 on page 208.

Page 210, after line 3, insert the following new subsection (c), and redesignate existing subsection (c) as subsection (d):

(c) HOUSE LOT PROGRAM.—

(1) AUTHORITY TO USE FUNDS: CHARACTERISTICS OF PROGRAM.—Subject to paragraph (3), not more than $13,000,000 for fiscal year 1988, and not more than $12,000,000 for fiscal year 1989, of the amounts made available for assistance for the Philippines under chapter 4 of part II of that Act may be used to assist in the implementation of a productive house lot program for the rural landless in the Philippines which has the following characteristics:

(A) The program will involve the establishment of village centers consisting of a cluster of individual house lots. These lots will normally consist of not less than 1,000 square meters. These lots will be used for a dwelling and for agricultural cultivation by an individual or family, who will have title to the lot and control over it and the production of agricultural commodities on it.

(B) Not less than half of the resources for the program will come from other resources available to the Government of the Philippines.

(C) The program will not use funds made available pursuant to this subsection for housing or electricity, water, or roadways, but will use other funds for these purposes.

(D) The funds provided pursuant to this subsection will be used to cover the cost of purchasing land for the program, for technical assistance (particularly in high value crop production), for agro-processing centers, and for related purposes in order to assist and encourage farmers in introducing high value crops in the village centers.

(2) PRIVATE VOLUNTARY GROUPS.—It is the intent of the Congress that private voluntary groups should be encouraged to become involved with the administration of any house lot program supported under this subsection.

(3) CONDITIONALITY.—Funds may be used pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection for such a productive house lot program only if, not later than the end of the 9th month of fiscal year 1988, the Government of the Philippines requests those funds for such a program and proposes an effective productive house lot program having the characteristics specified in this subsection.

Page 210, line 23, strike out "Not" and all that follows through the end of line 2 on page 211.

Page 214, after line 18, insert the following:

SEC. 911. SECURITY ASSISTANCE AND ARMS EXPORT CONTROL PREFERENCES FOR NEW ZEALAND.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the people of the United States enjoy a longstanding friendship and close association with the people of New Zealand, and not only share common democratic values, heritage, and national interests but have fought side-by-side in the two World Wars of this century as well as the Korean conflict and the Vietnam conflict, and have participated jointly in numerous multilateral peacekeeping efforts under United Nations and similar auspices;

(2) visits to New Zealand ports by United States naval vessels are a part of this historical, overall framework of military cooperation and coordination which includes many other functions of benefit to all parties to the ANZUS Treaty;

(3) the recent codification of New Zealand Government policy to deny port access to United States ships which might be nuclear powered or nuclear armed is incompatible with the "neither confirm nor deny policy" of the United States, has raised serious operational difficulties for United States naval forces in defending the national security interests of the United States and its allies, and impairs the objective of maximum military cooperation between the United States and New Zealand under the ANZUS Treaty;

(4) the President has taken appropriate action in response to New Zealand's diminished defense cooperation with the United States by suspending United States obligations to New Zealand under the ANZUS Treaty, as announced in August 1986; and

(5) important aims of United States policy, in reaction to the port policies and law of New Zealand, must be to maintain the ANZUS Treaty alliance structure during the absence of New Zealand, to look forward to New Zealand's early return to a normal trilateral defense relationship, and to deny the Soviet Union any potential benefit it might otherwise derive from this temporary discord in the ANZUS Treaty alliance.

(b) NEW ZEALAND SHOULD RECONSIDER ITS POLICY.—The United States urges the Government of New Zealand—

(10 to reconsider its decision and law denying port access to certain United States ships, and

(2) to resume its fulfillment of its obligations under the ANZUS Treaty.

(c) SUSPENSION OF PREFERENCES.—Section 515(a)(6) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and sections 3(d)(2)(B), 21(e)(2), 21(g), 36(b)(1), 36(b)(2), 36(c)(2)(B), and 63(a)(2) of the Arms Export Control Act shall apply with respect to New Zealand only if the President determines, and reports to the Congress, that New Zealand is complying fully with its obligations under the ANZUS Treaty.

(d) ANZUS TREATY.—As used in this section, the term "ANZUS Treaty" means the Security Treaty Between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.

(e) ASSIGNMENT OF UNITED STATES MILITARY PERSONNEL TO MANAGE DEFENSE COOPERATION MEASURES.—Section 515(a)(6) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting ("if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand".

(f) CHARGES FOR CERTAIN ARMS SALES COSTS.—Section 21(e)(2) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand".

(g) COOPERATIVE MILITARY TRAINING AGREEMENTS.—Section 21(g) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand".

(h) CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW OF ARMS TRANSFERS.—The Arms Export Control Act is amended—

(1) in section 3(d)(2)(B), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand";

(2) in section 36(b)(1), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act

of 1987)" after "New Zealand" in the second sentence following subparagraph (P);

(3) in section 36(b)(2), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand";

(4) in section 36(c)(2)(B), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand"; and

(5) in section 63(a)(2), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand".

Page 214, after line 18, insert the following:

SEC. 912. HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

(a) CONDEMNING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.—The Congress—

(1) strongly condemns the continued violations of human rights by the Government of the People's Republic of China, including—

(A) the one-child-per-family policy adopted in 1979 that relies on coercion, economic penalties, and forced abortions (often late in pregnancy) as a means of enforcing compliance;

(B) the continued use of a repressive "birth quota" system that empowers the authorities to dictate to couples if and when they may have a child; and

(C) the use of forced abortions and involuntary sterilizations of Tibetans by Chinese authorities in Tibet; and

(2) affirms internationally recognized basic human rights, such as—

(A) the conclusion made by the 1981 United Nations symposium on Population and Human Rights that compulsory abortion is a violation of human rights; and

(B) the declaration made at the Nuremberg War Crimes trials that forced abortion be regarded as a "crime against humanity".

(b) INSTRUCTING THE PRESIDENT AND THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—The Congress asks that the President and the Department of State—

(1) raise the concerns expressed in this section with the Government of the People's Republic of China, and

(2) call upon that Government to cease immediately this repressive policy.

Page 214, at the end of line 18, insert the following:

The executive branch shall inform the appropriate oversight committees of the Congress of all progress made in POW/MIA cases in Laos and shall notify the appropriate committees of the Congress of any United States expenditures approved for projects associated with POW/MIA cases in Laos.

Page 223, strike out line 11 and all that follows through line 4 on page 226 (section 928), and redesignate subsequent sections accordingly.

Page 226, after line 10, insert the following:

SEC. 930. ANNUAL REPORT ON PAKISTAN.

The President shall submit a report to the Congress each year which details—

(1) the extent to which Pakistan has received assistance or support from other countries for activities related to nuclear enrichment or the development of nuclear weapons and the extent to which Pakistan has cooperated with or assisted other countries in nuclear enrichment or nuclear weapons development activities; and

(2) the extent to which Pakistan has shared sensitive United States military technology or information with any other country or allowed such technology to be compromised.

Page 208, beginning in line 3, strike out "JAPAN AND THE ARAB ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL" and insert in lieu thereof "JAPANESE MIDDLE EAST POLICIES"; line 5, "it" insert "(a) ARAB ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL.—"; and after line 9, insert the following:

(b) PARTICIPATION IN PERSIAN GULF EFFORTS.—

(1) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(A) Iran continues to threaten peace and stability in the Persian Gulf region;

(B) Iran has engaged in aggressive military action against United States military forces in the Persian Gulf, including the use of seamines and Silkworm missiles;

(C) Iran has refused to accept a ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war, as proposed by the United Nations Security council;

(D) Japan's announced policy of refusing to engage in a United States-instigated trade embargo against Iran will continue to provide the Government of Iran with the hard currencies necessary to finance its war efforts;

(E) Japan purchases about 20 percent of Iran's total oil exports, an average of between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 barrels per day;

(F) continued hostilities in the Gulf threaten the free flow of oil from the Persian Gulf to the industrial democracies;

(G) no industrial democracy is more dependent on the free flow of oil out of the Persian Gulf than Japan; and

(I) Japan's participation in Western efforts to restore peace in the Gulf region have been disappointing.

(2) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that, by failing to make substantive contributions to restore peace in the Gulf region, Japan has been negligent in its responsibility as a member of the Western Alliance and as a member of the community of nations.

Page 209, strike out line 15 and all that follows through line 3 on page 210 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

(b) AGRARIAN REFORM.—Of the amounts made available to carry out chapter 4 of part II of that Act, not less than $50,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $50,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 shall be available only to assist in the implementation of agrarian reform in the Philippines if the Government of the Philippines initiates an effective agrarian reform program and requests United States assistance for that program and if a clear majority of the resources for the implementation of that program each year will be provided by the Government of the Philippines or other non-United States donors, or both. If, however, those conditions are not met by the end of the 9th month of a fiscal year, the funds earmarked by this subsection for that fiscal year may be used for assistance for other countries.

Page 226, after line 10, insert the following:

SEC. 932. HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE SIKHS IN THE PUNJAB OF INDIA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) Amnesty International found in its 1987 report that India has failed to adequately protect the human rights of the Sikhs living in the Punjab;

(2) there is evidence that the Indian authorities are currently suspending basic freedoms in the Punjab and that increasingly harsh police tactics are only aggravating the situation;

(3) due to the breakdown of law and order in the Punjab, India's central government has dismissed the elected state government and has introduced large numbers of police and paramilitary units;

(4) these paramilitary units temporarily sealed off the Golden Temple, the most sacred religious shrine of the Sikh people, and for the first time in centuries, devotees could not offer prayers or bathe in the historic holy tank built around the Golden Temple; and

(5) historically, Sikhs have been a peaceful people, and most Sikhs still want a peaceful solution in the Punjab.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the sense of the Congress that the Government of India should continue to allow Sikhs to have full access to the Golden Temple for the purpose of religious worship and should remove all military presence from the shrine as soon as possible. While the Congress condemns the use of terrorist tactics in the region, the Government of India should use restraint in resolving its dispute with the Sikh people in the Punjab. The Congress supports the territorial integrity of India and respectfully urges Prime Minister Ghandi, and all responsible leaders of the Sikh community, to renew their efforts to achieve a political solution that will permit the settlement of accumulated grievances, the restoration of law and order, and the return to home rule in the Punjab, while guaranteeing religious freedom and respect for the human rights of all the people of India.

□ 1445

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, this is an en bloc amendment which I believe has bipartisan support. It is being offered in order to facilitate the more expenditious consideration and rapid conclusion of the debate on this bill.

There are 11 provisions in the en bloc amendment. They are first, a provision authorizing the use of ESF funds for the Philippines for a house lot program.

Second, a provision for a scholarship program for the South Pacific.

Third, a provision concerning security assistance and arms export control preferences for New Zealand.

Fourth, a provision concerning family planning in the People's Republic of China.

Fifth, a provision concerning expenditures for United States-financed projects in Laos.

Sixth, a provision requiring that a report on Pakistan include information on the extent to which Pakistan has received support for nuclear enrichment activities from other countries and the extent to which it has shared sensitive United States technology with other countries.

Seventh, a provision dropping an outdated Sri Lanka amendment from the bill.

Eighth, a provision striking a section of the bill concerning contacts with Vietnam.

Ninth, a provision concerning Japanese policy toward the Persian Gulf.

Tenth, a provision concerning agrarian reform in the Philippines, and

Eleventh, and amendment concerning India's treatment of the Sikh community.

Mr. Chairman, given my druthers, I would not be in favor of each and every provision in this en bloc amendment. But in the interest of clearing the deck for final passage on this legislation, and in the interest of avoiding votes where the results would be a foregone conclusion anyway, we thought it best to present these amendments which do have broad bipartisan support in the en bloc amendment.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, are we now operating under the 10-minute rule?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wants all Members to understand the procedure we are operating under. Under the rule, debate on each amendment, from this point forward, printed in the RECORD, including those offered en bloc, is divided 5 minutes on each side, but the time cannot be reserved. The advocate of an amendment speaks for 5 minutes or he yields as he may wish.

Mr. SOLARZ. So there is a total of 5 minutes on each side for the en bloc amendments?

The CHAIRMAN. Five minutes on the gentleman's side and 5 minutes in opposition.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLARZ. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I am offering expresses the sense of the Congress regarding the policy of the Japanese Government in the Middle East. My amendment criticizes the Government of Japan for acting contrary to the collective Western interests in that region. Specifically mentioned in my amendment is Japan's continued adherence to the Arab boycott of Israel, its refusal to join in the Western trade embargo against Iran, and the unsatisfactory contribution Japan has made to the Western campaign in the Persian Gulf.

More so than any other member of the Western alliance, Japan has been afforded, and exploits, the opportunity to exercise a foreign policy based exclusively on independent economic concerns. The Japanese Constitution, prohibiting that country from employing or developing offensive weapons, was viewed with ire by the Japanese in the immediate aftermath of World War II. Now, in many cases, it is used as a figleaf to justify Japan's unwillingness to meet its international obligations.

This could not be more evident than in the Middle East. The United States, along with our Western European allies, has deployed tremendous military resources in the Persian Gulf to defend the free flow of oil to the industrial democracies: Not to the United States alone, but to the allies of the Western alliance. The British are there; the French are there; the Dutch are there; the Italians are there—but the Japanese are not. Underscoring the moral bankruptcy of Japanese policy is that these other countries are far less dependent on Persian Gulf oil than Japan is. Whereas less than 6 percent of total United States consumption and less than 25 percent of Western European consumption of oil comes from the Persian Gulf, 48 percent of the oil consumed in Japan must travel through the Strait of Hormuz.

To add insult to injury, on August 29, 1987, then Japanese Prime Minister Nakosone determined that sending minesweepers to patrol the waters of the Persian Gulf would not violate the Japanese Constitution. He went on to say, however, that it would "not be appropriate to dispatch the self defense forces to the very stage of international conflict because there is a possibility that they will become involved in the conflict." This comment suggests a failure to grasp the concepts of collective security and morally motivated foreign policy.

Japan's failure to join our Persian Gulf campaign is not an isolated event, but rather a continuation of a disturbing pattern. The Japanese continue to subscribe to the Arab boycott of Israel—thereby fortifying an already hostile international environment for America's most reliable ally in the Middle East, Israel. Furthermore, Japan already has announced that it will not join the United States in enacting a trade embargo against Iran aimed at inhibiting that country's ability to finance its war effort.

Mr. Chairman, the Congress of the United States should go on record as strongly criticizing Japan for failing to make substantive contributions to restoring peace in the gulf and for acting contrary to the policy of those nations ensuring its economic lifeline.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LEACH] for 5 minutes.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I support the amendment pertaining to the Punjab.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment describes Syrian continuing support for terrorism and calls on the President not to rescind any more of the sanctions imposed on Syria last year.

In November last year, the State Department invoked a number of sanctions against Syria following the conviction in London of a terrorist operating on behalf of Syrian intelligence. The terrorist had attempted to blow up an El Al airliner by placing a bomb in the luggage of his pregnant girlfriend.

The Abu Nidal terrorist group claimed responsibility for this act. This year, Abu Nidal was expelled from Damascus, and for this reason the State Department saw fit to return our Ambassador and rescind its request that United States corporations suspend operations there.

The State Department's action implies that Syria is somehow reducing its direct support and sponsorship of terrorism against United States citizens, Israeli citizens, and Turkish citizens. This is not true.

A score of terrorist groups still maintain offices in Damascus and terrorist training bases under Syrian control and with Syrian support.

Though Abu Nidal was expelled from Damascus, he just moved into the Syrian-controlled Beka valley. How little does it take to placate the State Department? Couldn't they just have put a sign up: "We don't support terrorism?"

I don't know why, when Secretary Shultz has personally spoken so strongly about terrorism, that the State Department would fall for a gesture so blatantly cosmetic.

In addition to Abu Nidal: The terrorist group Saiqa, the Abu Moussa faction of the PLO, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine all receive direct or indirect material and diplomatic support from Syria.

Syria also supports terrorism against another American ally, Turkey. Two terrorist groups: The American Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia [ASALA] and the Kurdish Worker's Party [PKK] may still be receiving direct or indirect support for brutal attacks against Turkish civilians.

American oil companies, such as Marathon Oil are to be commended for their voluntary compliance with the State Department request to suspend operations in Syria. But they should not return because of cosmetic gestures by Syria. This amendment would put the House on record that American companies should not help the Syrians find the oil to pay for their Soviet-made war machine. And the State Department should not be egging them on.

TITLE IX. SIKH HUMAN RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Mr. Chairman, a refreshingly bipartisan effort has been taking place in Congress in favor of allowing the Sikh people their basic human rights. Members may not be aware of the situation in the Punjab because the Indian Government maintains a virtual news blackout and forbids most foreign journalists from visiting the region. The Indian Government has been trying to shelter world opinion from its

systematic oppression of the Sikhs in the Punjab.

While I appreciate that India has to deal with a terrorist element in the Punjab, an element which I condemn, it is obvious that the increasingly repressive tactics of Indian police and paramilitary units are only aggravating the situation. Let me just quote from the 1987 Amnesty International report on human rights. It expresses concern with regard to, and I quote:

The detention of hundreds of political detainees held without charge or trial under special "Anti-Terrorist" Legislation or preventive detention laws which lack legal safeguards required by international human rights standards and allow people to be detained for non-violently expressing their opinions;

Allegations from most Indian states of ill-treatment and torture of detainees and some detainees allegedly died as a result; and

Reports that some alleged supporters of armed opposition groups were deliberately killed in "encounters" staged by the police.

Mr. Chairman, on October 24 of this year, Indian police and paramilitary troops virtually sealed off the Golden Temple, the most sacred religious shrine of the Sikh peoples, and for the first time in its centuries-old history devotees could not offer prayers around this most holy temple. Mr. Chairman, let us put this body on record in support of religious freedom for the Sikhs. The vast majority of Sikhs desire a peaceful solution in the Punjab and we should encourage them. Let us urge Prime Minister Gandhi to use restraint in dealing with the crisis in the Punjab.

Mr. Chairman, force is not the answer. The Sikhs have not, nor will they ever, submit to oppression.

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I rise also in support of the en bloc amendments and to make one comment about one amendment within it which relates to the country of Japan, and only to suggest that in accepting this amendment it is the view of a number of us that it is not as perfectly balanced as we would like. I think it fair to point out that on October 7 the Japanese Government announced a whole series of measures to express certain support for United States policy in the Middle East.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Chairman, I support and would like to make some comments on specific provisions in the en bloc amendments to title IX.

RE: H.R. 3100 AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC REGIONAL FISHERIES TREATY

Mr. Chairman, last month the U.S. Senate approved the South Pacific Regional Fisheries Treaty by a unanimous vote of 89 to 0. The treaty represents a major effort on the part of the United States to address a collective concern of the countries of the Pacific basin regarding the exploitation of their primary resource, tuna.

It was an arduous task to meet the diverse concerns of the 16 South Pacific countries and the United States. However, the treaty was successfully concluded due to the leadership and personal attention of Secretary of State, George Shultz, and the tenacious and dedicated effort of Under Secretary of State, Edward Derwinski. It was said many times by many people that it would be impossible to conclude such a treaty with the number of countries involved. Fortunately, the persistence of our negotiators paid off.

The American Tuna Association enthusiastically supports the treaty as it will resolve the cycle of boat seizures and retaliatory embargoes that have plagued the industry in the past. The actions and reactions of the island countries and the United States has been detrimental to the development of cooperative relations. The treaty will remove a major irritant and replace it with a constructive and positive framework for maritime cooperation in the Pacific. Access to the major fishing area of the world is guaranteed in exchange for economic assistance from the U.S. Tuna Industry and the Government. The U.S. economic assistance will be $10 million annually in the form of a cash transfer.

Section 206 of title II of H.R. 3100, requires the purchase of U.S. goods and services for any country that receives $10 million or more in ESF funds. The exemption provision provdes that,

This section shall not apply to any country—

(1) Which receives cash transfer assistance under this chapter of less than $10,000,000 for a fiscal year; * * *

The Forum Fisheries Agency which will receive the annual cash transfer, for subsequent distribution to the Pacific states, is not considered a "country" for these purposes. Furthermore, as no one of the 16 signatory countries will receive the total cash transfer of $10 million, it is clear that the exemption of section 206 applies.

The administration is expected to soon transmit the proposed enabling legislation regarding the South Pacific Regional Fisheries Treaty, formally entitled, the "Treaty on Fisheries Beween the Governments of Certain Pacific Island States and the Government of the United States." I urge my colleagues to expeditiously and sympathetically consider the legislation upon receipt. The Pacific is a vital part of today's world and will be increasingly so in the future. It is incumbent upon the United States to keep the importance of the Pacific in perspective. We must work to develop and maintain our relations with the many Pacific Island states, most of whom have been our close friends for years, through substantial and sincere action, such as the South Pacific Regional Fisheries Treaty.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment in the enbloc amendment offered by Congressman BOB DORNAN, a member and former chairman of the House POW-MIA Task Force, that would strike section 903, the provisions that encourage a wide range of contacts with Vietnam. Knowing of the complex and intricate negotiations in which we are engaged with the Vietnamese on the fate of our brave servicemen missing in Indochina, I believe it is unwise for Congress, at this time, to send independent signals and possible rewards to Vietnam. If such signals are needed from Congress, I have been assured by Gen. John Vessey, our special POW-MIA emissary who recently returned from Hanoi, that the administration will ask for them.

What significant actions have the Vietnamese done to resolve the humanitarian issue or our POW-MIA's? What real progress has recently been made warranting the rewards this section provides? While the Vietnamese have once again reassured us of their cooperation with this issue, actions speak louder than words. So far, all we've heard are words. The Vietnamese have been trying to get us to "expand our contacts with them." Before acceding to their request, let's see some real significant progress on behalf of our missing servicemen. As we found out during the Carter administration's dealings with Vietnam, these gestures do not work unless they are first tied to real results.

I do not disagree with Congress' calling upon Vietnam to promote family reunification, release political prisoners, withdraw from Cambodia and account for American POW-MIA's. I am very concerned, though, about the language that follows. The United States had tried painstakingly hard to separate the humanitarian issue of POW-MIA's from the political issue of Cambodia. This language makes no such distinction—undercutting a very hard-fought U.S. negotiating position. This language further muddies the waters by calling for "unofficial" contacts in political fields and exchanges of elected officials to faciliate these unresolved problems. The Vietnamese have always sought the opportunity to expand their dialog with the United States from the humanitarian POW-MIA issue to broader political ones. This language could allow that to happen. The POW-MIA issue is our primary bilateral humanitarian concern. Cambodia is a multilateral political issue. Just when we may be making real progress, it would be disheartening for Congress to give the Vietnamese a new vehicle to create obstacles.

As chairman of the House POW-MIA Task Force, I met with General Vessey upon his return from Hanoi. I have full confidence in his ability to deal with the Vietnamese and help our POW-MIA's. Instead of initiating our own well-meaning but misguided and misleading actions, let's wait and follow General Vessey's lead. I urge my colleagues to support our POW-MIA's, support General Vessey's initiatives and strike this flawed section relating to Vietnam.

AMENDMENT TO SECTION 907(B)

Mr. Chairman, I want to commend my colleagues from American Samoa and Guam for their initiative to provide scholarships for students from the South Pacific, as contained in section 907(b) of H.R. 3100. Mr. SUNIA and Mr. BLAZ represent constituencies in the Pacific and are particularly aware of the need to foster close relationships between the countries of the Pacific and the United States. One way to do this is to provide an opportunity for individuals from the South Pacific to study at United States institutions of education.

One Pacific Island country with no students currently studying in the United States, has developed relations with Cuba, Libya, and the Soviet Union. This should not come as a surprise, although many have considered the Pacific to be an American lake for decades. We shouldn't expect the South Pacific countries to understand our democratic way of life if the leaders have not been exposed to our system. Providing undergraduate and graduate training in the United States to the future leaders of the island countries may have a profound effect on our relations in the Pacific.

I want to thank the gentleman from American Samoa for working with me to craft a provision that provides a flexible scholarship program for the South Pacific. A great diversity exists in the needs of the many island countries. The need for graduate and undergraduate training varies among the island states. While no cap has been placed on the percentage of funds that are to be used for graduate scholarships, it is intended that the majority of the funds will be for undergraduate scholarships. It should be noted that the term study as used in section 907(b), refers to either academic or vocational training.

Some thought had been given to allow a limited use of these funds for training at other than U.S. institutions, in the event that specialized needs could not be met by a U.S. school. This might occur with regards to either tropical agriculture or tropical medicine. However, the provision restricts the scholarships to U.S. institutions. It would be very useful if the administering agency would identify instances where crucial training needs could not be provided by U.S. institutions. Such data could establish the basis for future funding to be more flexible or specifically identified for other purposes.

The South Pacific Scholarship Program is another step in the continuing effort to develop and maintain cooperative and productive relations with the countries of the Pacific; an area which is vitally important to the United States economically, politically, and strategically.

RICHARDSON AMENDMENT TO SECTION 910 OF H.R. 3100 "POW-MIA COOPERATION WITH LAOS"

Mr. Chairman, as chairman of the House POW-MIA Task Force, I support the new language offered by Mr. RICHARDSON of New Mexico regarding United States POW-MIA cooperation assistance to Laos. This new language, which instructs the administration to keep Congress informed before releasing any POW-MIA related aid to Laos, strengthens the provisions already in H.R. 3100.

My colleagues may recall that during the markup of this foreign aid bill last spring, our POW-MIA negotiators asked that Congress send a signal to back up their efforts with the Lao. This resulted in a very carefully worded amendment I offered that was unanimously accepted. This language is found in both H.R. 3100 and the Broomfield substitute. It is a sense of Congress that the President use available authority and appropriations, up to $200,000, to provide strictly humanitarian aid directly associated with POW-MIA efforts. It allows our negotiators to go to the Lao and say, "Congress is concerned and if you are cooperative, you might receive some help." This language sends a positive signal without denying our negotiators any needed flexibility.

I was opposed to the original Richardson amendment because it earmarked no less than $200,000 to the Lao. It would have given the Lao an important reward and they have yet to do anything really helpful toward resolving the fate of our POW-MIA's. I do not believe in rewards for nothing. Yes, this original Richardson amendment did provide for a Presidential waiver, but what message would we be sending the Lao? Now, we would be saying, "Congress will give you at least $200,000 unless you don't cooperate." The burden is now on the United States. If the President does use his waiver, the Lao will blame us for not cooperating, despite what the facts may really be, claiming that we promised the aid, but then reneged. Note the important flexibility we have lost. Once again, they can play Congress off against the administration at the expense of our brave POW-MIA's, the ones we are trying to help.

We have tried this route before with the Vietnamese during the Carter administration and it failed. The language as it now stands is very carefully worded and unanimously agreed upon by the administration and both sides of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Why make our negotiator's jobs more difficult than they already are?

As chairman of the House POW-MIA Task Force, I can assure my colleagues that this is a top national priority and much is being done. On a technical note, this aid, if provided, would not be on one lump sum, but rather in small POW-MIA projects—like crash site excavations. Think of how many times, sometimes for sums as little as $1,000, the administration will have to consider the waiver. Think of how many opportunities this will give the Lao to lessen cooperation and blame us for it. Ask our negotiators who deal with the Vietnamese and Lao, they are the ones who briefed me. These negotiations are very delicate and complex, let's not let Congress create another obstacle—Hanoi and Vientiene have already done enough of that.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I am very encouraged that Mr. Richardson has not offered this amendment and, instead, has chosen new language, approved and endorsed by the administration, that will help, not hurt our efforts to fully account for our brave POW-MIA's. This positive, new language is part of the Asis title en bloc amendment.

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Iowa he has 2½ minutes remaining.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, in 1979, the Government of the People's Republic of China adopted a one-child per couple policy and embarked on one of the most vicious, barbaric invasions of personal privacy and family integrity the world has ever known.

The policy has resulted in tens of millions of unborn children even late in pregnancy being killed against their parents wishes.

The policy includes widespread use of forced abortion—a hideous crime that at the Nuremburg trials was deemed a "crime against humanity."

The policy has resulted in tens of millions of Chinese women being sterilized against their will.

The policy has resulted in mandatory IUD insertions for millions of Chinese women.

The policy has resulted in numerous cases of infanticide—the killing of newborn children—mostly of baby girls.

There is now no longer any serious doubt whatsoever, that for most Chinese couples only one child is permitted by the state. And under what is known as the "birth quota" system, the state tells women when and if they

are allowed to have the one child permitted under the policy.

Two years ago the House voted 289 to 130 to condemn these practices as "crimes against humanity."

The message this House sends today by passing this amendment is this: Big Brother in Beijing must reverse this obscene policy.

In 1985, the Washington Post carried a three-part page 1 expose of China's coercive population control program. Michael Weisskopf the Post's correspondent in Bejing wrote:

Publicly, they claim to rely on the powers of persuasion and education, exercising a policy of voluntary consent. They point to declining birth rates and happy one-child couples as symbols of success worthy of the United Nations' First Family Planning Award given jointly to China and India in 1983.

But a closer and longer look reveals a very different picture. China, to be sure, is curbing its population growth, but its success is rooted in widespread coercion, mass abortion and intrusion by the state into the most intimate of human affairs.

The article quotes the Chinese Minister of Family Planning as saying:

The size of a family is too important to be left to the personal decision of a couple * * * Births are a matter of state planning, just like other economic and social activities, because they are a matter of strategic concern. A couple cannot have a baby just because it wants to.

The Post article goes on to say that—

Any mother who becomes pregnant again without receiving official authorization after having one child is required to have an abortion, and the incidence of such operations is stunning—53 million from 1979 to 1984, according to the ministry of public health—a 5-year abortion count approximately equal to the population of France.

Sadly these abuses persist to this day despite an aggressive public relations effort by the Government in Bejing and an assortment of apologists and sympathizers from the population control community including the United Nations Fund for Population Activity.

Mr. Chairman, there are some who say that things have changed in China. How I wish that were so. They say China has cleaned up its act. Let's not kid ourselves. The fact of the matter is that the evidence clearly indicates that coercion is still part and parcel of the PRC program.

An August 10, 1987, AID action memorandum by Assistant Administrator Richard Busell concludes that the "Chinese Program remains systematically coercive."

Dr. John S. Aird, former Senior Research Specialist on China at the U.S. Bureau of the Census, says coercion in population control in China is widespread de facto policy. Dr. Aird testified before the Congress earlier this year and said:

The Chinese program remains highly coercive, and its coerciveness is not due to local deviations from central policies but is a direct and inevitable consequence of those policies.

A few weeks ago Dr. Aird wrote:

Recently some foreign defenders of China's family planning program have alledged that the Chinese Government has significantly modified program requirements and curbed the more aggressive tactics of family planning cadres since the sping of 1984. The implication is that the program is becoming much less coercive and that U.S. funding for the United Nations Fund for Population Activities [UNFPA], withheld since 1985 because of the UNFPA's support of the Chinese program, can now be resumed.

However, this conclusion is strongly contradicted by the evidence from the Chinese media, which shows that family planning demands were eased only very slightly after 1983, that sterilization of couples with two or more children, abortion for all unauthorized pregnancies, and the absolute prohibition of third births remain in effect, and that the program has been getting stricter again since the fall of 1985. The coercion is still very much alive.

The Chinese program remains highly coercive, and its coerciveness is not due to local deviations from central policies but is a direct and inevitable consequence of those policies. Foreign organizations and individuals that indiscriminately laud the Chinese program or provide financial and technical assistance for any aspect of it place themselves in the position of supporting the program as a whole, including its coercive methods and the violations of human rights that result from those methods.

Steven Mosher, director of Asian studies at the Claremont Institute, the anthropologist who broke the story on these atrocities after living in a rural Chinese village for over a year says the Chinese program remains "relentlessly coercive."

On October 18, the Post carried an extensive commentary by Mr. Mosher after he went back to China last June. In a moving article, he tells the story of one couple that desperately tried to have a second child despite government pressure. I think sharing this story will give members some additional insight into the brutality of the Chinese population control program.

Here are some excerpts:

By staying home most of the time, Chen's wife was able to hide her pregnancy from the population-control workers for several months. Her growing reclusiveness eventually made them suspicious, however, and they ordered her to go in for a pelvic examination.

Chen explained in blunt terms what that meant. "If the examination revealed that my wife was pregnant, they would order her to have an abortion." So, like millions of Chinese whose plans for a second child have aroused official ire; the Chens opted for "childbirth on the run." His wife would go to live with a cousin in a neighboring county until she gave birth.

Though Chen was expecting censure, he was taken aback by its intensity. Each day at work the vice director of his factory hounded him for information about his wife's whereabouts. Each evening at home he was visited by a birth-control delegation. After 2 months the factory director concluded that Chen could not be broken. He told the factory's dozen purchasing agents and sales representatives to make inquiries in the towns and villages of the surrounding district, promising a bonus to whoever located the missing wife. Chen's wife was found and brought back in February of this year. She was 7 months pregnant.

The factory director ordered her confined to the factory dormitory. At least one member of the birth-control committee was with her at all times, badgering her to accept an abortion. Separated from her husband, too distraught to eat and sleep, she accepted the inevitable.

She was immediately taken to the local medical clinic and given an injection of an abortifacient drug. This shot, universally called a "poison shot" in China, causes the fetus to be born dead or dying 24 to 48 hours later. "They didn't even tell me she was in the clinic until they had already given her the shot," Chen ended ruefully.

The Chen's are only one of tens of millions of couples whose desire for another child has pitted them against a state bent on curbing China's population. The aggressive drive to enforce the "one couple, one child" limit intrudes on the intimate affairs of the family to a degree not seen in China since the cultural revolution.

Mr. Mosher went on in the article to write that the most important question is the extent to which women are still being subjected to abortions and sterilizations against their will. The answer to this question is written into the same 1983 directive quoted above:

Those women who have already given birth to one child must be fitted with IUD's, couples who already have two children must undergo sterilization of either the husband or the wife, and women pregnant outside of the plan must adopt remedial measures (i.e., abortion) as soon as possible.

This order, written in the imperative, has appeared repeatedly in the Chinese press. Even illiterate peasant women cited this law to me, so often have they heard it repeated in meetings. They understand, as do their urban sisters, that it is a prescription for mandatory IUD insertion, for mandatory sterilization and, when the policy on childbirth is violated for mandatory abortion.

The question whether the one-child policy has been relaxed is moot. Even if the one-child policy were abandoned tomorrow in favor of a "two-child" policy, the Chinese program will remain painfully coercive as women continue to be subjected to IUD insertions, sterilizations, and abortions against their will.

Mr. Chairman, my amendment references the fact that these crimes are also being perpetrated against the people of Tibet. On November 5 of this year the Subcommittee on Human Rights of which I am a member, heard troubling testimony of coercion in population programs directed against Tibetans.

Last March, March 29, 1987, John Avedon wrote an article in the Washington Post describing the situation in Tibet. He wrote:

The harsh face of Chinese rule includes thousands of forced abortions and sterilizations of Tibetan women each year. The common method for both procedures, recounted from all across the country, is by

injection. In Chamdo, Tibet's third-largest city, there have been numerous reports of fetuses thrown out in the storm drains and garbage bins of the People's Hospital. In Lhasa, many Tibetan women have heard their newborns cry, only to be told later that the infants died at birth.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly urge the House to adopt this amendment. We cannot remain silent in the face of these gross human rights abuses.

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of my distinguished colleague's en bloc amendment and thank him for including the house lot section which I authored.

All of us recognize that a politically and economically stable Philippines is one of the cornerstones of our strategic policy in the Pacific region. By deposing the dictator Marcos and restoring democracy to their nation, the Philippine people have taken the first steps toward political stability. For their heroic actions, they deserve our support and loyalty. But the vestiges of decades of dictatorship remain, posing a continuing barrier to continued political and economic progress.

Paramount among these barriers is a system of concentrated land ownership. In that agricultural society, estimates of the number of landless Filipinos range from 6 to 8 million, with 70 percent of the dispossessed living in rural areas. As the people's expectations for the new government continue to rise, those landless Filipinos who are still victimized by that system will be fertile ground for any antidemocratic movement.

This amendment, Mr. Chairman, offers an opportunity to help some 400,000 Filipinos break this land lock with house lots. If the Government of the Philippines approves this plan, this amendment would establish funding for 1,600 village centers throughout that nation. A village center would consist of a number of small grants of land, usually a quarter of an acre, to landless families in the countryside. The cooperative centers would provide marketing and technical assistance for crop production.

Because of the small amount of land granted to each family, technical assistance would encourage residents to produce high value crops such as mushrooms, coffee, and asparagus on a cooperative basis. This approach could also energize a national program for more productive land use and generate much needed foreign exchange.

Mr. Chairman, this is a fiscally sound and strategically correct response to one of the most difficult problems now confronting one of our most important allies. Sooner or later, land reform will come to the Philippines. Self-interest tells us that we should do what we can to encourage its peaceful and timely enactment. But even more important, this amendment is the right thing to do. It is an opportunity for this Nation to be on the right side of history in the Philippines.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, I rise to express my support for the Burton amendment regarding human rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab of India.

As cochairman of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, I have continually endorsed the efforts of the overwhelming numbers of moderate and nonviolent members of the Sikh community who strive to return basic human rights and religious freedoms to their community. As you know, more than half of India's 16 million Sikhs live in the Punjab.

To begin, I want to remind my colleagues that I abhor the increasingly violent confrontation occuring in the Punjab between the small minority of militant Sikhs and security forces. You may remember the bus attacks in June, the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, and other such incidents.

However, the issue before us is a much broader one. Last year, I visited India and met Prime Minister Gandhi and Chief Minister Barnala, the head of the elected moderate Sikh government. I have followed this situation for many years, talked to members of the Sikh community and heard from an editor of a Bombay newspaper.

Unfortunately, the religious tensions and political conflicts within the Sikh community, between the Sikhs and the Hindus in the Punjab, and between the Akali Dal and the Indian Government, shade the picture of human rights violations which continue to occur.

We must not forget the indiscriminate 1984 assault on the Golden Temple, the holiest center of the Sikh religion, where thousands were killed. Only this year, Prime Minister Gandhi dismissed Punjab's chief minister, suspended the legislature, and reimposed direct rule by the central government.

I support this amendment because it focuses on basic human rights violations and offers concrete suggestions for improvement including reopening the Golden Temple for religious worship, using restraint in resolving the dispute between the Sikh peoples and the Government, and respecting human rights in the Punjab.

Mr. Chairman, we must continue to uphold our Nation's principles and urge other democractic countries to do the same. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this amendment.

Mr. SUNIA. Mr. Chairman, the education system we have in the United States offers our children immense opportunities to learn and grow in many ways, and it gives us the peace of mind that comes in knowing we will leave this great Nation to people who will be well informed and capable.

But we must remember those who are not as fortunate. Most in my part of the world—the South Pacific—are not able to receive the kind of instruction that is afforded to students here in the United States.

And few realize the educational needs of those in the South Pacific as I do. As the only Member of this body from the region, I come to realize that the best way to enhance the prosperity of my territory's neighbors is to educate their future leaders, also.

So it is that I proposed the amendment to H.R. 3100 which gives scholarship funds for students in developing countries in the South Pacific.

Certainly these students, who will be receiving fine schooling from this program, stand the best chance to becoming the future leaders in their respective homelands, because of their training and backgrounds.

But if they are taught in their own area of the world, we will be missing the whole intention of these funds, Indeed, the real purpose of the scholarships will be defeated.

This scholarship fund will go to more than educating students from developing countries alone; it will, in fact, be going for something less tangible: the improvement and continuation of better relations with these countries for years to come.

With this fund we want these young people to understand our way of life, our thought processes and our rationale for the roles we may take in future relations with their countries.

Robert Louis Stevenson, who lived in the Samoan Islands for many years and is even buried there, once said: "Books are good enough in their own way, but they are a mighty bloodless substitute for life."

With that in mind, we must remember that we want these students to receive an education not only from textbooks and lectures but also from living in our country and associating with American students. In receiving this kind of education, they will be able to bring to their homelands a respect for the American system of government and the American way of life.

Should these students be allowed to attend schools in their own region, we will lose this great opportunity. We will let this chance—this chance to teach the future leaders of the South Pacific about ourselves—go by. Instead, they will learn ideals and thoughts which may not be conducive to our way of thinking. They might learn another's philosophy. They will come to understand the role of another country in the world. And after all is said and done, these future leaders will still see the United States as a distant place which they still really know little about.

It has been pointed out to me, and it is a point well taken, that the proposed scholarship funding would be put to good use if some of it went toward education in the form of technical training. There certainly is a need for vocational training in my part of the world, and, if I must say, we should not miss this opportunity to train the young from the South Pacific in the various skills taught through vocational education.

It was indeed my intention to include funding for this type of schooling in my present amendment by using the term "postsecondary" to mean both traditional undergraduate study and technical study in such areas as agriculture, fisheries, business administration, and the economic development sectors.

The 10-percent clause for graduate studies was intended to make it clear to the distributing agency how much should be spent in this area, particularly because the focus of the funds shall be used extensively for undergraduate study. However, if that is clear to the distributing agency, I have no objection to removing the 10-percent stipulation, and allowing the agency to use the funds at its discretion.

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, people in America rightfully get provoked when our country is scorned by foreign governments. How many of us have questioned foreign aid to nations which constantly vote against our interests in the United Nations?

Here we have a case where indignation is not enough. Here we have a country whose agents have been caught red-handed violating our laws, whose leaders have consistently misled us about their actions. Their President

and their Prime Minister publicly and loudly proclaim that they will keep their nuclear programs within agreed-upon limits, but our intelligence authorities document that they are hell-bent on producing a nuclear bomb.

So how do we react? Are we outraged? Are we insulted? You can't say so from the committee's bill. Instead, we are looking the other way and reinstating aid for 2 more years.

I know that our relations with Pakistan are generally good. That country has been of immense help in dealing with the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. They help us quietly in the Persian Gulf region. We don't want to jeopardize that relationship.

But we aren't the ones who put the relationship in jeopardy. We aren't the ones that said one thing and did another. We aren't the ones that broke U.S. law.

Pakistan made a calculated gamble that they could figuratively spit in our eye and get away with it. And from the looks of this bill, they calculated right.

Pakistan's nuclear program would be acceptable to us if they confined it to peaceful civilian uses. It would not threaten regional stability.

But if Pakistan persists with a nuclear weapons program, it makes a shambles of our nuclear nonproliferation policy. And it will set off a nuclear arms race in South Asia.

India will have to respond by producing nuclear weapons herself. India has been capable of this for many years, but she has chosen to forbear that opportunity. If Pakistan goes ahead, India's forbearance will disappear.

The Solarz amendment is the proper response. It will enable United States aid to flow to Pakistan once again, so long as Pakistan acts in the way it publicly pronounces. It permits Pakistan to move forward with a peaceful civilian nuclear program. If Pakistan has been and remains truthful with us, it has nothing to fear from the Solarz amendment.

A nuclear arms race in South Asia is a terrible thing to contemplate. The United States should do all it can to discourage such an event. The Solarz amendment is the best way of pursuing our goal.

Mr. MATSUI, Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON]. This amendment expresses the sense of Congress that the Indian Government should reopen the Golden Temple for religious worship, use restraint in resolving disputes with the Sikh people, and respect human rights in the state of Punjab.

The tragic circumstances in India are not widely know or fairly publicized. The information we receive is controlled by the Indian Government. No one is currently allowed to visit the state of Punjab, including Members of Congress and foreign journalists. At the same time, religious and ethnic groups have claimed the lives of thousands. It is now time to demand the truth from the Indian Government which casts a long dark shadow over the Sikhs in Punjab.

India is certainly no stranger to religious violence. Mahatma Gandhi, a man respected throughout the world for his dedication to nonviolence and commitment to religious tolerance, engaged in a near-death fast to protest Muslim and Hindu fighting in response to the separatists' call for partition on the eve of independence. When India achieved its independence from Great Britain in 1947, it was essentially divided into the Muslim area which became Pakistan and the predominately Hindu area which became India. If Mahatma Gandhi were alive today, he would surely be engaged in a fast lasting 4 years in an attempt to bring attention to the current human rights violations and to restore peace in the region.

It is the sense of the Congress that the Indian Government should continue to allow Sikhs to have full access to the Golden Temple for the purpose of religious worship and should remove all military presence from the shrine as soon as possible. While the Congress condemns the use of terrorist tactics in the region, the Indian Government must use restraint in resolving its dispute with the Sikh people in the Punjab. The Congress respectfully urges Prime Minister Gandhi and all responsible leaders of the Sikh community to renew their efforts to achieve a political solution that will permit the settlement of accumulated grievances, the restoration of law and order and the return to home rule in the Punjab, while guaranteeing religious freedom and respect for the human rights of all the people in India.

Mr. Chairman, I urge all my colleagues to support this important amendment.

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong opposition to the provisions of this bill regarding nuclear weapons proliferation in Pakistan. Weakness invites contempt, and weakness invites peril. The weakness of our nonproliferation policy toward Pakistan has generated contempt for American law and American policy from the Government of Pakistan. More important, the weakness of this bill's nonproliferation language with respect to Pakistan will foster grave danger to the security and stability of South Asia and the world.

Even as we move toward greater nuclear stability between the superpowers in Europe, we are sliding down the road to a nuclear arms race between Pakistan and India.

But if a nuclear war breaks out in the next 10 years, it is more likely to be in South Asia, not in Europe.

This week, Reagan and Gorbachev began to close a small window to nuclear confrontation in Europe. Tragically, the House has left open the door to nuclear confrontation in South Asia.

The Reagan administration concedes that we have no greater interest in South Asia than preventing nuclear weapons proliferation.

The question is, what are we willing to do about it?

Are we going to talk, or act?

We've already tried to jawbone Pakistan into stopping their nuclear bomb program. We gave Pakistan talk, but no action on nuclear nonproliferation; and they gave us talk, but no action on nuclear restraint in return.

American law prohibits aid to countries that operate unsafeguarded enrichment facilities. But we waived that law for Pakistan.

For 6 years, we have given Pakistan one of the massive and sophisticated aid packages in the world. That aid package was supposed to induce the Pakistanis to restrain their nuclear program. Clearly that approach has failed. Rather than restraint, Pakistan has responded with a blatant and continuing violations of our laws and their promises to us.

They tried to smuggle krytrons, maraging steel, and beryllium out of the United States, in blatant violation of our technical security laws. This spring, even as the administration was arguing for another 6-year waiver for Pakistan, a Pakistani native was bribing American officials and falsifying documents to smuggle restricted maraging 350 steel to Pakistan. When the Foreign Affairs Committee took a soft line on Pakistan, did that lead to Pakistani restraint? It had the opposite effect. After Congress' action, the same Pakistani expanded his illegal smuggling efforts to try to get beryllium, which is a component of a nuclear bomb.

Some on the other side argue that if we strongly resist the Pakistani nuclear weapons program, they will accelerate that program. But it doesn't make sense to me that they will give up a $4 billion aid package in favor of a bomb that will buy them only problems in the near term. The problem is, we haven't made them choose.

The Pakistani nuclear weapons program is like a car hurtling down a precipice. We have one pedal to push—making U.S. aid conditional on an end to nuclear enrichment. Some say that this pedal is the accelerator; we say it is the brake. But one thing is sure—if we don't push it, we're going to crash anyway.

Seven years ago, we were debating the nuclear program in India. We buckled. Now we're debating the nuclear program in Pakistan. And we're buckling. In a few years, will we be debating the nuclear program in Iran?

Some seem to argue that if one country has the bomb, everybody should have the bomb. That is wrong. We don't want an equal opportunity nuclear weapons proliferation program. Nuclear weapons are not a good thing. They are a bad thing. We want to reduce nuclear weapons, not increase and spread them.

Whether it is a Pershing II or SS-20 in Europe or a basement bomb in Pakistan or India, a bomb is a bomb is a bomb. And a nuclear war is a nuclear war, whether it is between us and the Russians or between India and Pakistan.

Some say the genie is out of the bottle, and we cannot stop nuclear proliferation. They are wrong. Nonproliferation has worked in Sweden. It has worked in Korea. It has worked in Taiwan. It can work in Pakistan, if we make it work.

Some raise the question of India's nuclear program.

I am no stranger to this issue. Members who were here in 1980 will remember that I led the fight against the shipment of nuclear fuel to India's Tarapur reactor, for nonproliferation reasons. In that I was opposing the Carter administration.

But India is not the issue here. In the South Asian nuclear proliferation crisis today, Pakistan is the problem. India, like China and Russia, has exploded a nuclear device. We cannot unexplode it. But India has not stockpiled nuclear weapons—yet. They will if Pakistan goes ahead with the bomb, and Pakistan will go ahead if we don't stop them.

There is only one country in the world to get a special waiver of our nonproliferation law. That country is Pakistan.

If Members are concerned that we are unfairly singling Pakistan out, I assure them that that need not be the case. I have prepared an amendment that would strike all special language relating to Pakistan's nuclear program, and apply to Pakistan the same law we apply to everyone else. In fact, despite all its illegal activity, Pakistan does not get specially harsh treatment. It gets specially lenient treatment.

There are nuclear proliferation problems elsewhere. We should address them. But we cannot wait for progress on any front to make progress on any front.

Some opponents of strong action on nonproliferation argue that the Parkistani bomb program is a regional problem. They are only part right. Nuclear proliferation is not just a regional problem, but a global problem, involving the superpowers and every other nation in the world.

The Soviet Union wanted the bomb because we had the bomb.

China wanted the bomb because the Soviet Union had the bomb.

India wanted the bomb because China had the bomb.

Now Pakistan wants the bomb, because India has the bomb.

And if Pakistan gets the bomb, Iran will want the bomb.

At some point we have to say "stop." We can stop nuclear proliferation if we want to.

Despite their contempt for our nonproliferation policy, Pakistan is the fourth largest recipient of United States aid in the world.

What have we gotten for our last $3 billion package of aid to Pakistan?

Pakistan refuses to give us military bases.

Their best friend is the People's Republic of China.

They give the PLO's Yaser Arafat 21-gun salutes on official visits.

They send troops to Saudi Arabia to be deployed against Israel, although Saudi Arabia recently sent these troops home because of Pakistan's close relationship with the regime in Iran.

And Pakistan remains a military dictatorship.

Compare this with staunch United States allies such as the Philippines or Korea. These emerging democracies get far less aid than Pakistan, even though they open their territory to American military, naval and air bases.

And the Philippines, Korea, and Taiwan are not engaged in a pell-mell program to build a nuclear bomb.

What effect will the Pakistani bomb have on American security? Remember that Pakistan is first an ally of Communist China, second an Islamic country, and only third a friend of the United States. Just because our interests converge on Afghanistan doesn't mean they converge elsewhere. Iran, too, supports the Afghan Mujahideen. We don't support Iran.

Pakistan's bomb program is reportedly funded by Libya and Saudi Arabia. Let me quote from Pakistan's President, General Zia, who spoke last year about "the aggressive talk about the Pakistani nuclear bomb. It is our right to obtain the technology. And when we acquire this technology, the entire Islamic world will possess it with us."

When Time magazine reported General Zia's admission that Pakistan had developed a nuclear bomb capability, he called the press reports a "Zionist conspiracy" against Pakistan.

Some try to confuse the issue by citing Pakistan's support of the Afghan Mujahidin. I strongly support the Afghan freedom fighters. But Afghanistan should not prevent all progress on preventing nuclear war. Afghanistan did not prevent Reagan and Gorbachev from making progress on nuclear arms control in Europe, and it should not prevent us from making progress on nuclear arms control in South Asia.

The Mujahidin have nothing to do with Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. Pakistan's aid to the Afghan rebels was not bought with American aid, and will not end if we suspend it.

Let me quote from the Ambassador of Pakistan: "Pakistan's opposition to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan commenced with the invasion itself, and certainly long before the first Unites States aid package was initiated. Nothing will deflect us from adhering to these same principles."

Pakistan supports the Mujahidin because it is in their own national interests not because we bribed them. Pakistan supported the Afghan rebels before we gave them any aid, they support them now, when we have in fact suspended aid, and they will support them in the future if we continue to suspend our aid.

But suspending aid is not the objective of the nonproliferation amendment. The objective is to stop a nuclear bomb program.

Consider carefully what we are talking about. There is no stability to an Indo-Pakistani nuclear arms race.

India and Pakistan are not separated by oceans; they are right next to another—they share a disputed border. There is no warning time for a nuclear attack by India or Pakistan. There are no survivable nuclear delivery systems. One of Pakistan's F-16's was destroyed recently when it hit a wild boar on the runway.

Crisis stability in an Indo-Pakistani nuclear standoff is zero. And Pakistan and India have fought three wars since 1947. They may well fight another one before the century is out.

The question is, will that be a conventional war, or a nuclear war,

It is time to stop compromising our overriding long-term interest in nuclear nonproliferation for short-term political and diplomatic concerns.

When a nuclear bomb goes off in South Asia, when the superpowers are drawn into a Third World nuclear war, it will be too late to learn from our mistakes. We must act now.

Mr. Chairman, a stitch in time saves nine. Today we had, and let pass, an opportunity that may not come again. We could have acted to prevent a nuclear arms race before it is too late. We must not continue down that road.

If we continue to turn our backs on nuclear weapons proliferation in South Asia, we risk catastrophe beyond measure.

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the en bloc amendments offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ].

The en bloc amendments were agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there further amendments to title IX?

Are there further amendments to title IX?

If not, the Clerk will designate title X.

The text of title X is as follows:

TITLE X—PEACE CORPS

SEC. 1001. AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.

Section 3(b) of the Peace Corps Act is amended to read as follows:

"(b) There are authorized to be appropriated to carry out the purposes of this Act $142,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $142,000,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 1002. PASSENGER AUTOMOBILES.

Section 15(d)(4) of the Peace Corps Act is amended to read as follows:

"(4) purchase and hire of passenger motor vehicles, except that—

"(A) section 1343 of title 31, United States Code, shall not apply to vehicles purchased for the transportation, maintenance, or direct overseas support of volunteers,

"(B) except as may otherwise be provided in an appropriation or other Act, passenger motor vehicles for administrative purposes outside the United States may be purchased for replacement only, and such vehicles may be exchanged or sold and replaced by an equal number of such vehicles and the cost, including exchange allowance, of each such replacement shall not exceed the current market price in the United States of a midsized sedan or station wagon meeting the requirements established by the General Services Administration for a class III vehicle of United States manufacture (or, if the replacement vehicle is a right-hand drive vehicle, 120 percent of that price) in the case of an automobile for any Peace Corps country representative appointed under section 7(c), and

"(C) passenger motor vehicles may be purchased for use in the United States only as may be specifically provided in an appropriation or other Act;".

SEC. 1003. TECHNICAL PUBLICATIONS.

Section 15 of the Peace Corps Act is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(e) Technical publications produced by the Peace Corps may be sold at cost in furtherance of the purposes of this Act. Up to $200,000 of the proceeds of such sales in each fiscal year may, to such extent as may be provided in advance in appropriations Acts, be credited to the currently applicable appropriation of the Peace Corps, notwithstanding section 3302(b) of title 31, United States Code.".

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. DORNAN OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DORNAN of California: Page 228, after line 10, insert the following:

SEC. 1004. PROHIBITION ON PEACE CORPS FUNDING OF ABORTIONS.

Section 3 of the Peace Corps Act is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(i) None of the funds authorized to be appropriated to carry out the provisions of this Act shall be used to pay for abortions.".

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, the Chair knows and the desk knows I have two noncontroversial amendments at the desk, and did the Chair say that he has gone past title IX and into title X?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that the Chair announced twice, inquired twice if there were further amendments to title IX. Hearing none, the Chair instructed the Clerk to designate title X.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent I be allowed to go back to title IX to take two noncontroversial amendments which I have at the desk, which I believe the Democratic side of the aisle is ready to accept.

The CHAIRMAN. First the Chair would ask if the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN], who has an amendment that has been read at the desk, would consent to ask unanimous consent to temporarily withdraw his amendment. That would have to be done first.

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, I gladly consent.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment is temporarily withdrawn.

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON]?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] have a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I have a parliamentary inquiry. I was on my feet. I was not at the microphone at the time when the Chair left title IX, and I also have an amendment to title IX. Since we have gone back to accommodate the gentleman from New York, I make the same request.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman from Indiana returning to title IX to offer an amendment?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SOLOMON

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SOLOMON: Page 226, after line 10, add the following:

SEC. 930. ADMINISTRATION POLICY ON AFGHANISTAN.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) each of the substantive sanctions imposed on the Soviet Union by the United States to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan have been lifted;

(2) although the administration's policy on Afghanistan states that only "steadily increasing pressure on all fronts—military, political, diplomatic—will induce the Soviets to make the political decision to negotiate the withdrawal of their forces," political and diplomatic pressures on the Soviet Union have decreased rather than increased;

(3) in the absence of a coordinated and aggressive policy by the administration regarding the war in Afghanistan, the Congress has been forced to unilaterally implement numerous programs to bring "steadily increasing pressure" to bear on the Soviet Union; and

(4) despite the failure of Soviet troops to withdraw from Afghanistan, and the serious deterioration with regard to the situation of human rights in Afghanistan, the administration is planning to lift further sanctions and initiate increasing areas of cooperation with the Soviet Union.

(b) REPORT TO CONGRESS.—(1) Not later than sixty days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall provide the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee with a report listing each sanction imposed against the Soviet Union by the United States since the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a detailed explanation for the lifting of each sanction, and a detailed analysis of the benefit to the Soviet Union incurred by the lifting of each sanction.

(2) Not later than sixty days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall provide the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee a comprehensive list of all areas of ongoing cooperation that could be withheld from the Soviet Union.

(3) Not later than sixty days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall provide the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee with a detailed and comprehensive report in a suitably classified form, and in an unclassified form, containing the disposition of Soviet military forces in the Afghanistan region and an account of any troop withdrawals and any new troop deployments.

Mr. SOLOMON (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLOMON. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I would appreciate it if we could see what amendment the gentleman is offering. It may well be the equivalent of the Ten Commandments, motherhood, and apple pie. I have often supported the gentleman in the past. Sometimes I have not, but I do like to know what we are voting on.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I have just sent a copy of the amendment over there. I am sure the gentleman from New York supports this amendment. This is an identical amendment to one which was just accepted by both the Democrats and Republicans unanimously to the State Department authorization bill. It was this identical amendment.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLOMON. I am glad to yield again to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SOLARZ. I am given to believe that identical language has been accepted in the State Department authorization bill.

Mr. SOLOMON. That is the identical amendment that was accepted unanimously by both sides of the aisle in conference.

Mr. SOLARZ. So it obviously does not do any harm. But does it do any good?

Mr. SOLOMON. It does an awful lot of good. On this day, December 10, International Human Rights Day, let us pass this amendment to show the poor oppressed people in Afghanistan that we and the rest of the world have not forgotten them.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, would our acceptance of this amendment make the gentleman happy?

Mr. SOLOMON. The gentleman from New York always makes me very happy.

Mr. SOLARZ. If that is the case, then, I appreciate the gentleman's statement, and I too support the need to demonstrate congressional support for the brave struggle of the Mujaheddin against the presence of Soviet forces in their country.

Mr. SOLOMON. Is the gentleman going to accept the amendment.

Mr. SOLARZ. After very careful consideration, based on the gentleman's bona fides, we can accept his amendment.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment, which I might add, has already passed the other body, is aimed at reinforcing congressional concern about the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The amendment notes that the administration's announced policy toward Afghanistan is that the only thing that will induce the Soviets to negotiate a withdrawal of their forces from Afghanistan is "steadily increasing pressure of all fronts—military, political, diplomatic * * *."

The amendment takes the administration at its word, and to that end, calls for three reports to be delivered to Congress within 60 days of the date of enactment of this act.

The first report calls for a recitation of the history concerning sanctions that have been applied to the Soviet Union since the first anniversary of

the invasion of Afghanistan—in other words, sanctions imposed by this administration. What were these sanctions and when were they imposed? When were they lifted? And what impact did they have on the Soviet Union?

The second report calls for a "comprehensive list of all areas or ongoing cooperation that could be withheld from the Soviet Union."

The third report would be concerned with the present status of "Soviet military forces in the Afghanistan region and an account of any troop withdrawals and any new troop deployments."

I trust that this amendment will have the desired effect of putting some backbone into the administration as it has to deal with this very compelling issue. We cannot have business as usual with the Soviets so long as they occupy Afghanistan and are engaged in terrorizing and subjugating the people there.

Since December 27, 1979, 1 out of every 11 Afghans has lost his life at the hands of the Soviet invaders. One out of every four Afghans has fled the country. And who knows how many have been maimed, crippled, and displaced within Afghanistan itself? An entire generation of children is growing up in that country without knowing a day of peace—every day of their lives has been filled with Soviet terror, whether raining down from the skies or blowing off their hands and faces when they stoop down to pick up a booby-trapped toy.

With all of the euphoria over the signing of an important arms control treaty this week, let's not forget the people of Afghanistan. They have an interesting and unique perspective on what it's like to live with the Soviets.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] seek time on this amendment?

Mr. SOLARZ. No, I do not, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON].

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SOLOMON

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Solomon: On page 214, between lines 18 and 19, insert the following new section:

SEC. 911. CHINESE COMPLICITY IN IRANIAN AGRESSION.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) on October 16, 1987, the American flagged tanker Sea Isle City, was struck by a Chinese produced Silkworm missile;

(2) at least eighteen persons aboard the Sea Isle City were injured, among them two Americans;

(3) on October 15, 1987, the American owned tanker Sungari was struck by a Chinese produced Silkworm missile;

(4) the People's Republic of China has continued to supply Silkworm missiles to Iran despite repeated official protests by the United States;

(5) the People's Republic of China has so far not unreservedly declared its willingness to support an arms embargo of Iran if Iran refuses to accept United Nations Security Resolution 598, passed July 20, 1987;

(6) recent public reports indicate that the People's Republic of China has also supplied fighter aircraft to Iran; and

(7) the United States is engaged in significant military related technology transfers to China.

(b) PROHIBITION.—(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no credits made available for use under the Arms Export Control Act may be issued and no guaranties may be extended for the People's Republic of China.

(2) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no cash sales or deliveries pursuant to previous cash or credit sales under the Arms Exports Control Act may be made with respect to the People's Republic of China.

(3) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no assistance furnished under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 may be provided to, or on behalf of projects in, the People's Republic of China.

(c) CERTIFICATION WAIVER.—(1) The prohibitions described in subsection (b) shall remain in effect until the President certifies to the Congress that—

(A) the People's Republic of China publicly and officially indicates its willingness to support and, if applicable, vote for within the United Nations, any arms embargo in the event that Secretary General Perez de Cuellar's negotiations with Iran and Iraq fail to gain Iran's acceptance of Security Council Resolution 598; and

(B) the People's Republic of China no longer sells, leases, or otherwise makes available, directly or indirectly, Silkworm missiles, aircraft, or other arms, ammunition or implements of war to Iran.

(2) A certification transmitted pursuant to this subsection shall be unclassified, except that a classified appendix may be attached. The certification shall include a detailed justification for the President's determination.

Mr. SOLOMON (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I am now offering is self-explanatory. It states the facts with respect to the sales of Silkworm missiles to Iran by the People's Republic of China, and would cut off United States technology transfers to the P.R.C. until such time as the President certifies to Congress that China has, publicly and officially, indicated its willingness to support an international arms embargo against Iran, and that China is no longer selling or making available to Iran Silkworm missiles or other arms and ammunition.

The ongoing horror of war in the Persian Gulf is a great concern to all of us. The stakes involved do not need to be recited; every Member is familiar with them. The other body has already gone on record condemning Chinese arms sales to Iran, and it is time for the House to go on record, too, My good friend STEVE SOLARZ, always makes the point that America is most effective abroad when we are united at home. And certainly the issue of Chinese arms sales to Iran is an issue around which we can all unite.

Let me just say in conclusion that the P.R.C. must be induced to play a more constructive role in the international sphere. It is no secret that I have long been skeptical about the value of the so-called China card. The skepticism that I and many other Members have can only be reinforced when China insists on selling arms to Iran and assumes other postures that are, directly or indirectly, detrimental to American interests—not least of which are the P.R.C.'s burgeoning espionage activities in our own country that are aimed at stealing United States high technology. This is wholly inconsistent with the official status China enjoys, in State Department parlance, as a friendly, nonaligned country, and it is high time the P.R.C. is put on notice that the funny business must stop.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SOLARZ AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SOLOMON

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment as a substitute for the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SOLARZ as a substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. SOLOMON: Page 214, after line 18, insert the following:

SEC. 911. TRANSFERS OF SILKWORM MISSILES TO IRAN BY THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) on October 16, 1987, the American-flagged tanker Sea Isle City was struck by a Chinese-produced Silkworm missile;

(2) at least 18 persons aboard the Sea Isle City were injured, among them 2 Americans;

(3) on October 15, 1987, the American-owned tanker Sungari was struck by a Chinese-produced Silkworm missile;

(4) the People's Republic of China has continued to supply Silkworm missiles to Iran despite repeated official protests by the United States;

(5) the People's Republic of China has so far not unreservedly declared its willingness to support an arms embargo of Iran if Iran refuses to accept United Nations Security Council Resolution 598 of July 20, 1987; and

(6) the United States is engaged in significant transfers of military-related technology and weapons to the People's Republic of China.

(b) DECLARATION OF POLICY.—It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the United States should review all transfers of United States military-related technology, all sales under the Arms Export Control Act, and all deliveries pursuant to previous sales under the Arms Export Control Act, to the People's Republic of China

until the Government of the People's Republic of China indicates its willingness to support an arms embargo in the event that Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar's negotiations with Iran and Iraq fail to gain Iran's acceptance of Security Council Resolution 598;

(2) the administration should make a strong representation to the Government of the People's Republic of China that the continued transfer of Silkworm missiles to Iran may seriously jeopardize relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China; and

(3) the administration should report to the Congress within 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act whether such a representation has been made, and if so, what response has been received.

Mr. SOLARZ (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will inquire, does the gentleman rise in opposition to the amendment?

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the substitute amendment which I am offering.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wishes to remind the Member and all Members that under the rule in a circumstance of this kind the gentleman can speak only in opposition. Under the 5-minute division of time, the gentleman may speak only in opposition to the original amendment.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the original amendment.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, under this 5-minute rule, 5 and 5, we have offering amendments to amendments. Does the Chair mean that the gentleman is not allowed to offer an amendment to my amendment or a substitute for my amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. The substitute is pending, but the Chair would state that amendments not printed in the RECORD are not debatable. So under the 5-minute division, one can only speak in opposition to the original amendment but may make reference to a substitute amendment, if the debate is relevant to that opposition.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Earlier today on the Mozambique amendment on military assistance, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLPE] had a perfecting amendment to mine, and I raised the point of order that I could not respond to his perfecting amendment which he debated under his 5 minutes. Now the Chair is changing the approach, as it appears, and I do not understand that. If one cannot debate a perfecting amendment but only the amendment before the body, then why did it take place earlier on my Mozambique amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Indiana that he has not changed the rules. Under the rule under which we are operating, 5 minutes are allocated to each side. The gentleman's problem under the earlier amendment to which he refers was that the gentleman who had 5 minutes in opposition chose not to yield to him.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. But he debated his perfecting amendment, which the Chair said just now was not debatable because he could only debate the amendment before the body.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that in the context of opposition to the original amendment a Member may make reference to a subsequent amendment if the debate is relevant to opposition to the original amendment.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. So if the gentleman from New York decides to perfect the amendment offered by the other gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON], he can do so if he objects to the original amendment? He can do that in his debate?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has responded to the Chair and said he is rising in opposition to the original amendment. In the context of that opposition, he may make reference to his substitute amendment.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I thank the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ].

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I share many of the concerns which have been expressed by my friend and colleague, the gentleman from New York, about the sale by the People's Republic of China of Silkworm missiles to Iran. I think it is unfortunate. I think in a way it might even be said to be unconscionable.

My only problem with the amendment is that it would require a termination of literally all arms sales and I am not sure we want to lock ourselves into law with that kind of prohibition at the present time. There are larger concerns which we do have. There is a need to maintain a global balance of power.

The Soviet Union, in spite of the presence of the General Secretary in Washington, continues to pose a threat not only to us but to China. There may be situations in which we would deem it mutually advantageous to work together in an effort to contain the Soviet threat. Consequently, the substitute amendments which incorporates in essence the findings which are in the gentleman's amendment and which express his concerns, which I share, about the sale of Silkworm missiles by China to Iran, would provide in the declaration of policy that instead of cutting off all of our technology transfers and arms sales to China, we should review them, and that would send a clear signal to China that the House of Representatives is very unhappy with their policy of providing Silkworms to Iran. It sends a signal to the administration that we believe our policy toward China with respect to arms sales and technology transfers should be reviewed, but we would not want to lock ourselves into such a prohibition.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that my good friend, the gentleman from New York, with whom this has been discussed in advance, would find this acceptable.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLARZ. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I will just say that the gentleman from New York has come a long way since I served with him in the New York State Legislature. I am really proud of him, and I appreciate his astuteness on this matter. I certainly accept his substitute and would hope that it would be adopted.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman very much. He, too, has come a long way as a matter of fact from the days when we served together in what I used to call the American political equivalent to the Gulag Archipelago, the New York State Legislature.

Mr. Chairman, I do believe this substitute is a position around which all good men and women can gather.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] as a substitute for the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON].

The amendment offered as a substitute for the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON], as amended.

The amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BURTON OF INDIANA

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BURTON of Indiana: Page 226, after line 10, insert the following:

SEC. 930. POLICIES PURSUED BY INDIA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds as follows:

(1) The Soviet Union supplies India with over 80 percent of its military needs and provides high-technology weapons that are normally reserved for Warsaw Pact countries.

(2) India was the first country outside the Warsaw Pact to obtain Soviet built MiG-29 fighter bombers, Mi-26 Halo heavy lift helicopters, and Kilo-class submarines. India and the Soviet Union co-produce T-72 tanks and MiG-21 and MiG-27 fighters.

(3) In recent years, India's voting record is even worse than the Soviet Union's when it comes to support for the United States position in votes in the United Nations General Assembly.

(4) India refuses to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Soviet-backed invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam.

(5) The Human Rights Caucus of the House of Representatives heard testimony from United Nations Ambassador Vernon Walter which confirmed that India, after promising to refrain, introduced a procedural motion that prevented Cuba from being censored by the United Nations Human Rights Commission for flagrant human rights abuses.

(6) India's Prime Minister Gandhi offered a $10.4 million assistance package to the communist Sandinistas in Nicaragua. This offer came at a time when the United States was giving India over $500 million in assistance over a 3-year period. Daniel Ortega awarded Prime Minister Gandhi Nicaragua's highest award, the Order of Augusto Ceasar Sandino, making Gandhi the sixth leader to receive it. Fidel Castro was the first.

(7) In April of 1987, Indian Defense Minister K.C. Pant joined North Korean President Kim Il Sung for the latter's 75th birthday celebration in Pyongyang, where he lent dignity to a regime that spends 24 percent of its gross national produce on its military by describing the Indian and North Korean governments as having much to gain by "working for disarmament, development, and just world order".

(8) India has no diplomatic mission in Israel, but maintains warm relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—The Congress is very concerned about the increasing Indo-Soviet relationship. It is very unfortunate that as the United States becomes India's largest trading partner, India continues to move closer and closer toward the Soviet bloc. If India continues to be a puppet of Soviet foreign policy goals, the United States must quickly reassess the Indo-United States relationship.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, the amendment before you is one the American people will find a little absurd. Why would the United States need an amendment to ban United States foreign assistance to countries that have agreements to obtain Soviet military supersonic aircraft? For that matter, why would we be giving United States aid to any country that receives Soviet supersonic fighter aircraft? Mr. Chairman, the Department of Defense has just released the list of eight countries that, under existing agreements, are awaiting the delivery of Soviet supersonic combat aircraft under existing agreements. These are: Iraq, Libya, Syria, Mali, Afghanistan, India, Yugoslavia, and Algeria. Three out of the eight countries receive U.S. assistance. While Yugoslavia and Mali receive only minor assistance India will get around $50 million this year. I am sure the American people would be more than a little upset if they found out their taxpayer dollars were being used to free up a country's resources in order for them to obtain Soviet fighter aircraft.

The Soviet Mig-29 fighter aircraft formally joined India's air force this past Sunday in a ceremony at Pune, in western India. India is the first country outside the Soviet Union, even before the Warsaw Pact, to receive this top of the line Soviet supersonic fighter plane. The Indian Government has a coproduction agreement with the Soviets which will enable the Indians to produce the Mig-29 locally. The Mig-29 Fulcrum represents a qualitative leap in Soviet fighter technology. It is comparable to the United States F-16 and F-15 and French Mirage 2000. The Mig-29 is likely to become the U.S.S.R's principal export fighter over the next decade. Of course, the Indian Government has every right to purchase military aircraft from whomever they please. What I object to is the use of United States taxpayer dollars to lessen India's economic burden in order for them to purchase top of the line Soviet aircraft.

What is even more troubling is that there are currently 24 countries discussing the purchase of supersonic aircraft with the Soviet Union. What sort of signal are we sending to these countries? What about other countries that are considering such a purchase? Glasnost is one thing, but is the United States really prepared to help finance Soviet aircraft sales? I should think not. Please support my amendment to prevent this from occurring.

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Mr. COURTER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by my colleague from Indiana, Mr. BURTON.

Because India is a democracy, we are inclined to think well of it, to supply aid where necessary, and to work towards good bilateral relations. And indeed, we do all those things.

But I regret to say that India's foreign policy often seems disturbingly undemocratic. Prime Minister Gandhi's government wants better relations with the United States, yes. But New Delhi works just as hard for better relations with the most appalling tyrannies. There would seem to be some problem of discrimination. One would think that any democracy's governors would know that not all governments are created equal.

Countries like North Korea, Cuba, and Libya have been courted, indulged, or supported. So has the PLO. The Governments of Nicaragua and Angola are actually the beneficiaries of Indian economic assistance; that means that while the United States supports freedom fighters in those countries, the Indians, recipients of United States aid, in turn aid the governments we're opposing. My colleague has mentioned many examples. He and various Members gave other examples in a special order of the House on June 2. I drew up my own list of the friends India has chosen unwisely for the editorial pages of the June 8 issue of the Wall Street Journal.

But patterns of cooperation with enemies of democracy is only part of the problem. The trend toward the intensification of such cooperation is just as important. All the indicators point to India traveling further down its leaders' unworthy path.

On July 7 the Minister of State for External Affairs was in Hanoi, where Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Hung "expressed satisfaction over close cooperation and friendship between the two countries."

In early August, PLO Chief Yasser Arafat made a 3-day state visit to New Delhi. He was very warmly received, and "expressed gratitude for the assistance and support" wich India has extended to the PLO and its cause.

The Kremlin's pawns in Kabul are cooperating more closely on direct banking with New Delhi, and industrial collaboration between Afghanistan and India is to intensify.

Czechoslovakia and India have announced plans for expanding trade. The Communist country will also be building industrial facilities in India.

India and Hungary have been working to increase trade.

Indian trade with the Soviets is going up. Already at very high levels, it is scheduled to increase by as much as 2½ times in the next 5 years, according to the Indian Government's news service.

On July 1, TASS reported that Rajiv Gandhi had "expressed appreciation of the progressive development of Soviet-Indian relations." Here is TASS quoting the Prime Minister: "During the last few years the relations between the Soviet Union and India were improved tremendously. And it is all the more significant because they were already very good."

On July 4, returning from Moscow, the Prime Minister told reporters that "India and the Soviet Union have a general identity of views on most regional issues." Communiques like that almost allow one to forget that there is a holocaust going on in Afghanistan. Indeed, India's voting practice in the United Nations is always to abstain when the other members vote over-

whelmingly for the withdrawal of foreign troops.

Mr. Chairman, India cannot justify all this with a wave of the flag of the nonaligned movement. As the world's largest democracy, India has a natural duty to promote democracy. But instead of striving to see civil liberties spread, the Government has embraced one regime after another to which civil liberties are anathema. I hope that passage of this amendment will remind the Gandhi government of the deep difference between those two courses.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SOLARZ AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BURTON OF INDIANA

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment as a substitute for the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SOLARZ as a substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. BURTON of Indiana: Page 226, after line 10, insert the following:

SEC. 931. POLICIES PURSUED BY INDIA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) President Reagan has favored closer collaboration between the United States and India, the world's two largest democracies;

(2) President Reagan on October 20, 1987, stated that substantial progress has occurred in relations between the United States and India since 1985 and that powerful political, economic, and cultural currents draw our two democracies together;

(3) the President noted India and the United States have a shared dedication to democracy and to the efforts to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons;

(4) Prime Minister Gandhi has applauded the intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) agreement concluded by the United States and the Soviet Union as an historic step offering the world hope that some day President Reagan's wish that a world without nuclear weapons may be possible;

(5) the President has sought to expand bilateral trade, further reduce trade barriers between our two nations, and increase collaboration between the American and Indian private sector;

(6) the President has achieved an agreement with India to safeguard the use of all United States technology transferred to India and has agreed to enlarge its cooperation with India in defense production;

(7) President Reagan has sought to increase scientific, cultural, and educational cooperation with India through the successful renegotiation of a three-year science and technology agreement and the use of the United States-Indian Fund for Cultural, Educational, and Scientific Cooperation to increase educational resources in both countries;

(8) President Reagan has obtained assurances of increased Indian cooperation to stem drug trafficking and drug abuse and to combat the scourge of international terrorism;

(9) Minister Ghandi has assured President Reagan of India's strong support for United Nations efforts to move toward a political settlement in Afghanistan that would remove all foreign troops from that country and permit its people to live in peace as citizens of a neutral country free from outside intervention; and

(10) Prime Minister Ghandi and the President of Sri Lanka have demonstrated statesmanship and courage in their efforts to end the ethnic strife in Sri Lanka.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—The Congress calls on the President to take all appropriate steps to encourage India to follow a genuinely independent nonaligned foreign policy. The Congress supports the President's efforts to encourage India to increase its pressure on the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan, further diversify its procurement of military equipment, intensify its dialogue with Pakistan in order to decrease tensions in South Asia, and undertake steps to contain the threat of nuclear proliferation in the region. Progress on these issues would quickly lead to increased support for closer United States-Indian relations.

Mr. SOLARZ (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I rise in very strong opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON], which in my view is untimely, unfortunate, unhelpful, and worst of all, utterly unbalanced.

To be sure, we have some differences with India, but the gentleman's amendment is in essence a diatribe against India. Its adoption by the Congress would set back very substantially the efforts now being made by President Reagan and his administration to improve our relationship with India.

A few weeks ago Prime Minister Ghandi was in Washington. He met with the President. It was a very good meeting. Prime Minister Ghandi recently expressed his support for the INF Treaty which the President just signed.

India has called upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan.

To be sure, India has not always acted in ways that we would like it to act. But we will have a much better chance of persuading it to further distance itself from the Soviet Union if we adopt the substitute, which takes note of the extent to which we have an interest in better relations with India, than if we adopt the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana, which is incredibly inflammatory. He describes India as a puppet state of the Soviet Union. This is sheer, utter, and total nonsense.

India is not a member of the Warsaw Pact. India is a sovereign and independent country. It does not take orders from Washington, but neither does it take orders from the Soviet Union.

The gentleman complains that virtually all of India's sophisticated military equipment, and particularly its Air Force, comes from the Soviet Union. They buy it from the Soviet Union. The reason they buy it from the Soviet Union, rather than from us, is that the Soviet Union sells it to them for rupees. If our aircraft manufacturers were willing to sell American jet aircraft to India for rupees, they would probably buy from us as well.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLARZ. I am happy to yield to my friend, the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Chairman, I was interested in the gentleman's comment that the Indian Government had called upon the Soviets to withdraw from Afghanistan. I missed that. Does the gentleman remember in what context that was?

Mr. SOLARZ. I think that was done in the context of the discussions which take place from time to time between India and the Soviet Union.

Mr. WILSON. It was not a public call for the Soviets to withdraw from Afghanistan?

Mr. SOLARZ. I do not think it was given in the form of a speech, but I recall Prime Minister Gandhi at his press conference in Washington in October indicated India's strong support for the UN effort to negotiate a settlement that would remove all foreign forces from Afghanistan but I think those of us who know India, and I know the gentleman is familiar with India, and knows that India does not believe its interests are advanced by 120,000 Soviet troops on the subcontinent.

Mr. WILSON. But I mean, I just cannot let it go, if the gentleman would be kind enough to yield further. India does not vote for the United Nations resolutions calling upon the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan, does it?

Mr. SOLARZ. The gentleman is correct, but neither did India vote against those resolutions, as do the members of the Warsaw Pact and other countries which are client states of the Soviet Union.

What this substitute amendment does is to praise President Reagan and take note of his efforts to gradually improve Indo-American relations, while simultaneously expressing the sense of the Congress that the President should take additional appropriate steps to encourage India to follow a genuinely independent and nonaligned foreign policy.

Mr. Chairman, I ask the Members of the House to remember one pre-eminent fact. We may be the most powerful democracy in the world, but India is the most populous democracy in the world. We should be trying to work more closely with each other. You catch more flies with honey than with vinegar.

We will have a much better chance of inducing additional changes in Indian policy if we adopt the substitute and reject the amendment. If the amendment is adopted and the substitute is rejected, it will be seen as a repudiation not only of Prime Minister Gandhi, but of President Reagan. The Congress today should simply try to make an effort to improve relations between our two countries, it is in our national interest.

So I would simply say in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] is full of misleading misstatements. If I had more than 5 minutes, I would be more than happy to show how virtually everything in his amendment represents a distortion of reality, rather than an accurate reflection of reality; so I appeal to my colleagues to vote for the substitute and against the amendment.

I include the text of President Reagan and Prime Minister Gandhi's statements in the RECORD:

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT UPON DEPARTURE OF PRIME MINISTER GANDHI OF INDIA

The PRESIDENT: I am delighted to welcome once again Prime Minister Gandhi to the White House. The Prime Minister and I have had useful discussions on the status of U.S.-Indian relations. We noted that in the years since our meeting in 1985, substantial progress has been made. Bilaterial trade has expanded. Collaboration between our private sectors has intensified. We've enjoyed cooperation in defense production, notably the Indian Light Combat Aircraft. The memorandum of understanding on technology transfer has been implemented. The United States is working with India to launch its satellites. The U.S.-India fund for cultural, educational, and scientific cooperation has been inaugurated and we're working together to combat terrorism.

Beyond such concrete achievements, there are powerful, political, economic, and cultural currents that are drawing our two societies into closer collaboration. Our shared dedication to democracy is paramount among these currents. We're also building on a strong foundation of cooperation in the fields of science, technology, and space which permits us, with confidence, to set ambitious new goals. In this connection, the Prime Minister and I have agreed to the following:

To renew the Ronald Reagan-Indira Gandhi Science and Technology Initiative for an additional three years beyond 1988.

We agreed to take steps to substantially expand two-way trade and recognized the need to reduce barriers to free trade.

To consult regularly to ensure that U.S. supercomputer exports to India reflect the rapid pace of scientific advances while at the same time safeguarding U.S. technology.

To work even more closely together to stem drug trafficking and abuse.

To expand de*** BAD MAG TAPE ***fense cooperation in technology and other military areas.

To undertake joint research projects to explore the ejhancement of arid zone agriculture, water management, and evolution of ground water resources.

To increase the educational resources about our countries, as appropriate, using the U.S.-India Fund for cultural, educational and scientific cooperation; to establish a program in research institutions in both countries for short-term exchange fellowships in development-related subjects.

Expanding on our leadership exchanges, the Speaker of our House of Representatives will visit India this year, and his Indian counterpart will visit the United States next year.

Today the Prime Minister and I also discussed East-West relations and the prospects for an historic treaty eliminating an entire class of intermediate-range nuclear missiles of the United States and the Soviet Union. And the Prime Minister emphasized India's long-standing encouragement of such efforts to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons. In this context, I urged that India and Pakistan intensify their dialogue to build greater mutual confidence, to resolve outstanding issues, and to deal with the threat of nuclear proliferation in the region.

We also discussed the tragic situation in Afghanistan and strongly endorsed movement toward a political settlement—a settlement that would remove all foreign troops from that country and permit its people to live in peace, as citizens of a neutral country and free from outside intervention. On the subject of U.S. security assistance to Pakistan, I assured Mr. Gandhi that our objective is stability and reduced tensions in South Asia and that our assistance is not directed at India.

And finally, let me acknowledge the statesmanship and courage demonstrated by Prime Minister Gandhi and the President of Sri Lanka in their efforts to end the ethnic strife in that troubled island nation. I have pledged to both leaders our full support.

It has been a pleasure to have had this opportunity to discuss these issues with Prime Minister Gandhi and to renew a very real friendship.

Prime Minister GANDHI: It's always a pleasure to be at the White House. Thank you, Mr. President, for your invitation and for your warm words. May I, at the outset, wish Mrs. Reagan the speediest recovery. We know what a source of strength she is to you, Mr. President, in your work for your country and the world.

I also take this opportunity to congratulate the people of the United States on the 200th anniversary of the Constitution. It is one of history's momentous documents that has made the United States grow to greatness. Your Constitution has been an inspiration to us in our struggle for freedom and liberty. As the President informed you, we have had good and most useful meetings. We spoke of world peace and our concern for the well-being of humanity, and we spoke of the relations between our countries.

We agreed upon further methods of strengthening our mutual friendship. The relations between our two countries have always held much promise. In recent years, we have made notable progress toward realizing that promise. Your personal attention and interest, Mr. President, have contributed greatly to our expanding partnership. We have agreed to collaborate at the frontiers of technology. We have reaffirmed the tradition of scientific interaction which has been the hallmark of our relationship. The growth in high technology, trade, and transfers has been a source of considerable satisfaction. I hope that the United States would recognize India not just as a market, but as a partner in technological progress. In the field of bilateral trade and investment, we have agreed that much can be done to expand the present level of activity. We will encourage increased interactiion between our trading entities.

Having successfully launched our cooperation for the Light Combat Aircraft Project, we have now agreed to explore other avenues in the field of defense. This is yet another step forward. I am confident that after our talks today, we will be able to place our relationship on a more enduring basis. We share not only aspirations and values, we sometimes face common threats. We have each recognized the dangers to our societies posed by terrorism and narcotics. I mentioned to you today our determination to fight these problems. I'm aware of your personal concern about narcotics, the price they extract in the form of blighted youth and wasted resources. I would like to reiterate once again our commitment to cooperate with you to this end.

Turning to international issues, I should first like to applaud the statesmanship demonstrated by you, Mr. President, and by General Secretary Gorbachev in pursuing the vexing and complex issues of nuclear disarmament. Your endeavors have given a glimmer of hope to a world threatened by imminent nuclear holocaust. An INF agreement will be an historic step. For the first time, an operational nuclear weapon system will be withdrawn and dismantled. We hope that this will be the beginning of the elimination of nuclear weapons altogether—an objective to which you are dedicated.

I sincerely wish you, Mr. President and General Secretary Gorbachev, every success in these endeavors. All humankind is with you.

Our deliberations today also covered the situation in Afghanistan. We agreed on the need for an early political settlement there and support the efforts of the U.N. Secretary General. I believe that a just solution must ensure a sovereign independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. Foreign intervention and interference must cease. The Afghan refugees must be allowed to return to their homes in honor, dignity and security. We would welcome any earnest efforts in this direction.

We had a frank discussion on the dangers of nuclear proliferation, both horizontal and vertical. My country has consistently recognized that a secure world order cannot be built on nuclear weapons. Our actions have spoken louder than any words in expressing this commitment. We do not have nuclear weapons. We do not want nuclear weapons. And we certainly do not want nuclear weapons in our neighborhood.

We have watched with concern developments in our immediate vicinity. Nuclear stockpiles have multiplied. Yet another country now seems on the threshold of fulfilling a long-time goal of acquiring nuclear weapons. On our part, let me assure you, Mr. President and the people of your country, that we have no intention of producing nuclear weapons unless constrained to do so.

Mr. President, you and I have discussed these matters and expressed our mutual concerns. Time is not on our side. We are faced with critical decisions on issues which need to be addressed urgently.

We appreciate your support to the efforts to end the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, Mr. President—in particular to the July 29th Agreement, which I signed with President Jayewardene. We are determined to ensure the full implementation of its provisions as it represents the best hope for peace in the region.

I thank you, Mr. President, once again for your hospitality. Our discussions have been most productive, and I leave Washington confident and optimistic about the future of our relationship. Thank you. (Applause.)

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLARZ. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. First, Mr. Chairman, I think it is fair to emphasize the point of the gentleman from New York that India is the world's largest democracy.

Second, that the gentleman's resolution is thoroughly consistent with the Reagan administration's foreign policy, and the amendment that has been offered is thoroughly inconsistent with Reagan administration foreign policy.

The amendment that was originally offered is inflammatory. This is reasonable. It recognizes that we have differences with India. It recognizes those differences are not likely to go away, but it is statesmanlike and it should be adopted, that is, the amendment to the amendment.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLARZ. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Very briefly, Mr. Chairman, and since the gentleman is yielding to me, I will not ask for a roll call vote——

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] as a substitute for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON].

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote, and pending that, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, is it possible by unanimous consent to give the gentleman from Indiana 1 minute to address the House?

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule adopted by the House, all time on the bill has expired. In the Committee of the Whole, that unanimous-consent request cannot be made.

Mr. SOLARZ. Is there any way, Mr. Chairman, in which the gentleman from Indiana would have an opportunity to address the House at this point, any motion which is available to him, such as striking the last word?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that if a proper unanimous-consent request were made and someone reserves the right to object to that unanimous-consent request, it could be had on that reservation subject to a demand for regular order.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman have 1 minute to address the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will not entertain that request. That is not permissible under the rule.

The Chair will state one more time that an appropriate unanimous-consent request could be made to modify the pending amendment, and if a Member chose to reserve the right to object to that unanimous-consent request, then debate could be had.

MODIFICATION OFFERED BY MR. FASCELL TO THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SOLARZ AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BURTON OF INDIANA

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last period and insert a comma.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

Mr. SOLOMON. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Is the gentleman asking unanimous consent for the Chair to vitiate the putting of the question on the substitute amendment?

Mr. SOLARZ. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. If the gentleman from Indiana temporarily withdraws his point of no quourm, is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. SOLOMON. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON].

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and under the gentleman's reservation, I just want to make a couple of brief comments.

The gentleman from New York made some pretty strong statements about my particular amendment. I just want to say the fact of the matter is that after getting $500 million in aid, India did give $10.4 million to the Communist Sandinista government.

They are building and have received Mig-29 fighter bombers, MI-26 Halo heavy lift helicopters, Kilo-class submarines from the Soviet Union, and they are coproducing T-72 tanks, Soviet Mig-21's, Mig-27's, and Mig-29's.

The statements I made are not inaccurate, but due to the press of time, I will not ask for a rollcall vote, and I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my reservation.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ]?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will put the question de novo. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARAZ] as a substitute for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON].

The amendment offered as a substitute for the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON], as amended.

The amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will redesignate title X.

The Clerk redesignated title X.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there amendments to title X?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. DORNAN OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DORNAN of California: Page 228, after line 10, insert the following:

SEC. 1004. PROHIBITION ON PEACE CORPS FUNDING OF ABORTIONS.

Section 3 of the Peace Corps Act is amended by adding at the end of the following new subsection:

"(i) None of the funds authorized to be appropriated to carry out the provisions of this Act shall be used to pay for abortions.".

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, what I am attempting to do with this amendment is to bring the Peace Corps in line with almost all the other Federal agencies with a prohibition against abortion.

There is one thing wrong with my amendment, and I hope we can correct it here and there is a way to do that.

Before I make a move to recognize someone to correct it, I just wanted to say that this amendment would have passed several other times in the House if people had just been reasonable. This is the exact type of language, or will be shortly, that we have on massive spending bills that affect thousands upon thousands of Americans. To not have a handful of Peace Corps volunteers subject to the same laws of the United States that hundreds of thousands of other people are is just eminently unfair.

There are essentially two options available to Representative DORNAN with regard to the amendment he has filed, one essentially narrow and a second, broader, purpose.

(1) NARROW OBJECTIVE

Simply to include in the underlying authorization act for the Peace Corps the same prohibition on abortion that has been included for at least the past 8 fiscal years in the annual appropriations bills. Opponents of Hyde amendments are always complaining about attaching abortion riders on appropriations bills,

complaining that such limitations should be attached to the authorizing legislation. The problem is that there usually are no authorizing vehicles on which the issue of abortion funding can be addressed. On this occasion there is an appropriate vehicle, the authorizing legislation for the foreign aid bill, which includes reauthorization of the Peace Corps Act for 2 years. If the amendment ultimately is enacted, it will also lock into permanent law the prohibition that now must be dealt with annually.

Another important benefit of having this provision adopted by the House is that it will strengthen the prolife position in conference with the Senate. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee's reported foreign bill has several provisions detrimental to prolife positions—that is, restoring funding for the China program through UNFPA and reversing the Mexico City policy. Beefing up the House with prolife amendments will, at a minimum, ensure a better prolife bargaining position in conference.

(2) BROAD OBJECTIVE

Attached are materials which relate to the issue of whether the existing prohibition on funding for abortions should include "transportation costs" associated with bringing Peace Corps workers to the United States to obtain abortions. Peace Corps has interpreted the law to permit Peace Corps funding of such purposes while not permitting actual funding for the abortion itself. For the legislative history, if this approach is taken, proponents should state clearly that in adopting the amendment, it is their intent that all related expenses associated with abortions are prohibited.

The strategic advantages outlined above are also applicable with regard to strengthening the prolife conference position.

□ 1530

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, let me say that we have no objection to the amendment. There is no money being spent by the Peace Corps for that purpose, and this is a restatement of existing law. The gentleman is absolutely correct, and we are happy to accept the amendment.

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the chairman's comments, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN].

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. RICHARDSON

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. RICHARDSON: Page 228, after line 10, insert the following:

SEC. 1004. PEACE CORPS HEALTH SERVICES PILOT PROGRAM.

(a) AUTHORITY TO ESTABLISH.—The President may establish, under the Peace Corps Act, a pilot program, to be carried out, during the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, in each of 2 host countries which have existing Peace Corps programs, for the purpose of—

(1) training foreign nationals of the host country to deliver basic health care services; and

(2) providing basic health care to the people of the host country.

(b) HEALTH SERVICES TEAMS.—The training and health care described in paragraphs (1) and (2) of subsection (a) shall be provided by a health service team selected for each of the 2 host countries selected under subsection (a). Each health team shall consist of not more than 12 volunteers who are physicians and dentists. Volunteers on each team shall, to the extent possible, be selected from both experienced physicians and dentists (especially retired persons) and recent medical and dental graduates.

(c) FUNDING.—Funds otherwise authorized to be appropriated to carry out the Peace Corps Act shall be used for the program authorized by this section.

Mr. RICHARDSON (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Mexico?

There was no objection.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, this amendment I believe has already been cleared by the majority and the minority. It simply restates what has been done in the appropriations process. It establishes pilot programs in the health care area and in the dental area. It has strong support in the other body. It has been cleared by the Committee on Appropriations.

The Peace Corps is currently undertaking it.

Because of the fact that this is the authorizing committee that should make policy, it was my judgment that it should be done this way.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, we are pleased to accept this amendment. We believe the President has sufficient authority, but if he does not, the gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. RICHARDSON] gives it to him anyway. As he pointed out, this program is underway. We think it is a good amendment.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the remarks of my chairman, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. RICHARDSON].

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there further amendments to title X?

The Clerk will designate title XI.

The text of title XI is as follows:

TITLE XI—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SEC. 1101. EFFECTIVE DATE.

Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the amendments made by this Act shall take effect on October 1, 1987.

SEC. 1102. USES OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES.

(a) SPECIAL ACCOUNTS; USE FOR DEVELOPMENT PURPOSES.—Section 609(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by striking out "any commodity" and all that follows through "sale thereof," and inserting in lieu thereof "assistance is furnished to a foreign country under part I under arrangements which will result in the accrual to that country of local currencies,";

(2) in paragraph (1) by striking out "proceeds" and inserting in lieu thereof "accrued local currencies"; and

(3) by amending paragraph (3) to read as follows:

"(3) utilize the remainder of the Special Account for purposes which are consistent with the objectives of sections 103 through 106 or, in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, section 472, and which are agreed to by the agency primarily responsible for administering part I.".

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 531(d) of that Act is amended—

(1) by striking out ", not less than 50 percent" and all that follows through "part I of this Act"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following: "All local currencies that accrue as the result of assistance under this chapter shall be deposited in a special account and used in accordance with section 609 of this Act.".

SEC. 1103. COMPREHENSIVE ANNUAL REPORTS ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.

Section 634 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(c) As part of the annual congressional presentation materials on foreign assistance programs, the President shall provide to the Congress a full, complete, and detailed accounting of all assistance provided during the preceding fiscal year under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (other than chapter 7 of part I) and the Arms Export Control Act. This accounting shall include for each fiscal year, among other things, the following with respect to each authorization account:

"(1) The specific projects and other activities carried out in each country.

"(2) The number of persons from each country who were provided with training, and the types of training provided.

"(3) The defense articles and defense services provided for each country.

"(4) The types of goods and commodities provided to each country for economic stabilization purposes under chapter 4 of part II (relating to the economic support fund), and a copy of each agreement for the furnishing of any assistance under that chapter.

"(5) The amounts of local currency generated by United States assistance to each country, the uses of those currencies, and the total amount of those currenies still available for use as of the time of the report.

"(6) A report on any transfers or reprogrammings of funds, and a description of how transferred or reprogrammed funds modified the amounts requested for each account.

"(7) A report on the funds which have been obligated but remain unexpended for each country in each account.

"(8) An analysis of the amount of funds and programs provided through nongovern-

mental as contrasted to governmental channels.

"(9) For each country to which section 536 applied during the previous fiscal year—

"(A) how the assistance provided under chapter 4 of part II was used in carrying out that section; and

"(B) the progress that was made during that year with respect to long-term economic development and economic policy reform (as defined in that section).

"(10) For each country which received cash transfer assistance under chapter 4 of part II during the previous fiscal year, a detailed description of how the country used the funds that were made available, with a discussion of the United States interests that were served by the assistance (including, as appropriate, a description of any economic policy reforms that were promoted by the cash transfer assistance).

"(d) The annual congressional presentation materials on foreign assistance programs shall also include, for each country for which cash transfer assistance is proposed under chapter 4 of part II for the coming fiscal year, a discussion of the United States interests that will be served by the assistance, including, as appropriate, a description of the economic policy and development situation in the country which may affect the implementation of United States economic assistance programs and long-term economic development.".

SEC. 1104. REPROGRAMMINGS OF ASSISTANCE.

(a) REPROGRAMMINGS SUBJECT TO NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.—Section 634A(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "Unless the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, and the Committee on Appropriations of each House of Congress are notified at least 15 days before the funds are obligated—

"(1) funds made available for any fiscal year to carry out any provision of this Act (other than titles III and IV of chapter 2 of part I, chapter 5 of part I, and chapter 9 of part I) or the Arms Export Control Act may not be obligated for assistance for any foreign country or international organization in any amount in excess of 5 percent of the amount allocated for that country or organization for that fiscal year in the report required by section 653(a) of this Act;

"(2) funds made available for any fiscal year to carry out chapter 1 of part I or chapter 4 of part II of this Act may not be obligated for any program, project, or activity in any amount which exceeds by more than 20 percent the amount justified to the Congress for that program, project, or activity; and

"(3) funds made available for any fiscal year to carry out chapter 4 of part II of this Act may not be obligated for any cash transfer assistance.

A notification pursuant to paragraph (3) shall include a detailed description of how the funds proposed to be made available as a cash transfer will be used and a discussion of the United States interests that will be served by providing the assistance as a cash transfer (including, as appropriate, a description of the economic policy reforms that will be promoted).".

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 634A(b) of that Act is amended by striking out "reprogramming—" and all that follows through "(2)" and inserting in lieu thereof "reprogramming".

SEC. 1105. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ALLOCATION REPORTS.

(a) APPLICABILITY TO CONTINUING RESOLUTIONS.—Section 653(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting after "law making continuing appropriations" the following: "for a period of less than 60 days,".

(b) APPLICABILITY TO INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL ASSISTANCE.—Section 653(a) of that Act is amended by striking out "other than" in the parenthetical clause and inserting in lieu thereof "including section 481 but excluding".

SEC. 1106. FOREIGN DEBT REPAYMENT.

(a) POLICY ON NEW ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE LOANS TO COUNTRIES UNABLE TO SERVICE EXISTING DEBTS.—It is the sense of the Congress that the Agency for International Development should generally not provide assistance on a loan basis to a country which is unable to service its debt obligations arising from loans provided by the Agency in prior fiscal years, unless it can be demonstrated clearly that the country's inability to service its existing debt is temporary and nonrecurring.

(b) REPORTS TO CONGRESS ON DEBT RESCHEDULING.—Section 603(a)(2) of the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1978 is amended by inserting after the first sentence the following: "This justification shall explain why the proposed debt relief is necessary, how much debt has previously been rescheduled for that government by the United States, why previous debt relief agreements have failed, and what the current prospects are for collecting the rescheduled receivables.".

(c) ACCELERATED LOAN REPAYMENTS.—Paragraph (3) of section 634(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by inserting "(A)" after "(3)";

(2) by inserting "and" after the semicolon; and

(3) by inserting the following at the end of the paragraph:

"(B) a description of the efforts made pursuant to section 127 by the Administrator of the agency primarily responsible for administering part I to negotiate accelerated loan repayments by countries with the financial resources to make accelerated loan repayments, in particular European countries that were recipients of concessional loans by predecessor agencies;".

SEC. 1107. ANNUAL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE REPORT.

Section 634(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)(A), by striking out "oceans,"; and

(2) by repealing paragraph (8) and redesignating paragraphs (9) through (13), as redesignated by section 803 of this Act, as paragraphs (8) through (12), respectively.

SEC. 1108. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACCOUNTABILITY.

Chapter III of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"SEC. 671. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACCOUNTABILITY.

"(a) PROHIBITION ON DIVERTING FOREIGN ASSISTANCE FOR CORRUPT PERSONAL FINANCIAL GAIN OR OTHER UNAUTHORIZED USES.—United States foreign assistance may not be used in any way which would result in corrupt personal financial gain for any person and may not otherwise be used for any purpose other than the purpose for which the assistance was provided.

"(b) ACCOUNTING PROCEDURES.—The President shall establish strict accounting procedures and other controls with respect to all United States foreign assistance sufficient to provide reasonable assurance that such assistance is not used for corrupt personal financial gain or otherwise diverted for use for a purpose other than the purpose for which the assistance was provided.

"(c) SANCTIONS.—

"(1) TERMINATION OF ASSISTANCE.—The President shall terminate all United States foreign assistance to any country whose senior government officials are involved in a substantial violation of subsection (a). Assistance may not be resumed to such a country until the President reports to the Congress that he is satisfied that appropriate steps have been taken to prevent future such violations. Any such report shall include a description of those steps.

"(2) ADDITIONAL SANCTIONS.—The President shall establish an appropriate range of additional sanctions to be applied if United States foreign assistance is used in violation of subsection (a). Mandatory sanctions shall be included.

"(d) INCORPORATION IN ASSISTANCE AGREEMENTS.—Each agreement entered into more than 90 days after the date of enactment of this section pursuant to which United States foreign assistance is provided shall incorporate (expressly or by reference) the applicable procedures and controls, and the relevant sanctions, established pursuant to this section.

"(e) REPORTS TO CONGRESS.—

"(1) ESTABLISHMENT OF ACCOUNTING PROCEDURES AND SANCTIONS.—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this section, the President shall report to the Congress on the steps taken to carry out subsections (b) and (c).

"(2) ANNUAL IMPLEMENTATION.—The annual congressional presentation materials on foreign assistance shall discuss the implementation of this section during the previous fiscal year, including a description of any instance in which United States foreign assistance was used in violation of subsection (a) and a description of the sanctions imposed.

"(f) DEFINITIONS.—As used in this section—

"(1) the term 'corrupt personal financial gain' means any financial benefit accruing to any person as the result of an act which (as determined by the President) either—

"(A) violates the criminal laws of the recipient country, or

"(B) violates the criminal laws of the United States, or would violate those laws if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States; and

"(2) the term 'United States foreign assistance' includes—

"(A) any funds available to carry out programs under this Act, the Arms Export Control Act, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, or any other Act authorizing foreign economic or military assistance programs;

"(B) any commodities or articles made available for any such program; and

"(C) any local currencies acquired with any such funds, or generated by the sale of any such commodities or articles, for use in any such program.".

SEC. 1109. COORDINATION OF ALL UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE FOR FOREIGN LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES.

(a) COORDINATION.—The Secretary of State shall be responsible for coordinating all training and other assistance provided by the United States Government to the police, prison authorities, or other law enforcement agencies of any foreign government.

(b) REPORTS.—Not later than February 1 each year, the Secretary of State, in consul-

tation with appropriate United States Government agencies, shall report to the appropriate committees of the Congress on the training and assistance provided by the United States Government during the preceding fiscal year to the police, prison authorities, or other law enforcement agencies of any foreign government. Such reports may be provided on a classified basis to the extent necessary, and shall specify the amount and nature of the assistance provided.

(c) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to limit or impair the authority or responsibility of any other Federal agency with respect to law enforcement, domestic security operations, or intelligence activities as defined in Executive Order 12333.

SEC. 1110. TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS.

(a) CORRECTION OF CROSS-REFERENCES TO INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC IN ARMS REGULATIONS.—

(1) Section 505(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended in the second sentence—

(A) by striking out "significant defense articles" and inserting in lieu thereof "significant military equipment"; and

(B) by striking "such defense articles" both places it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "such significant military equipment".

(2) Section 3(a) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended in the second sentence following paragraph (4)—

(A) by striking out "significant defense articles" and inserting in lieu thereof "significant military equipment"; and

(B) by striking "such defense articles" both places it appears and inserting in lieu "such significant military equipment".

(3) Section 36(d) of that Act is amended by striking out "combat" and inserting in lieu thereof "military".

(b) CLERICAL ERRORS IN 1985 AUTHORIZATION ACT.—

(1) Subsection (d) of section 25 of the Arms Export Control Act, as added by section 112(b) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985, is amended—

(A) by redesignating that subsection as subsection (e); and

(B) by striking out the semicolon at the end and inserting in lieu thereof a period.

(2) Subparagraph (B) of section 25(a)(5) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by striking out "subsection (d)" and inserting in lieu thereof "subsection (e)".

(3)(A) Section 124(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as so redesignated by section 314 of this Act, is amended by striking out "110(a)" and inserting in lieu thereof "110".

(B) Section 124(e) of that Act is repealed.

(C) Section 110 of that Act is amended by striking out "AND FUNDING LIMITS".

(c) CLERICAL ERRORS IN ANTI-DRUG ABUSE ACT OF 1986.—

(1) Section 481 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (as amended by section 2005 of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986) is amended—

(A) in subsection (h)(2)(A), by striking out ", or" at the end of clause (ii) and inserting in lieu thereof a period;

(B) in subsection (h)(4)(A), by inserting "a" before "joint resolution"; and

(C) in subsection (i)(4)(vi), by striking out "section 1049(c)(2)" and inserting in lieu thereof "section 104(c)(2)".

(2) Section 2015(b)(1) of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 is amended by striking out "effects" and inserting in lieu thereof "efforts".

(3) Section 2030(b) of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 is amended by striking out "subsection (A)(4)" and inserting in lieu thereof "subsection (a)(4)".

(d) PUBLIC LAWS 99-440 AND 99-529.—Chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by redesignating section 117 (as enacted by section 201(b) of Public Law 99-440) as section 115 and by inserting that section before section 116.

SEC. 1111. COUNTRIES WHICH IMPORT SUGAR FROM CUBA.

(a) REDUCTION OF ASSISTANCE BY VALUE OF SUGAR IMPORTS FROM CUBA.—Beginning in fiscal year 1989, the President shall have the authority to withhold from the amount of assistance under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund) which is allocated to a country for a fiscal year the amount equal to the value of confirmed sales of sugar which is the product of Cuba and which is imported by that country in the preceding fiscal year.

(b) REDUCTIONS TO BE MADE NOTWITHSTANDING EARMARKINGS.—The withholding of amounts under subsection (a) may be made notwithstanding any provision of law specifying the amount of assistance to be provided to a particular country.

(c) SENSE OF CONGRESS WITH RESPECT TO OTHER COUNTRIES.—It is the sense of the Congress that the President should urge countries that import sugar which is the product of Cuba and do not receive economic support funds or other forms of foreign assistance from the United States to import sugar from other Central American or Caribbean countries with democratically elected governments.

SEC. 1112. EARLY WARNING SYSTEM REGARDING MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT BANK LOANS.

(a) ANALYSIS.—The President shall instruct missions of the Agency for International Development and United States diplomatic missions in the relevant foreign countries to analyze the impacts of proposed loans by multilateral development banks well in advance of such loan's approval by the bank. Such analyses shall address the economic viability of the project, adverse impacts on the environment, natural resources, public health, and indigenous peoples, and recommendations as to measures (including alternatives) that could eliminate or mitigate adverse impacts. If not classified under the national security system of classification, the information obtained in carrying out this subsection shall be made available to the public.

(b) INVESTIGATIONS.—The President shall further instruct those missions that, if the analysis of a proposed loan pursuant to subsection (a) fails to identify adverse impacts on the environment, natural resources, public health, or indigenous peoples, but there is nonetheless reason to believe that such a loan may have such impacts, they shall undertake an affirmative investigation of such impacts in consultation with relevant Federal agencies.

(c) FURNISHING INFORMATION TO SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.—If an analysis pursuant to subsection (a) or an investigation pursuant to subsection (b) identifies adverse impacts of a proposed multilateral development bank loan on the environment, natural resources, public health, or indigenous peoples, the Administrator of the Agency for International Development or the Secretary of State (as appropriate) shall provide the relevant information to the Secretary of the Treasury for his consideration in determining whether to instruct the United States Executive Director of the relevant multilateral development bank to seek changes in the loans necessary to eliminate or mitigate such impacts.

(d) COOPERATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES.—The Administrator of the Agency for International Development or the Secretary of State (as appropriate) shall make the information collected pursuant to subsections (a) and (b), other than classified information, available to foreign governments and shall actively cooperate with such governments to facilitate exchanges of such information.

(e) SEMIANNUAL LISTS.—Six months after the date of enactment of this Act and semiannually thereafter, the Administrator of the Agency for International Development shall publish a list of proposed multilateral development bank loans that may have adverse impacts on the environment, natural resources, public health, or indigenous peoples. The list shall be developed in consultation with interested members of the public and shall contain—

(1) the name of the lending institution;

(2) the name of the borrowing country;

(3) the name of the project or loan;

(4) a brief description of the project or loan;

(5) the total anticipated cost and anticipated contribution from development banks;

(6) a summary of adverse effects on the environment, natural resources, public health, or indigenous peoples;

(7) identification of alternatives which may eliminate or mitigate such effects, including the possibility of terminating further action on the potential loan; and

(8) identification of actions taken or underway by the Administrator or other Federal agencies to secure necessary changes in the project.

SEC. 1113. INDEPENDENT LABOR UNIONS.

The Congress encourages the Administrator of the Agency for International Development to make greater use of independent labor unions in carrying out programs under chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance), chapter 7 of part I of that Act (relating to Africa famine recovery and development), chapter 9 of part I of that Act (relating to international disaster assistance), and chapter 4 of part II of that Act (relating to the economic support fund).

SEC. 1114. COUNTRIES LISTED AS COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

Section 620(f)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended as follows:

(1) After "Democratic People's Republic of Korea." insert the following:

"Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.".

(2) After "Mongolian People's Republic." insert the following:

"People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

"People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.".

(3) After "People's Republic of Albania." insert the following:

"People's Republic of Angola.".

(4) After "People's Republic of China." insert the following:

"People's Republic of Kampuchea.".

SEC. 1115. REQUIREMENT TO SPECIFY DURATION FOR PERIOD OF WAIVER OF COMMUNIST COUNTRY PROHIBITION.

Section 620(f)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting "specified" before "period as the President determines".

The CHAIRMAN. Are there amendments to title XI?

EN BLOC AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. FASCELL

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer en bloc amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the en bloc amendments.

The text of the en bloc amendments is as follows:

En bloc amendments offered by Mr. FASCELL.

Page 229, line 3, strike out "which are consistent with the objectives of" and insert in lieu thereof "for which funds authorized to be appropriated to carry out"; and line 5, after "472," insert "would be available".

Page 246, strike out line 20 and all that follows through line 16 on page 247 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SEC. 1114. PROHIBITION ON ASSISTANCE TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

Section 620(f) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"(f)(1) No assistance shall be furnished under this Act (except section 214(b)) to any Communist country.

"(2) This restriction may not be waived pursuant to any authority contained in this Act unless the President finds and promptly reports to Congress that—

"(A) such assistance is vital to the security of the United States;

"(B) in the case of a country listed in paragraph (3), the government of the recipient country is taking steps to reduce economic reliance on a centrally planned economy based on the principles of Marxist-Leninism;

"(C) the government of the recipient country is not engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights; and

"(D) the assistance will help reduce the recipient country's political, economic, and military reliance (as the case may be) on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or on any other Communist country.

"(3) For the purposes of this subsection, the term 'Communist country' includes specifically, but is not limited to, the following countries:

"Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.
"Democratic People's Republic of Korea.
"Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.
"Estonia.
"German Democratic Republic.
"Hungarian People's Republic.
"Latvia.
"Lithuania.
"Mongolian People's Republic.
"People's Republic of Ethiopia.
"People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.
"People's Republic of Albania.
"People's Republic of Angola.
"People's Republic of Bulgaria.
"People's Republic of China.
"People's Republic of Kampuchea.
"Polish People's Republic.
"Republic of Cuba.
"Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
"Socialist Republic of Romania.
"Socialist Republic of Vietnam.
"Tibet.
"Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (including its capitive constituents republics).".

Page 247, insert the following after line 16.

SEC. 1115. RESTRICTION ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO CERTAIN COUNTRIES.

(a) PROHIBITION.—Foreign assistance may not be provided to any country which has in effect a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union, except to the extent that the President determines that such assistance is in the national interest of the United States.

(b) DEFINITION.—For purposes of this section, the term "foreign assistance" means assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the Agriculture Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, the African Development Foundation Act, the Inter-American Foundation Act, or the Arm Export Control Act, the Peace Corps programs under the Peace Corps Act.

Page 247, after line 16 insert the following new Section:

SEC. 1116. REPORTS ON COMMUNIST COUNTRIES RECEIVING UNITED STATES HUMANITARIAN DISASTER RELIEF ASSISTANCE.

Section 491 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) Whenever the United States is providing humanitarian disaster relief assistance under this chapter or any other provision of law to a communist country (as defined in section 620(f) of this Act), the President shall report to the Congress every 3 months on the steps being taken by the government of that country to alleviate the conditions that make such assistance necessary.".

Page 247, after line 16, insert the following:

SEC. 1117. PAYMENT OF IMPORT DUTIES AND OTHER FEES CONCERNING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

Section 491 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by section 1116 of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end the following:

"(e) Whenever humanitarian relief assistance is provided under the authority in this chapter or any other provision of law, it shall be the policy of the United States to pay no import duties at the point of delivery to the recipient country which represent levies over and above the fees paid for port and other services actually rendered. It shall be the further policy of the United States to not pay fees for such services which are not in line with fees charged in the surrounding region, allowing only for reasonable adjustments which reflect significant differences in the technology at such ports.".

Page 247, after line 16, insert the following:

SEC. 1118. MINERAL IMPORTS FROM COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

(a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that the vital national interests and security of the United States would be jeopardized if the Nation became dependent on communist countries as the sources for essential minerals and metals.

(b) REPORT REQUIREMENT.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, and every year thereafter when the annual foreign assistance request is presented to the Congress, the President shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report on the extent to which the United States is dependent on communist countries (as defined in section 620(f) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961) as sources for supply and importation of—

(1) chromium,
(2) cobalt,
(3) manganese,
(4) platinum group metals,
(5) ferroalloys, and
(6) other strategic and critical materials (within the meaning of the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act).

(c) ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IN REPORTS.—Each report pursuant to subsection (b) shall also describe progress toward reducing such United States dependence through—

(1) stockpiling,

(2) increasing the world supply of strategic and critical materials through the development of promising deposits, both foreign and domestic, and through exploration for new deposits of strategic materials;

(3) decreasing demand for strategic and critical materials through the implementation of improved manufacturing processes, conservation, and recyclying of these materials from scrap and waste; and

(4) identifying and testing substitute materials for current application and developing new materials with reduced strategic materials content for future applications.

Page 247, after line 16, insert the following:

SEC. 1119. EFFECTIVENESS OF UNITED STATES ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

(a) REPORTS.—Not later than December 31, 1988, and December 31 of each third year thereafter, the President shall submit to the Congress a report which analyzes, on a country-by-country basis, the impact and effectiveness of the United States economic assistance provided during the preceding 3 fiscal years. Each such report shall include the following for each recipient country:

(1) An analysis of the impact of United States economic assistance during the preceding 3 fiscal years on economic development in that country, with a discussion of the United States interests that were served by the assistance. This analysis shall be done on a sector-by-sector basis to the extent possible and shall identify any economic policy reforms which were promoted by the assistance. This analysis shall—

(A) include a description, quantified to the extent practicable, of the specific objectives the United States sought to achieve in providing economic assistance for that country, and

(B) specify the extent to which those objectives were not achieved, with an explanation of why they were not achieved.

(2) A description of the amount and nature of economic assistance provided by other donors during the preceding 3 fiscal years, set forth by development sector to the extent possible.

(3) A discussion of the commitment of the host government to addressing the country's needs in each development sector, including a description of the resources devoted by that government to each development sector during the preceding 3 fiscal years.

(4) A description of the trends, both favorable and unfavorable, in each development sector.

(5) Statistical and other information necessary to evaluate the impact and effectiveness of United States economic assistance on development in the country.

(6) A comparison of the analysis provided in the report with relevant analyses by international financial institutions, other international organizations, other donor

countries, or nongovernmental organizations.

(b) LISTING OF ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WHICH ARE MORE AND WHICH ARE LESS SUCCESSFUL.—Each report required by this section shall identify—

(1) those countries in which United States economic assistance has been more successful, and

(2) those countries in which United States economic assistance has been less successful.

For each country listed pursuant to paragraph (2), the report shall explain why the assistance was not more successful and shall specify what the United States has done as a result.

(c) REPORT TO BE A SEPARATE DOCUMENT.—Each report required by this section shall be submitted to the Congress as a separate document.

(d) DEFINITION.—As used in this section, the term "United States economic assistance" means assistance under chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance), chapter 7 of part I of that Act (relating to Africa famine recovery and development), or chapter 4 of part II of that Act (relating to the economic support fund).

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his en bloc amendments.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, this en block amendment contains seven amendments that were printed in the RECORD by Representatives KOSTMAYER, SOLOMON, DORNAN, and HYDE.

The amendments include a report on U.S. dependency on Communist countries for strategic minerals; a report on disaster assistance to Communist countries; restrictions on assistance to countries with treaties of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union; report on the effectiveness of United States assistance; a prohibition on paying import duties on humanitarian assistance to Communist countries; and a revision of section 620(f) prohibiting assistance to Communist countries; and revision of conditions of the use of ESF local currencies.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the en bloc amendments.

Mr. Chairman, this en block amendment contains two provisions that I sponsored and that the full committee has accepted in modified form. Each of my amendments concerns section 620(f) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the list of Communist countries to which foreign aid is prohibited.

My first amendment serves to rewrite the text of section 620(f), clarifying the criteria under which the applicability of this section, or list, can be waived. My amendment drops the rather turgid, 1950's-style language in the existing act and replaces it with updated terminology that is relevant to the 1980's.

Specifically, this new language establishes economic reforms, greater respect for human rights, and a lesser reliance on Soviet military and economic assistance as the new criteria a country would have to meet in order to be waived from applicability.

My second amendment deals with the issue of our country's reliance on foreign sources for essential minerals and metals. First, it contains sense of Congress language that the security of the United States would be jeopardized if we became dependent on Communist counties for the minerals and metals on which our industrial manufacturing and national defense efforts are based.

It then goes on to require an annual report on the extent to which the United States is dependent on Communist countries, in the section 620(f) list for these essential minerals and metals, including platinum, chrome, cobalt, manganese and so on. This is important information that is very critical to the future of our country.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the en block amendments offered by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL].

The en block amendments were agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BURTON OF INDIANA

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BURTON of Indiana: Page 247, after line 16, insert the following new section:

SEC. 1116. PROHIBITION ON ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES RECEIVING SUPERSONIC FIGHTER AIRCRAFT FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

(a) PROHIBITION.—For fiscal years 1988 and 1989, foreign assistance may not be provided to any country which has an agreement with the Soviet Union pursuant to which that country will obtain supersonic fighter aircraft from the Soviet Union.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—As used in this section—

(1) the term "agreement" includes a coproduction agreement; and

(2) the term "foreign assistance" means any assistance under the Arms Export Control Act, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (excluding assistance under chapter 9 of part I, relating to disaster assistance), or the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (excluding emergency food assistance under title II).

Mr. BURTON of Indiana (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SOLARZ AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BURTON OF INDIANA

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON], and I offer an amendment as a substitute for the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SOLARZ as a substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. BURTON of Indiana: Page 247, after line 16, insert the following:

SEC. 1116. ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES RECEIVING SUPERSONIC FIGHTER AIRCRAFT FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

(a) CRITERIA IN ASSISTANCE DECISIONS.—In determining whether to provide foreign assistance to a country for fiscal years 1988 and 1989 and the amount of assistance to be provided, the President shall take into account whether that country has an agreement with the Soviet Union pursuant to which that country will obtain supersonic fighter aircraft from the Soviet Union.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—As used in this section—

(1) the term "agreement" includes a coproduction agreement; and

(2) the term "foreign assistance" means any assistance under the Arms Export Control Act, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (excluding assistance under chapter 9 of part I, relating to disaster assistance), or the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (excluding emergency food assistance under title II).

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I am sure the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] means very well in offering his amendment, but I have to regretfully conclude that it is a silly amendment. It basically says that we cannot provide any aid to any country no matter how important it may be, no matter how significant its geographical location, no matter how great the need for development assistance, no matter how willing it is to cooperate with us on a wide variety of different matters if it happens to have acquired advanced combat aircraft from the Soviet Union.

Essentially what the gentleman seems to have in mind is India. He would like to cut off all of our aid to India because India has had the collosal gall, the nerve, the chutzpah as well, to purchase jet aircraft from the Soviet Union. The reason India buys jet aircraft from the Soviet Union is primarily because the Soviet Union is willing to sell them jet aircraft for rupees which India can afford.

If Northrup or McDonnell Douglas or General Dynamics were willing to sell India advanced jet aircraft for rupees, I have no doubt that India would be buying American aircraft, but our aircraft manufacturers appear unwilling to sell planes to India for rupees. They want dollars.

Consequently, India has not bought any of our planes, because it cannot afford the dollars, the foreign exchange, they require.

I agree with the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] that if another country has acquired advanced combat aircraft from the Soviet Union, we ought to take that into account in deciding what to do with our aid program. My substitute, therefore, provides that if another country has acquired such aircraft from the Soviet Union, we should take it into account in deciding the levels of our aid. But

my substitute gives us flexibility which the gentleman from Indiana's amendment would not. It is not an automatic and absolute prohibition on aid.

Therefore, I believe adoption of the substitute makes much more sense.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLARZ. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I appreciate my good friend for yielding. Let me say that I am not as optimistic as the gentleman is about them being willing to purchase aircraft and other military equipment from the United States.

I think India is committed to the Soviet Union much more than my colleague does, but realizing the situation the way it is today and with the time constraints we are under, rather than calling for a rollcall, I will with reluctance accede to the wishes of the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] and accept his substitute.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] very much for this act of constructive statesmanship, and I hope we can extend this emerging sense of bipartisanship to other issues in the future. Even though the substitute is obviously not completely in accordance with the gentleman's desires, it would put into the law for the first time the fact that this is an aspect of a country's policy that we ought to be taking into account in deciding what to do.

I just want to say lastly to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON], that one of the other reasons I am opposed to an absolute cutoff is that we do have in India about a quarter of a million desperately poor people. These people are among the poorest of the poor in the entire world, and our development assistance there, which is very limited, has already been cut back from $50 million to $35 million in this bill, is designed to help the poorest of the poor. I do not think that these impoverished people should be penalized because India has chosen to purchase aircraft from the Soviet Union because they can buy them for rupees, rather than from somewhere else where they would have to spend dollars that they do not have and cannot afford.

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, I want to say that I appreciate the way the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] has conducted this matter on the floor. I know we are all upset with the limitations on debate, and I think that next year we should find the opportunity to really let India know we are upset with some of the things they are doing. If we were the kind of democracy they are, Maureen Reagan would be the next President of the United States. That might not be too bad, but it would be more like a royal government than what we consider a democracy.

I know the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] agrees with me, that the most militarized country in the world is North Korea. To see Kim Il Sung preparing his chubby son to be a royal successor in that Communist country, which is being done, why is it any different to see a 747 pilot take over in India with a strange election?

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Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman will be interested to know that Yahya Khan, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, one of the great statesmen of the world, and arch-foe of the Soviet Union, went to Doon School as well.

Mr. DORNAN of California. I just met him. I would agree with that.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] as a substitute for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON].

The amendment offered as a substitute for the amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON], as amended.

The amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BEREUTER

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BEREUTER: Page 247, after line 16, insert the following:

SEC. 1116. COORDINATION OF CONGRESSIONAL POLICY TOWARD ASSESSED CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

(A) It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) at least six Members of the Congress designated as provided for in subsection (B), should meet on an ad-hoc basis for the purpose of developing a coordinated Congressional policy toward assessed contributions to international organizations; and

(2) the Secretary of State should provide such cooperation as may be required by such Members.

(B) The Members described in subsection (a)(1) should be designated as follows:

(1) The Speaker of the House of Representatives, upon the recommendation of the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader, should designate at least three Members of the House as follows:

(a) one Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs;

(b) one Member of the Committee on Appropriations, from the subcommittee handling activities of the Department of State; and

(c) one Member of the Committee on the Budget.

(2) The President pro tempore of the Senate, upon the recommendation of the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader, should designate at least three Members of the Senate as follows:

(a) one Member of the Committee on Foreign Relations;

(b) one Member of the Committee on Appropriations, from the subcommittee handling activities of the Department of State; and Relations;

(c) one Member of the Committee on the Budget.

(C) Not later than March 1, 1988, the Members of Congress designated under this section shall prepare and transmit to the committees of Congress referred to in subsection (b) a report on the findings and conclusions of the Members made pursuant to this section, together with any recommendations for appropriate action by such committees.

Mr. BEREUTER (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Nebraska?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, my amendment is very straightforward. I am proposing to my colleagues the formation of an ad hoc panel, appointed by the leadership of both Houses, consisting of one member from each of the respective committees that have jurisdiction over U.S. assessed contributions to international organizations.

The purpose of this new panel will be to study the U.S. obligations to fund international organizations, including our treaty obligations, and present options for improving the present situation.

As the Republican Member of the U.S. congressional delegation to the United Nations for the current session of the U.N. General Assembly, I submit to the Members of this body that urgent, special efforts are necessary in order to clear up the confusion about our assessed contributions.

In view of the fact that the Soviet Union has announced its intention to pay in full its longstanding financial obligations to the U.N. system, global attention is now turning to the United States to see whether or not we will carry our assessed share of the burden.

I am concerned, however, that if the Congress of the United States intends to underfund these obligations, as seems likely, that we do so with a clear understanding of what we lose or what we gain by doing so.

Although the conference committee for the State Department authorization bill recently authorized full funding for existing obligations, problems in meeting requirement in this account are likely to continue. At present the United States is $342 million in arrears to the United Nations

regular budget. The authorization does nothing to address the arrearages.

Furthermore, whether the appropriators will be able to provide the funds, necessary to honor our treaty obligations also seems in doubt. This ad hoc committee will be able to hold hearings earlier than would the prepared Commissions with 18c members and do it early next year for advance in our budget deterant for Fiscal Year 1989.

The congressional panel that this amendment establishes would be asked to study U.S. obligations and make its recommendations to the Congress by March 1, 1988, so that the panel's report may be addressed in hearings during the upcoming legislative session.

Mr. Chairman, the language of the amendment parallels language offered by the distinguished junior Senator from Kansas and adopted by that body. I urge my colleagues to adopt this amendment.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BEREUTER. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman is absolutely right. We think this is an excellent amendment and we are happy to accept it.

Mr. BEREUTER. I thank the gentleman, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER].

The amendment was agreed to.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, I thought I had an amendment at the desk, but I have been informed by the distinguished majority that it was swallowed somehow by the Solomon amendment. It was an amendment to designate two countries as Communist countries. Could I just have an explanation as to what happened to it?

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORNAN of California. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Florida, my distinguished chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state the gentleman cannot yield time on a parliamentary inquiry.

What is the gentleman's inquiry?

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, do I have an amendment left at the desk on Nicaragua and Mozambique?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman can submit an amendment if it is germane and otherwise in order to title XI. Does the gentleman have an amendment?

Mr. DORNAN of California. I believe I do.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. DORNAN OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, let me reserve a point of order. I think the amendment is subject to a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that the amendment must be read by the Clerk first.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to be foreclosed on a point of order, so I would like to reserve a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. A point of order is reserved on the amendment.

The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DORNAN of California: Page 247, after line 2, insert the following:

"Nicaragua.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, I do not think my distinguished chairman's point of order is necessary because I am going to withdraw this amendment. I just wanted to comment on it because I will put it in the next time this bill comes to the House floor.

I have been informed by the administration that they sincerely do not believe Nicaragua is yet a consolidated Communist country. As we have seen with our great President over the last 3 days, hope springs eternal, and I am willing to go that extra Reagan mile or even a kilometer to see if we can stop the consolidation of the state of Nicaragua into what it already appears to be to many fair-minded people, and that is a Marxist-Leninist puppet state of the expanding Soviet empire.

But I will bide my time for a few more months.

I will withdraw this amendment, and I just want to take this opportunity in closing to thank our chairman for about the best floor management of any bill, and this happens to be the most difficult bill ever before this body of any chairman I have ever seen conducting affairs on the House floor. It is an honor to serve under our distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL].

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] withdraw his amendment?

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment is withdrawn.

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. SOLOMON

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SOLOMON: Page 247, after line 10 insert the following:

"(5) After 'Republic of Cuba' insert the following: 'Republic of Nicaragua.' "

Mr. SOLOMON (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I am now offering would place Nicaragua on the list of Communist countries in section 620(f) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the list of countries to which U.S. foreign aid is prohibited by law. This amendment may seem inconsequential to some, certainly no one that I am aware of advocates taking the fruits of the American taxpayer and making them available to the Sandinistas, but placing Nicaragua on the 620(f) list is an important symbolic step that has been overlooked for too long.

Who can doubt that Nicaragua satisfies all the requirements for membership in 620(f)? Is there anything the Sandinistas have done that deviates in the least degree from the pattern of tyranny—and deception—that was pioneered by the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s? And the Sandinistas themselves have hardly been shy about belaboring the obvious: As early as 1981, Humberto Ortega was publicly boasting that "Marxism/Leninism is the scientific doctrine that guides our revolution." The whole history of the Sandinista regime has served to confirm Ortega's analysis.

It is particularly noteworthy that the Republic of Nicaragua would be placed in alphabetical order right after the Republic of Cuba on the 620(f) list. How appropriate that the Sandinistas would thus be paired with the dictatorship they have striven so hard to emulate.

In the interests of time, there is no need to go into all the attributes of a Communist system. We all know what they are—and we also know that every one of them applies to Nicaragua. But let's look at just one, the single most important telltale sign: Refugees. At least one Nicaraguan in every five is now living somewhere else, most of them having lost everything during the desperate flight out of the country.

The only means by which a Communist country can perpetuate the myth of full employment is to create refu-

gees and conscripts. Either drive people out through the sheer weight of repression, or inflate the size of the military, drafting everything in sight that can carry a gun. In the case of the Sandinistas, that means building a conscript army eight times larger than the one Somoza had; it means building up armed forces that outnumber those in all of the other Central American countries put together; and it means declaring a revolution without borders. So let's put them on the list—they earned their place a long time ago.

Is Nicaragua a Communist country? We've asked the schoolchildren, and they say yes. We've asked Castro and he says yes. We've asked Gorbachev who's given them $1 million a year, and he says yes. And now I'm asking Congress—is Nicaragua a Communist state?

If you think so, vote yes. If you don't think so, vote no.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I would have objected to this amendment had I been on my feet, for the same reasons that I would have objected on a point of order to the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN]. But be that as it may, the gentleman from New York has now made his speech.

There is no aid in this bill for Nicaragua. It does not mean a thing.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON].

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there further amendments to title XI?

The Clerk will designate title XII.

The text of title XII is as follows:

TITLE XII—ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR BASE RIGHTS COUNTRIES

SEC. 1201. ADDITIONAL AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.

(a) AUTHORIZATIONS.—In addition to the amounts authorized to be appropriated by the preceding provisions of this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated, for use in accordance with subsection (b), an aggregate of $400,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 to carry out chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to military assistance), chapter 4 of that part (relating to the economic support fund), and chapter 5 of that part (relating to international military education and training) and section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act (relating to foreign military sales credits).

(b) BASE RIGHTS COUNTRIES.—The funds authorized to be appropriated by subsection (a) shall be available only to meet United States security assistance requirements arising from agreements providing for United States access to military facilities in foreign countries.

(c) AUTHORITY TO EXTEND PERIOD OF AVAILABILITY.—Amounts appropriated pursuant to the authorizations of appropriations contained in subsection (a) are authorized to be made available until expended.

SEC. 1202. FOREIGN MILITARY SALES PROGRAM CEILING.

The aggregate foreign military sales financing ceiling for fiscal year 1988 and for fiscal year 1989 which is specified in section 31(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act shall be deemed to be increased by the amount appropriated under this title to carry out section 23 of that Act for that fiscal year.

SEC. 1203. MAINTENANCE OF MILITARY BALANCE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

(a) REQUIREMENT THAT BALANCE BE MAINTAINED.—Amounts authorized to be appropriated by this title may not be made available in a manner inconsistent with—

(1) the policy established in section 620C(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961; and

(2) the ratio described in section 516(e)(2)(B) (i) and (ii) of that Act (as enacted by section 612 of this Act).

(b) CONFORMING PROVISION.—Assistance provided for Greece and Turkey with funds authorized to be appropriated by this title is in addition to the amounts of assistance provided for in section 608 and section 609 of this Act.

AMENDMENTS EN BLOC OFFERED BY MR. FASCELL

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer amendments en bloc.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendments.

The text of the amendments en bloc is as follows:

Amendments en bloc offered by Mr. FASCELL:

Page 249, after line 15, add the following:

TITLE XIII—ASSISTANCE TO POLAND

SEC. 1301. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the "American Aid to Poland Act of 1987".

SEC. 1302. FUNDING FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AGREEMENT.

(a) FUNDING.—For purposes of implementing the 1987 United States-Polish science and technology agreement, there are authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of State for fiscal year 1988, $1,000,000.

(b) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Amounts appropriated under subsection (a) are authorized to remain available until expended.

(c) DEFINITION.—For purposes of this section, the term "1987 United States-Polish science and technology agreement" refers to the draft agreement concluded in 1987 by the United States and Poland, entitled "Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic on Cooperation in Science and Technology and Its Funding", together with annexes relating thereto.

SEC. 1303. AGRICULTURAL ASSISTANCE FOR POLAND.

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, $10,000,000 of funds made available to carry out section 103 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance for agriculture, rural development, and nutrition) for fiscal year 1988 shall be available until August 15, 1988, only for agricultural activities in Poland. Any funds made available under the preceding sentence which have not been obligated or expended by such date may be obligated for other purposes in accordance with section 103 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 if the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, and the Committee on Appropriations of each House of Congress are notified at least 15 days in advance of such obligation. Such notification shall be considered in accordance with the procedures applicable under section 634A of that Act.

SEC. 1304. DONATION OF SURPLUS AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES.

(a) AUTHORITY TO DONATE.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of Agriculture shall donate, under the applicable provisions of section 416(b) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, for each of the fiscal years 1988 through 1992, 8,000 metric tons of uncommitted stocks of eligible commodities of the Commodity Credit Corporation under an agreement with the Government of Poland that the Government of Poland will sell such commodities and that all the proceeds from such sales will be used by nongovernmental agencies for eligible activities in Poland described in section 416(b)(7)(D)(ii) of that Act (as amended by section 1306 of this Act) that have been approved, upon application, by the United States chief of diplomatic mission in Poland, and by the joint commission described in section 1307.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

(1) the term "eligible commodities" has the same meaning as is given such term in section 416(b)(2) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 and, in addition, includes feed grains; and

(2) the term "nongovernmental agencies" includes nonprofit voluntary agencies, cooperatives, intergovernmental agencies such as the World Food Program, and other multilateral organizations.

SEC. 1305. USE OF POLISH CURRENCIES.

(a) USE OF POLISH CURRENCIES.—Subject to subsection (b), nonconvertible Polish currencies (zlotys) held by the United States on the date of enactment of this Act pursuant to an agreement with the Government of Poland under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 which are not assets of the Commodity Credit Corporation shall be made available, to the extent and in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts, for eligible activities in Poland described in section 416(b)(7)(D)(ii) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 (as amended by section 1306 of this Act) and approved, upon application, by the joint commission described in section 1307 and by the United States chief of diplomatic mission in Poland.

(b) AVAILABILITY OF CURRENCIES.—Currencies available under subsection (a) are currencies available after satisfaction of existing commitments to use such currencies for other purposes specified by law.

SEC. 1306. ELIGIBLE ACTIVITIES.

Section 416(b)(7)(D)(ii) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 is amended by adding at the end the following: "In addition, foreign currency proceeds generated in Poland may also be used by such agencies or cooperatives for eligible activities approved by the joint commission established pursuant to section 1307 of the American Aid to Poland Act of 1987 and by the United States chief of diplomatic mission in Poland that would improve the quality of life of the Polish people and would strengthen and support the activities of private, nongovernmental independent institutions in Poland. Activities eligible under the preceding sentence include—

"(I) any project undertaken in Poland under the auspices of the Charitable Commission of the Polish Catholic Episcopate

for the benefit of handicapped or orphaned children;

"(II) any project for the reconstruction, renovation, or maintenance of the Research Center on Jewish History and Culture of the Jagiellonian University of Krakow, Poland, established for the study of events related to the Holocaust in Poland; and

"(III) any other project or activity which strengthens and supports private and independent sectors of the Polish economy, especially independent farming and agriculture.".

SEC. 1307. JOINT COMMISSION.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—The joint commission referred to in section 1304 and in section 416(b)(7)(D)(ii) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 (as amended by section 1306 of this Act) shall be established under an agreement between the United States Government, the Government of Poland, and nongovernmental agencies (as defined in section 1304) operating in Poland.

(b) MEMBERSHIP.—The joint commission shall be composed of—

(1) appropriate representatives of the Government of Poland;

(2) appropriate representatives of nongovernmental agencies which are parties to the agreement described in subsection (a); and

(3) representatives from the United States diplomatic mission in Poland, which may include a representative of the Foreign Agricultural Service.

SEC. 1308. PROVISION OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND HOSPITAL EQUIPMENT TO POLAND.

In addition to amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund) for fiscal years 1988 and 1989, there are authorized to be appropriated to carry out that chapter for each such fiscal year $2,000,000, which shall be available only for providing medical supplies and hospital equipment to Poland through private and voluntary organizations, including for the expenses of purchasing, transporting, and distributing such supplies and equipment.

Page 249, after line 15, add the following new title:

TITLE XIV—CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS NONPROLIFERATION

SEC. 1401. FINDING AND POLICY.

(a) FINDING.—The Congress finds and declares that the spread of chemical weapons and the capability to manufacture or otherwise acquire such weapons pose a grave threat to the security interest of the United States and to continued international progress toward world peace and development. Therefore, efforts should be undertaken to stop proliferation of chemical and biological weapons in an attempt to contribute to a complete ban of these weapons.

(b) POLICY.—It is the policy of the United States to—

(1) assure that the policy of the United States regarding all security assistance, including all military assistance and education and training programs, is consistent with this policy;

(2) obtain international agreement to abolish chemical and biological weapons and prohibit their manufacture, possession, or use in the spirit of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972;

(3) assure that exports from the United States of materials, equipment, or technology having significance for production of chemicals are consistent with efforts to prevent proliferation of chemical and biological weapons;

(4) obtain assurances that exports from the United States of materials, equipment, or technology having direct significance for the production of chemical and biological weapons are used for peaceful purposes;

(5) cooperate with other nations to prevent the spread of materials, equipment, and technology with properties useful for the production of chemical and biological weapons;

(6) examine allegations that other countries are developing and proliferating chemical or biological weapons or materials, equipment, and technology for the production of such weapons;

(7) protect the health and safety of the public against threats from chemical or biological weapons due to accident, terrorism, or war; and

(8) coordinate the policies, programs, and activities of all departments and agencies of the United States Government to implement this policy fully.

SEC. 1402. PROLIFERATION-RISK ASSESSMENT.

(A) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State shall assess the risk of the proliferation of chemical or biological weapons, and shall recommend to the Congress legislation to control such proliferation. The assessment shall give particular attention to the technology of chemical or biological weapons and to the materials, equipment, and technology that have direct significance for the production and use of chemical or biological weapons.

(b) PARTICULAR MATTERS TO BE CONSIDERED.—The assessment shall consider the following:

(1) Any recommendation for legislation required to implement fully the policy of this title.

(2) Existing technologies for the production of chemical or biological weapons.

(3) Actual and potential suppliers of materials, equipment, and technology having significance for the production of chemical weapons.

(4) The effectiveness of present United States regulatory and other authority for control of exports of such materials, equipment, and technology.

(5) The projected effect of export controls on industry in the United States, considering the likelihood of obtaining the cooperation of foreign governments in limiting exports of materials, equipment, and technology with properties useful for the production of chemical and biological weapons.

(6) Any other matter the President determines to be relevant in carrying out the policy of this title.

(c) CONSULTATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES.—The assessment shall be carried out in consultation with the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, and the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

(d) REPORT TO CONGRESS.—Not later than six months after the date of the enactment of this title, the Secretary of State shall transmit to Congress a report setting forth the results of the assessment under this section.

SEC. 1403. ANNUAL REPORT ON PROLIFERATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State shall transmit to Congress a biannual report describing the status of—

(1) control of the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons;

(2) efforts to prevent the spread of such weapons; and

(3) programs to control the export of materials, equipment, and technology having direct significance for the production of chemical and biological weapons.

(b) RECOMMENDATIONS.—Each such report shall include any recommendation that the Secretary considers appropriate regarding additional authority needed to carry out the policy of this title.

(c) TIME FOR FIRST REPORT.—The first such report shall be submitted two years after the date of the enactment of this title.

SEC. 1404. CHEMICAL INDUSTRY ADVISORY GROUP.

The Secretary of State shall establish a Chemical Industry Advisory Group to provide advice to the Secretary with respect to sections 1402 and 1403. Members of the Group shall be appointed from business firms in the chemical industry.

SEC. 1405. CONSULTATION WITH CONGRESS.

The Secretary of State shall keep the appropriate committees of Congress fully and currently informed of all developments of significance to the proliferation and control of chemical and biological weapons.

Page 249, after line 15, insert the following:

TITLE XV—OTHER PROVISIONS

SEC. 1501. HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the United Nations was established in 1945 for, among other purposes, the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all;

(2) the United Nations Human Rights Commission was established by the Economic and Social Council in 1946 to investigate and make recommendations concerning the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

(3) the Government of Cuba has engaged in systematic and flagrant abuses of basic human rights and freedoms so offensive that they demand universal condemnation, including—

(A) the arbitrary arrest and prolonged imprisonment of individuals accused of political opposition to the Government of Cuba for engaging in such activities as the open or private expression of political opinions or religious beliefs, the attempt to form independent labor unions, the possession, reproduction, or intended distribution of religious or political literature, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or even the professional representation by legal counsel of those so accused;

(B) the murder of political prisoners while in custody or the execution of individuals sentenced to death for political offenses;

(C) the reported systematic use of physical and psychological torture and the degrading and abusive treatment of political prisoners, especially the "plantados"—those who refuse out of conscience to participate in so-called political rehabilitation programs;

(D) the institutionalized use of a network of neighborhood informants organized by political "block committees", or so-called "Committees for the Defense of the Revolution", to repress the exercise of any freedom of expression and otherwise control the behavior of citizens through intimidation;

(E) the repression of the independent Committee for Human Rights in Cuba for its attempt to register as a legal organization under the laws of the state, and the reported arrest, disappearance, or death of members of the Committee, and the continuing persecution of its president who has had to seek the safety of a foreign embassy out of fear for his life and continues to be

deprived of the right to leave Cuba to be reunited with his family; and

(F) the expulsion from Cuba of foreign journalists for having attempted to interview Cuban citizens and report objectively on the human rights situation in that country; and

(4) the United Nations has consistently failed to address the violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms in Cuba.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United Nations and the United Nations Human Rights Commission have acted selectively and inconsistently in addressing violations of basic human rights in various countries;

(2) the United Nations General Assembly and the United Nations Human Rights Commission have failed to responsibly address the deplorable human rights situation in Cuba despite overwhelming evidence of the continuing disregard and systematic abuse of the most basic human rights by the Government of Cuba;

(3) the President, the Secretary of State, and the Permanent representative of the United States to the United Nations are to be commended for their efforts to place Cuba on the human rights agenda of the United Nations and are strongly encouraged to continue in their efforts to bring this issue to the attention of the United Nations;

(4) the following countries are to be commended for voting in favor of considering human rights violations in Cuba, particularly in light of the thinly veiled threats of the Cuban delegation: Austria, Australia, Belgium, Costa Rica, France, Gambia, Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Lesoto, Liberia, Norway, Philippines, Somalia, Togo, and the United Kingdom;

(5) the United States should strongly urge the member countries of United Nations Human Rights Commission which are interested in democracy in the region, particularly Mexico, Spain, Peru, Venezuela, Argentina, and Colombia, to support the United States resolution on Cuban human rights at the next session of the Commission;

(6) the United States should take into account this vote in determining United States bilateral and other assistance to all member countries of the Commission;

(7) the United States should continue to emphasize how other countries vote on fundamental issues such as human rights when determining financial support for the United Nations, which includes the contribution to the Human Rights Commission; and

(8) the United Nations Human Rights Commission (which will hold its forty-fourth session in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1988) should include among the highest priorities of its human rights agenda consideration of human rights violations in Cuba.

Page 249, after line 15, add the following:

SEC. 1502. CHILD LABOR RIGHTS.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the international exploitation of child labor remains a serious problem, notwithstanding the adoption of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child and efforts by the United Nations, including a draft convention on the rights of the child and a seminar on ways of achieving the elimination of child labor in all parts of the world:

(2) at least 88,000,000 children, and perhaps as many as 200,000,000, children, between the ages of 11 and 15 currently serve in the world's workforce;

(3) child workers frequently labor under extremely hazardous conditions at virtually no pay and in excess of the hours allowed by law for adults;

(4) the use of child labor is growing in many developing countries;

(5) the exploitation of child labor does grave physical, mental, and moral harm to children and severely weakens the society's future capacity for economic growth;

(6) there exist recognized international child labor standards, including the minimum age for admission to employment, which are intended to assure the fullest physical and mental development of young persons;

(7) the United Nations is an appropriate forum for initiatives to focus international attention on child labor rights; and

(8) the annual reports prepared by the Department of State on individual country human rights practices can be used to call greater attention to the international exploitation of child labor.

(b) UNITED NATIONS MEASURES.—The United States delegation to the United Nations should recommend to the United Nations appropriate measures to call further international attention to the exploitation of child labor and the need for international respect for child labor rights.

(c) ANNUAL ASSESSMENTS AND REPORTS.—The Secretary of State shall fully and completely assess, on an annual basis, the status of internationally recognized child labor rights. The Secretary shall include the results of those assessments in the annual reports on individual country human rights practices (submitted to the Congress by the Department of State pursuant to sections 116(d) and 502B(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961). In making those assessments, the Secretary shall—

(1) use all available information about observance of and respect for internationally recognized child labor rights, including information made available by the International Labor Organization, trade unions, children's advocacy organizations, and human rights organizations; and

(2) describe which countries recognize and abide by internationally recognized child labor rights, including the domestic mechanisms for the enforcement and legal penalties for violations of such rights.

(d) DEFINITION.—For the purposes of subsection (c), the term "internationally recognized child labor rights" includes—

(1) the right of children to not be employed while they are below a minimum age;

(2) the right of children below the age of seventeen to not be employed at night or in occupations that jeopardize their health, safety, or morals;

(3) the right of children to be employed consistent with standards for minimum wages, hours of work, and occupational safety and health; and

(4) the right of children to be free from any form of forced or compulsory employment.

Page 249, after line 15, add the following:

SEC. 1503. REPORT ON PROCESS OF INTERAGENCY REVIEW OF CERTAIN AGREEMENTS WITH CONTROLLED COUNTRIES.

(a) EVALUATION OF INTERAGENCY REVIEW PROCESS.—The Comptroller General shall evaluate and, not later than 1 year after the date of the enactment of this Act, shall submit to the Congress a report on the methods and procedures used in, and the effectiveness of, the current interagency arrangements to review agreements between controlled countries and United States Federal agencies which involve the exchange or transfer of militarily critical scientific or technological information.

(b) FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED.—In carrying out subsection (a), the Comptroller General shall—

(1) evaluate the adequacy of, and the need to enhance, the current interagency review process, particularly with respect to timeliness, mechanisms to ensure appropriate consultation among interested parties, and procedures to assure consistency with current United States laws, policies, and procedures;

(2) review the adequacy of resources available to the Committee on Exchanges of the Technology Transfer Intelligence Committee and other interagency groups to conduct appropriate and timely technical assessments of proposed agreements;

(3) evaluate the policy implications of linking foreign access to United States facilities or individuals to reciprocal access to renowned foreign scientists identified by the United States, including those subject to discrimination on account of their political or religious beliefs;

(4) evaluate the need for, and the feasibility and usefulness of, a requirement that persons who visit controlled countries for purposes of scientific or technological exchanges provide upon their return from such countries, in cases where the visits are supported with Federal funds or other resources of the Federal Government, briefings and reports to interested United States Government agencies on their activities in those countries; and

(5) make any other recommendations that would enhance the benefits to the United States of scientific and technological arrangements with controlled countries.

(c) OTHER REVIEWS.—Before submitting to the Congress the report described in subsection (a), the Comptroller General shall submit the report to the Departments of State, Defense, and Commerce and the National Academy of Sciences for their respective reviews of the report. When the Comptroller General submits the report to the Congress, the Comptroller General shall include with the report any comments on the report which are transmitted to the Comptroller General pursuant to such reviews.

(d) DEFINITION.—For purposes of this section—

(1) the term "controlled country" means any controlled country within the meaning of the Export Administration Act of 1979; and

(2) the term "militarily critical scientific or technological information" means any technology on which export controls are in effect under section 5 of the Export Administration Act of 1979.

Page 249, after line 15, insert the following:

SEC. 1504. SOUTH AFRICAN URANIUM EXPORTS.

Section 309(a) of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following: "It is the sense of the Congress that no uranium compounds in any form, which is derived from uranium that is produced or manufactured in South Africa, should be imported into the United States".

Page 249, after line 15, insert the following:

SEC. 1505. REPORT ON SOVIET HARD CURRENCY SOURCES AND USES.

Not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to the Congress a report (which shall be unclassified, with a classified annex if necessary) which provides the following information with respect to the Union of

Soviet Socialist Republics, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, and Poland:

(1) That country's hard currency income and borrowings from each of the following sources:

(A) Loans by Western governments.

(B) Commercial loans from banks in Western countries, including from branches and subsidiaries of such banks.

(C) Interbank deposits by Western banks and their branches and subsidiaries in banks owned by that country, including those banks owned by that country located in Western countries.

(D) The export earnings of that country divided into the following sectors: oil, gas, gold, arms sales (by country), and other export sources.

(2) That country's hard currency outlays toward each of the following purposes:

(A) Support for allies and client regimes (by country), including forgone hard currency income through subsidization of exports or military assistance.

(B) Support for insurgencies and terrorist groups (by group).

(C) KGB and GRU activities, including disinformation and high technology acquisition.

(D) Debt service.

(E) Imports from Western countries.

SEC. 1506. SOVIET POLICY ON JEWISH EMIGRATION.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) many Jewish individuals and their families have been prevented from emigrating from the Soviet Union because they were once employed in what the Soviet Government calls "secret work";

(2) General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has publicly stated that possession of "State secrets" could not be grounds for refusal to allow individuals to emigrate after 5 years or 10 years at most;

(3) whereas a Soviet review board has been convened by the order of the Politburo to reconsider emigration cases which have been rejected or delayed for many years on the grounds of knowledge of "State secrets";

(4) the Soviet Union has agreed to meet formally with the United States at the highest levels to discuss matters relating to arms control, human rights, and bilateral relations; and

(5) many individuals and their families continue to wait patiently for approval of their applications to emigrate.

(b) SENSE OF THE CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that, in the course of his negotiations and dealings with the leadership of the Soviet Union, the President should express—

(1) the strong opposition of the United States to the Soviet Union's refusal to permit Yuli Kosharovsky, Aleksandr Lerner, Yakhov Rakhlenko, Valery Soifer, Yulian Khasin, and Gennady and Natsha Khasin, their families, and other families in similar positions, to emigrate from the Soviet Union; and

(2) the desire of the United States that the Government of the Soviet Union comply with its obligations under the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and permit these individuals, their families, and others to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

SEC. 1507. SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND THE SUMMIT.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev are meeting in Washington from December 6 to 10, 1987;

(2) among the issues on the agenda are human rights;

(3) despite such welcome developments as the release of political prisoners, the resolution of longstanding divided family and refusenik cases, and the increase in emigration rates, the Soviet Union continues to violate the internationally recognized human rights of its citizens, including freedom of emigration, religion, thought, and expression; and

(4) continued Soviet violations of human rights are a serious impediment to improved bilateral relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

(b) SENSE OF THE CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the President should be commended for his efforts to press the Soviet Union to abide by its commitments to respect internationally recognized human rights and should protest forcefully to General Secretary Gorbachev continued Soviet human rights violations; and

(2) the Soviet Union should abide by its obligations under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of emigration, religion, thought, and expression.

Page 249, after line 15, insert the following:

SEC. 1508 COMPREHENSIVE FOREIGN DEBT INFORMATION.

(a) REQUIREMENT FOR COMPREHENSIVE INFORMATION.—The President shall take steps to insure that the various reports submitted to the Congress provide full and compatible information on the status of all loans, credits, loan guarantees, and all other repayable financial assistance provided to foreign governments by the United States Government. As appropriate, information detailing the current status of foreign debt obligations owed the United States Government may be classified.

(b) PROGRAM COVERED BY COMPREHENSIVE INFORMATION REQUIREMENT.—Program covered by this section should include (but not be limited to) programs under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the Commodity Credit Charter Act, the Arms Export Control Act, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, and the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945.

(c) INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED.—Reports subject to this section shall detail, where appropriate, the following:

(1) The amounts of foreign assistance loan authorization, disbursements, accumulated outstanding rescheduled debt, repayments, and outstanding balances, by program and country.

(2) The applicability of provisions of law providing for termination of assistance to countries in default on repayments to the United States Government and the collectibility of non-current loans, by country.

(3) The reasons for any significant shortfalls in repayments of billed principal and interest for the preceding year.

(4) A listing of loan rescheduling, restructuring, and other debt relief, by country, including a statement as to why debt relief is necessary and in the United States interest, how the completed debt rescheduling will affect United States financial interests, how much and how many times debts owed to the United States have been restructured, and what are the prospects for collecting rescheduled receivables, by country.

(5) A listing of how many foreign loans have been written off and for what reason, by program and country.

(6) A list of all contingent liabilities from loan guarantees, credits, and other assistance programs, by program and country.

(7) A best estimate of the current value of the portfolio of outstanding loans and other obligations by program, through the creation of a loan loss reserve account which shall be estimated to reflect the decline from face value of all outstanding loans and other obligations. This loan loss reserve estimate shall reflect the decline in value that may result from factors such as interest concessions and reduced likelihood that loans and other obligations will be repaid in full in a timely manner in accordance with loan terms.

(8) A list of countries still being given new loan assistance, although those countries have had outstanding obligations rescheduled or restructured.

Page 249, after line 15, add the following:

SEC. 1509. REPORT ON UNITED NATIONS-BASED ESPIONAGE.

Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of this Act and annually thereafter, the President shall provide to the appropriate committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate a comprehensive report on espionage undertaken by foreign nationals within the United Nations Secretariat and member delegations to the United Nations. This report shall be unclassified, with a classified appendix if necessary.

Page 249, after line 15, add the following:

SEC. 1510. REVIEW OF UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the United Nations was founded for the primary purpose of maintaining international peace and security by encouraging peaceful resolution of disputes and the development of friendly relations among nations;

(2) the United States, as the host nation of the United Nations, a founding member of the United Nations, and the largest contributor to the United Nations, became and remains a member of the United Nations in order to contribute to collective efforts among the nations of the world to realize the ends of international peace and security;

(3) the United States is committed to upholding and strengthening the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter upon which the United Nations was founded;

(4) in recent years, the United Nations as a body, and many of its member nations, have strayed from the original purposes established by the United Nations Charter;

(5) the United States has been called upon to shoulder increasing financial costs associated with the United Nations and its affiliated agencies at a time of increasing budget constraints within the United States;

(6) the presence of the United Nations within the United States has come to present major national security concerns as a result of espionage by foreign nationals within the United Nations Secretariat and member delegations to the United Nations;

(7) according to a report from the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate on "Soviet Presence in the United Nations Secretariat" (Senate Print 99-52, May 1985),

approximately one-fourth of the Soviets in the United Nations Secretariat are intelligence officers, many more are co-opted by the Soviet intelligence agencies, and all Soviets in the United Nations Secretariat must respond to KGB requests for assistance; and

(8) other United States intelligence authorities estimate that as many as one-half of the Soviet and Soviet-bloc nationals in the United Nations Secretariat are officers of the KGB or the GRU.

(b) PRESIDENTIAL REVIEW AND REPORTS TO CONGRESS.—

(1) REVIEW.—The President shall comprehensively review United States participation in the United Nations.

(2) REPORT.—Not later than six months after the date of enactment of this Act and annually thereafter, the President shall provide a written report to the Congress containing the President's findings and recommendations based on the review required by paragraph (1). Each such report shall contain, at a minimum a thorough analysis of the following issues:

(A) The extent and levels of United States financial contributions to the United Nations.

(B) The importance of the United Nations, as presently constituted, to fulfilling the national security and foreign policy objectives of the United States.

(C) The benefits and detriments derived by the United States from its participation in the United Nations.

(D) The danger to the United States from espionage associated with the United Nations, and the financial costs to the United Nations, and the financial costs to the United States of detecting, monitoring, and preventing such espionage.

(E) The advantages and disadvantages of having the United Nations located outside the United States.

Page 249, after line 15, insert the following:

SEC. 1511. HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TIBET BY THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

(a) FINDINGS.— The Congress finds that—

(1) on October 1, 1987, Chinese police in Lhasa fired upon several thousand unarmed Tibetan demonstrators, which included hundreds of women, children, and Tibetan Buddhist monks, killing at least six and wounding many others;

(2) on September 27, 1987, a peaceful demonstration in Lhasa calling for Tibetan independence and the restoration of human rights in Tibet, which was led by hundreds of Tibetan monks, was violently broken up by Chinese authorities and 27 Tibetan Buddhist monks were arrested;

(3) in the wake of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's five point peace plan, which was presented to Members of the United States Congress during his visit to Washington in September 1987, Chinese authorities in Tibet staged, on September 24, 1987, a mass political rally at which three Tibetans were given death sentences, two of whom were executed immediately;

(4) beginning October 7, 1950, the Chinese Communist army invaded and occupied Tibet;

(5) since that time, the Chinese Government has exercised dominion over the Tibetan people, who had always considered themselves as independent, through the presence of a large occupation force;

(6) over 1,000,000 Tibetans perished in 1959 to 1979 as a direct result of the political instability, executions, imprisonment, and widescale famine engendered by the policies of the People's Republic of China in Tibet;

(7) after 1950, particularly during the ravages of China's Cultural Revolution, over 6,000 monasteries, the repositories of 1,300 years of Tibet's ancient civilization, were destroyed and their irreplaceable national legacy of art and literature either destroyed, stolen, or removed from Tibet;

(8) the exploitation of Tibet's vast mineral, forest, and animal reserves has occurred with limited benefit to the Tibetan people;

(9) Tibet's economy and education, health, and human services remain far below those of the People's Republic of China as a whole;

(10) the People's Republic of China has encouraged a large influx of Han-Chinese into Tibet, thereby undermining the political and cultural traditions of the Tibetan people;

(11) there are credible reports of many Tibetans being incarcerated in labor camps and prisons and killed for the nonviolent expression of their religious and political beliefs;

(12) His Holiness the Dalai Lama, spiritual and temporal leader of the Tibetan people, in conjunction with the 100,000 refugees forced into exile with him, has worked tirelessly for almost 30 years to secure peace and religious freedom in Tibet, as well as the preservation of the Tibetan culture;

(13) in 1959, 1961, and 1965, the United Nations General Assembly called upon the People's Republic of China to end the violations of Tibetans' human rights;

(14) on July 24, 1985, 91 Members of the Congress signed a letter to President Li Xiannian of the People's Republic of China expressing support for direct talks between Beijing and representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetans in exile, and urging the Government of the People's Republic of China "to grant the very reasonable and justified aspirations of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his people every consideration";

(15) on September 27, 1987, the chairman and ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the chairman and ranking minority member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and the Co-Chairman of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus signed a letter to his Excellency Zhao Ziyang, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, expressing their "grave concern with the present situation in Tibet and welcome(d) His Holiness the Dalai Lama's (five point) proposal as a historic step toward resolving the important question of Tibet and alleviating the suffering of the Tibetan people . . . (and) express(ing) their full support for his proposal."; and

(16) there has been no positive response by the Government of the People's Republic of China to either of these communications.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICIES.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United States should express sympathy for those Tibetans who have suffered and died as a result of fighting, persecution, or famine over the past four decades;

(2) the United States should make the treatment of the Tibetan people an important factor in its conduct of relations with the People's Republic of China;

(3) the Government of the People's Republic of China should respect internationally recognized human rights and end human rights violations against Tibetans;

(4) the United States should urge the Government of the People's Republic of China to actively reciprocate the Dalai Lama's effort to establish a constructive dialogue on the future of Tibet;

(5) Tibetan culture and religion should be preserved and the Dalai Lama should be commended for his efforts in this regard;

(6) the United States, through the Secretary of State, should address and call attention to the rights of the Tibetan people, as well as other non-Han-Chinese within the People's Repubic of China such as the Uighurs of Eastern Turkestan (Sinkiang), and the Mongolians of Inner Mongolia;

(7) the President should instruct United States officials, including the United States Ambassadors to the People's Republic of China and India, to pay greater attention to the concerns of the Tibetan people and to work closely with all concerned about human rights violations in Tibet in order to find areas in which the United States Government and people can be helpful; and

(8) the United States should urge the People's Republic of China to release all political prisoners in Tibet.

(c) TRANSFER OF DEFENSE ARTICLE.—With respect to any sale, licensed export, or other transfer of any defense articles or defense services to the People's Republic of China, the United States Government shall, consistent with United States law, take into account the extent to which the Government of the People's Republic of China is acting in good faith and in a timely manner to resolve human rights issues in Tibet.

(d) MIGRATION AND REFUGEE ASSISTANCE.—Within 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the State shall determine whether the needs of displaced Tibetans are similar to those of displaced persons and refugees in other parts of the world and shall report that determination to the Congress. If the Secretary makes a positive determination, of the amount authorized to be appropriated for the Department of State for "Migration and Refugee Assistance" for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, such sums as are necessary shall be made available for assistance for displaced Tibetans. The Secretary of State shall determine the best means for providing such assistance.

(e) SCHOLARSHIPS.—For each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, the Director of the United States Information Agency shall make available to Tibetan students and professionals who are outside Tibet not less than 15 scholarships for study at institutions of higher education in the United States.

Page 249, after line 15, insert the following:

SEC. 1512. DEMOCRACY IN TAIWAN.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) stability and peace prevail on the island of Taiwan and in the Western Pacific region;

(2) economic vitality, educational advancement, and social progress have created conditions favoring the furtherance of democracy in Taiwan;

(3) the people of Taiwan, in both national and local elections, have shown themselves fully capable of participating in a democratic political process;

(4) the authorities on Taiwan are nurturing a transition toward truely democratic and representative political institutions, although a minority of the seats in the central legislature and central electoral college are filled through periodic elections, with the majority of seats still being held by individuals who took office in the late 1940's;

(5) on September 28, 1986, Taiwan's democratic opposition announced the formation of the Democratic Progressive Party;

(6) on October 7, 1986, President Chiang Ching-kuo, announced that the Kuomintang intended to end the state of martial law and to lift the ban on the creation of new political parties;

(7) the lifting of martial law in July and the release of detainees symbolize the growing respect for human rights and freedom of expression on Taiwan;

(8) the Kuomintang has indicated a desire over the next few years to make more representative Taiwan's central representative bodies, to broaden decisionmaking within the Nationalist Party, to enhance the rule of law, and to increase the powers of local-level government; and

(9) our common commitment to democratic institutions and values is an increasingly strong bond between the people of the United States and the people of Taiwan and an acceleration of progress toward a full democracy on Taiwan, including full respect for human rights, will strengthen United States ties with the people on Taiwan.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—The Congress—

(1) welcomes the democratic trends emerging in Taiwan and commends the progress that has been made recently in advancing democratic institutions and values;

(2) welcomes the lifting of martial law and looks forward to the lifting of the ban on new political parties;

(3) encourages the leaders and peoples of Taiwan to continue this process with the aim of consolidating fully democratic institutions, in particular by—

(A) guaranteeing freedom of speech, expression, and assembly; and

(B) moving toward a fully representative government, including the free and fair election of all members of all central representative bodies; and

(4) requests the American Institute in Taiwan to convey this Nation's continuing support for a democratic and prosperous Taiwan as stated in the Taiwan Relations Act and our encouragement for democracy to the leaders and the people of Taiwan.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I hope that amendment is entitled title XIII. It would be the last title in this bill and the last amendment.

Mr. Chairman, this includes 14 amendments and this en bloc title XIII has a number of issues which have wide bipartisan support and have been cleared on both sides and include a whole host of measures.

Included in this amendment is a provision for assistance to the people of Poland and another provision by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] requiring the Secretary of State to provide the Congress with a report on Soviet hard-currency sources. I did not know they had any.

It contains another amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HALL] addressing the compelling problem of the international exploitation of children in the work force.

The amendment contains a modification of the Shumway amendment on Cuban human rights violations.

It contains the amendment by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PORTER] on nonproliferation of chemical and biological weapons, which I am happy to join him on.

The amendment also contains a modified version of the Richardson amendment with regard to the ban on the importation of uranium and other products made therefrom from South Africa.

It contains another modified version of the Richardson amendment, an amendment expressing our concern with regard to the right of emigration of Soviet Jews and a modification of the Solomon amendment with regard to the transfer of scientific information to certain countries, which the gentleman has been a leader on and very much interested in for a long time.

This also includes an amendment by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KASICH] to improve the reporting on loans owed to the United States, and two amendments by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. SWINDALL], and one more.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FASCELL. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding and for including this amendment that I have offered on chemical and biological weapons nonproliferation.

Mr. Chairman, the issue of chemical and biological weapons proliferation addressed by my amendment is not new. The need to control the use and manufacture of these inhumane weapons has been recognized since their first use during World War I. The Geneva Protocol of 1925 and the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972 are testaments of world opinion on the need to control the proliferation of biological and chemical weapons.

Unfortunately, Mr. Chairman, I fear that this important effort is slowly getting away from us. As the Soviet Union and the United States move closer to reaching a treaty in Geneva banning chemical weapons, the number of countries obtaining biological and chemical weapons continues to grow. Recent reports indicate that 15 nations have joined the chemical weapons club, including Libya, Syria, Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, Ethiopia, and of course Iran and Iraq. Several additional countries are seeking to possess chemical and biological weapons, and many have already obtained the needed technology to make their own toxic weapons.

This proliferation is far from benign. In the Middle East, Iran and Iraq are now regularly exchanging artillery rounds of chemical ordnance, killing thousands of soldiers and civilians. In Afghanistan, reports persist, that the Mujahideen must now cope with Afghan and soviet poison gas, as well as napalm and phosphorous bombs. In Southeast Asia the people of Laos and Cambodia have been subjected to the cruelties of mycotoxins and other chemical agents.

Most disturbing, however, is the contribution U.S. and Western exports have had in aiding countries seeking to build and maintain chemical and biological arsenals. Many members of the chemical club receive help from the West by importing "pesticide plants" that are eventually converted to other, more lethal, uses. West German assistance in helping Iraq develop mustard gas weapons is only the most well known recent example. We have also learned this year that Syria is producing these weapons with chemicals which initially came from the United States.

My amendment requires the Secretary of State to issue a risk-assessment analyzing the threat of chemical and biological weapons proliferation and suggesting legislative responses to that threat. In addition, the Secretary, with the help of the Defense Department and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, will issue biannual reports on the status of proliferation.

We cannot stop the spread of these destabalizing weapons overnight. Yet, through these reports we can begin to gather the necessary information to effectively fight this unnecessary and dangerous spread of chemical and biological weapons. These weapons have the potential to kill as many people as nuclear weapons. They are the ultimate terrorist threat facing the world today, and have been rightly called the "poor man's atomic bomb." It is vital to our national security and the safety of our men and women in the field that the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons must come to a halt.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FASCELL. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the "en bloc" amendments to title XIII. Incorporated in this group is my amendment to take the critical first step toward ending the brutal exploitation of children in the sweatshops of the world.

This legislation would require the State Department each year to complete a full assessment on the status of internationally recognized child labor rights as part of its nation-by-nation human rights reports.

Under my provision, the Secretary of State must use all available information in making his assessment. Sources would include the International Labor Organization, trade unions, and children's and human rights groups. I would urge the Secretary to consult with his counterparts in appropriate agencies, particularly the Secretary of Labor.

The Secretary also would be required to determine which countries acknowledge and enforce international standards for child labor.

By insisting on child labor reports, we are elevating this entire question to an appropriate level—the level of a first-rank human rights issue.

Today, at least 88 million children—and perhaps as many as 200 million—between the ages of 11 and 15 are part of the world's labor force. They frequently labor in dismal and dangerous conditions, often around hazardous equipment and materials. They work

for virtually no pay, and often far in excess of the hours allowed for adults.

We should not be forced to rely on hearsay evidence or press reports for our information. Whether young girls are weaving rugs in Morocco, ragged boys are handling molten glass in India, or peasant children are polishing gems in Thailand for days on end, we must know about it. We must have a Government mechanism for a regular analysis of child exploitation.

The tragedy of child labor does grave physical, mental, and moral harm to children and severely weakens their ability to develop into healthy adults. Children are exploited because their governments are anxious to promote rapid economic development. The fact is that they are sacrificing their single greatest source: their own children.

With the help of the proposed State Department reports, we would be able to focus much-needed attention on the direct, lethal threat these labor conditions pose to the most vulnerable segment of any country's population.

We could highlight those countries that fail to respect even minimal international standards for the protection of children in the workplace. And, of utmost importance, we can build a framework for taking action to stop it. The United States can and should take the lead in this effort.

I welcome the support and efforts of my colleague, Mr. HALL of Ohio. I strongly support his language in this amendment to require that our U.N. representative recommend to that body that it take steps to call greater attention to this issue.

I also want to express my gratitude to my colleague, Mr. SOLARZ, for his help and support for this amendment.

I strongly urge my colleagues to support this effort in behalf of the world's children and to vote in favor of the "en bloc" changes to title XIII.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Fascell en bloc amendment to H.R. 3100 which would add a title XV to the bill. I commend the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] for incorporating into title XV the section 1502, which combines the amendments offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER] and me regarding international child labor rights.

Mr. Chairman, my amendment expresses the sense of Congress with respect to the international exploitation of child labor. According to the United Nations International Labor Organization, an estimated 88 million children between the ages of 11 and 15 serve in the world's work force.

Many of these children are being denied their right to be children. A Cox newspapers series on this issue referred to this as stolen childhood.

The Cox newspapers reporting team of Joseph Albright, Marcia Kunstel, and Rick McKay traveled 65,000 miles in 9 months, during which they interviewed more than 200 people in 11 countries on 5 continents about the international child labor situation.

Their series on child labor demonstrated the complexity of the issues involved. There is no single, easy solution to the problem of the global exploitation of children.

To put an end to the misuse of children and to promote international child labor rights, several different approaches should be implemented on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis. One of the recommendations of the Cox series was the need to improve the coverage of child labor conditions in State Department's annual country reports on human rights practices.

The amendment I submitted, which was incorporated into the Fascell en bloc amendment, recognizes that the annual country reports can be used to call greater attention to international child labor conditions. My amendment, as combined with the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER], requires the Secretary of State to assess the status of internationally recognized child labor rights and to include the results of those assessments in the annual reports on individual country human rights practices.

My amendment further notes that the United Nations is an appropriate forum for initiatives to focus international attention on child labor rights. The United Nations already has adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, and has prepared a draft convention on the rights of the child. In addition, a seminar on ways and means of achieving the elimination of the exploitation of child labor in all parts of the world was held in 1985.

While these have been important steps toward elevating international child labor rights in a multilateral setting, it is evident that further steps are necessary. Therefore, my amendment, as accepted by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL], states that the U.S. delegation to the United Nations should recommend to the United Nations appropriate measures to call further international attention to the exploitation of child labor and the need for international respect for child labor rights. I especially wish to thank the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL], for including this provision in section 1502.

Mr. Chairman, I commend the efforts that the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. PEASE] have made to advance international protection of the rights of children. I believe that the amendment I have offered will contribute another approach to calling attention to this serious international problem.

I urge my colleagues to adopt the en bloc amendment offered by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL].

□ 1600

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FASCELL. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take this time to thank the chairman of the committee and all the staff on both sides of the aisle, because they certainly have labored long and hard. It appears that we are coming to the end of this bill after we deal with the substitute.

So again, Mr. Chairman, I thank the chairman of our committee and all the other members for their cooperation in this matter.

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FASCELL. I yield to the gentlewoman from Maryland.

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the chemical weapons-related amendment by the gentleman from Illinois.

I joined with my colleagues on May 19 to vote against the Fascell amendment which would have barred the final assembly of binary chemical munitions during fiscal year 1988.

This vote was a significant step toward the removal of unsafe unitary chemical weapons from the State of Maryland.

There is a substantial amount of unitary-type nerve gas stored in various locations in Maryland, and even some in Montgomery County. The 1985 defense authorization bill banned the destruction of unitary nerve gas stockpiles unless they were replaced by safer binary nerve gas.

Binary means that you have two elements that have to be mixed together to create the chemical weapon. One is a kind of pesticide that is relatively harmless, and the other is common sulfur or alcohol. We have already put into law that the two binary elements have to be deposited in separate States. That means that the pesticide may be stored in Arkansas while the sulfur or alcohol might be stored in Utah.

Binary weapons are safer to transport, safer to use, safer to store, and safer and much cheaper to dispose of. In the places where we now have unitary nerve gas, which is composed of one single element, you have a deadly gas separated from the community by only a thin container. A ban on binary production would hinder removal of the particularly unsafe unitary gas from the places in Maryland in which it is stored. For that and other reasons, five out of the other seven Representatives from Maryland joined me in voting against the Fascell amendment.

Production of binary chemical weapons was also presented as an encouragement to the Soviets to negotiate on a ban of all chemical weapons. For 17 years, from 1970 until last year, the Soviet Union enjoyed unilateral production of chemical weapons. As a result, they possess a chemical weapons stockpile which is held in a high state of readiness and is both growing and overwhelmingly superior to our own. In addition, the Soviets have sophisticated protection gear and dedicated chemical warfare forces, evidence that they are prepared to use such weapons.

The current U.S. chemical stockpile cannot effectively deter chemical warfare. Our munitions average 28 years in age, and most are not compatible with existing delivery systems. Unless the United States modernizes its own chemical stockpile, the Soviet Union and other chemical-armed countries will have no reason to refrain from employing their chemical forces. Our inability to deter or to encourage the Soviets to negotiate was even more pronounced before last year, when Congress ended its 17-year-old ban by permitting the production of 155 mm artillery shells that would carry binary chemicals—nerve gas.

work is far enough along so that it is merely the assembly of these shells that would have been prevented by the Fascell amendment.

On April 21, Ambassador Yuri Nazarkin, the top Soviet chemical weapons negotiator, admitted in a speech to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva that there was a "clear linkage between United States binary production this fall and the reasons why the Soviets must negotiate a treaty this summer." I am pleased to note that the Soviets have shown an even greater interest in negotiations in the wake of the vote on the Fascell amendment. According to Newsweek October 19, 1987, "The Reagan administration proposed a ban on chemical weapons in Geneva in 1984. But the Soviets showed little interest until the United States decided to produce a new generation of chemical weapons beginning in December." The Soviets have recently allowed international observers into their chemical weapons facilities and have said that they would agree to onsite inspection as part of a ban agreement. I hope that rapid progress can now be made toward just such an agreement.

I wish I could report the same progress in the effort to prevent the spread of chemical weapons capability to nations that do not already have it. The proliferation of chemical weapons technology poses a grave threat to the security of the United States and to progress toward international peace. The number of countries possessing this "poor man's atom bomb" is rapidly increasing, and Iraq's recent use of chemical weapons underscores the fact that the chemical threat is real.

The amendment by the gentleman from Illinois requires that the State Department assess the risk of the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons, recommend to Congress legislation to control such proliferation, and submit biannual reports to Congress on the success in combatting this proliferation. These steps, long overdue, will play an important role in combatting the proliferation of chemical weapons. I urge my colleagues to approve this legislation. With the proper combination of firmness and a willingness to compromise we can make real progress toward not only stemming the international proliferation of nuclear weapons but indeed removing these nefarious weapons from the arsenals of both superpowers.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, my amendment would allow us to take a close look at how we review scientific exchange agreements and require the Comptroller General to recommend how the current system might be improved.

The amendment would require the General Accounting Office to evaluate the current scientific exchange process and report to Congress on its findings within 1 year.

This amendment would allow us to determine if the issues involved should be more carefully examined. I wish to emphasize one very important point: The amendment would in no way interfer with the current process.

The clear intent of this amendment is to evaluate the entire scientific exchange process and to recommend methods to enhance the process by which we monitor these exchanges.

Mr. Chairman, I am very concerned that the Soviets might be obtaining sensitive militarily useful information through the scientific exchanges we conduct with the Soviet Union and other Communist countries.

Recently, a former high-level Defense official, Richard Pearl, expressed his concern over the flow of American technology through scientific exchanges stating:

> The process by which decisions are made that affect broad policy, detailed negotiations and eventual implementation of agreements for scientific and technology exchanges with the Soviet Union is a shambles, marked by indifference, incompetence and parochialism.

The Soviets currently obtain most of the scientific knowledge and technological know-how from exchanges that are supposed to be mutually beneficial.

Soviet secrecy prevents the United States from learning information of much interest, while American openness continues to facilitate Soviet acquisition of United States advances in science and technology.

The Soviets have identified numerous American universities as targets for the collection of technology. Known Soviet collectors at the United States universities include members of Soviet intelligence agencies, scientists within the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and scientists from the State Committee for Science and Technology who come to study in the United States.

Soviet scientists have performed onsite research in the fields of communications at MIT's operations research center, computers at the research center at Berkeley and the digital systems laboratory at Stanford, ceramic materials at the department of material science at MIT and gas turbine aircraft engines at the aeronautical science department at Northwestern University.

Mr. Chairman, problems in this exchange area were evident recently in the case of deep ocean drilling. This case involves top secret information and I really cannot talk about it here, but I can say that the United States Government was forced into the embarrassing position of having to withdraw a previous invitation to the Soviets to participate in the exchange when we realized that security concerns had not been reviewed. This is an example of how the failure to provide for comprehensive review of these agreements can have a direct impact on American foreign policy.

Mr. Chairman, again let me restate the intent of this amendment. This amendment requires the General Accounting Office to conduct a comprehensive and rigorous assessment of the costs and benefits of scientific agreements and exchanges. It requires GAO to determine and to recommend to the Congress how best to reduce acquisition of militarily useful scientific and technological information through scientific and technological information exchanges the United States conducts with controlled countries.

Mr. HALL of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Solomon amendment on review of science and technological exchanges that is contained in the en bloc amendment. The gentleman from New York and our staffs have worked closely together to work out an acceptable compromise, and I want to thank him for his interest and cooperation in reaching this agreement. I would also like to express my thanks to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL], the full committee chairman, for his fine cooperation and for that of his staff.

I share completely the concern that the gentleman from New York has regarding how the Soviets obtain their scientific knowledge and scientific know-how, particularly in the militarily sensitive areas. However, I am also concerned that his amendment, as originally drafted, would have had an unduly chiling effect on legitimate agreements between and among U.S. and foreign universities that have no military implications. What we have agreed to do in the modified amendment is to examine the current process and see what should be done differently to ensure that these important technologies not pass to the Soviets or any other controlled country, as determined under provisions of the Export Administration Act of 1979.

Our amendment directs the Comptroller General of the United States to look specifically at the following:

First, adequacy of the capability of the Committee on Exchanges of the Technology Transfer Intelligence Committee and other interagency groups to review proposed agreements;

Second, implications of giving foreign scientists, whose countries discriminate against their citizens for unfavorable political or religious beliefs, access to U.S. facilities and individuals;

Third, need for mandatory debriefing of persons who visit controled countries in conducting work under agreements with militarily sensitive implications; and

Fourth, recommendations that would enhance the benefits that the United States receives in entering into scientific and technological agreements with controlled countries.

The Comptroller General is directed to submit a report on his findings to the Congress within 1 year.

Mr. Chairman, last spring the Subcommittee on International Scientific Cooperation, which I chair, heard testimony on the costs and benefits of United States-Soviet science exchanges. We found that U.S. agencies have a number of procedures in place for guaranteeing that leakage of militarily sensitive information does not occur through the medium of scientific exchanges. We also found, however, that the interagency process by which exchanges are monitored has suffered from poor communications and lack of resources. For example, in a somewhat embarrassing episode, the United States extended an invitation for the Soviet Union to participate in the international Ocean Drilling Program, then withdrew the invitation several months after it had been accepted by the Soviets. We were embarrassed, and our partners in the program were furious. Problems like this continue to occur, despite a plethora of review mechanisms, because different interests inside and outside the United States Government feel strongly about relations, including scientific relations, with the Soviet Union.

The modified amendment would enable the Congress to step back and evaluate the proc-

ess by which interagency agreements are reached to enable the United States to derive benefits from international scientific exchanges without handing over military secrets to our adversaries. If GAO determines that the process is not working, then I hope to work with the gentleman from New York to correct it.

Mr. Chairman, I submit an article by the President of Texas A&M University, Dr. Frank Vandiver, to be included in the RECORD at this point. Dr. Vindiver's article, which has been printed in a number of newspapers throughout the country, warns us of the consequences of overly restrictive limits on science and technology exchanges.

[From the Bryan-College Station Eagle, Nov. 29, 1987]

PLAN THREATENS FREE RESEARCH EXCHANGES

(By Frank E. Vandiver)

A seemingly benevolent amendment before the House of Representatives could threaten the academic community in its efforts to solve world problems through research and teaching. The intent of the amendment to H.R. 3100, the FY 1988 Foreign Aid bill, introduced by Rep. Gerald B.H. Solomon, R.-N.Y., is to bring a halt to espionage—the stealing of scientific and technological knowledge being developed in American colleges and universities. The Solomon Amendment, however, is broad enough to halt legitimate academic exchanges.

Rep. Solomon proposes to establish an "Interagency Group for Scientific Information Transfer, which shall be composed of such officers or employees of the Departments of State, Commerce, and Defense and such individuals from the academic and scientific communities, as the President shall designate." Before any American educational institution, public or private, could begin to negotiate any major agreement with any part of the government or a university of a "proscribed" country, the Interagency Group would review and evaluate any such agreements that might involve "the exchange or transfer, or any scientific or technological information." This sort of censorship or "oversight" would create a chilling effect on the academic world and could stifle initiatives even before their effects can be known.

Basic research is the process of discovering new knowledge; and by its very nature, the results of pioneering research are unknown since these investigations lead to new information. Therefore, whatever "scientific or technological information" results from research cooperation cannot be determined in advance.

A major problem with the Solomon Amendment should be obvious. The Interagency Group is charged with evaluating all agreements "which may involve the exchange or transfer, or any scientific or technological information" between universities. Since prior knowledge of whatever information may be discovered is not possible, the Interagency Group will have no logical basis upon which to assess any proposed agreements. Since there can be no way to determine in advance if the results of any research project will prove harmful to this country, the Interagency Group may tend to forbid any research in particular areas designated in advance.

"Overseers" (I prefer "censors") would have to determine in advance which types of research would lead to harmful effects on this country. Would, for example, research in agriculture which might improve Russian food production be labeled harmful? Would the same criteria be applied to research in medicine since such research could lead to knowledge applicable to germ warfare instead of the cure and prevention of such diseases as glaucoma or other common ailments? Should the long-standing exchange of weather data between the United States and Russia continue? Almost every major American institution of higher education has entered into agreements with foreign universities. Texas A&M University now has 40 agreements with foreign universities. Some are with institutions in nations that are now considered allies. but some are with countries now considered potentially hostile. Given the normal change in status of foreign relations and the long-range nature of academic research, the Interagency Group would have to be virtually prescient to determine which agreements will in the future prove harmful or beneficial.

Even though the Interagency Group is not supposed to have approval authority, the process of having agreements reviewed by personnel from government agencies who cannot be properly knowledgeable of academic research will insert unmanageable bureaucratic administration into academic affairs. In addition, representatives of the "academic and scientific communities" do not always agree on the outcomes of research, especially since research will lead into areas of new knowledge.

Further, prior approval, as envisioned in the review proposed by the Interagency Group, is completely antithetical to academic research, i.e., intellectual inquiry and expression. The federal government and the states have long supported academic research, but they have never prohibited research. To prohibit agreements by "any educational institution" that involve such inquiry and expression seems to violate constitutional rights.

The Solomon Amendments goes too far. The problems that face our world are immense; and rather than discouraging research, we should be doing everyting in our power to assist those who have dedicated their lives to research and teaching. American universities do not have a monopoly on new knowledge. We have learned from the research of foreign colleagues; even those from behind the Iron Curtain, and that research is helping solve problems here at home. Draconian measures such as the Solomon Amendments are just as totalitarian as those of the very foreign nations against whom Rep. Solomon proposes to defend us.

Frank E. Vandiver is president of Texas A&M University.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, this amendment addresses the ongoing crisis in Tibet. Last June, while considering the State Department authorization bill, the House passed a milder form of this amendment, but much more has happened since then.

Public awareness of the situation in Tibet came to a head in September when the Dalai Lama made his dramatic visit to Capitol Hill. Invited to come by the Human Rights Caucus, which is cochaired by Mr. LANTOS and Mr. PORTER, the Dalai Lama left his exile headquarters in India and came to Washington carrying a message of hope and reconciliation for his beleaguered countrymen.

The brutality of the Chinese response to the Dalai Lama's call for peaceful reconciliation shocked even the most seasoned, may I say jaded, observers of the Chinese scene. Three Buddhist monks were publicly executed, and numerous others were rounded up and detained. Two more Tibetans were executed in a public spectacle staged in front of 10,000 people at a stadium. Telecommunications links with the Tibetan capital were severed, foreigners were expelled, and heavily armed riot police were deployed throughout the region. Finally, Chinese police fired on unarmed demonstrators—killing at least six and injuring countless others.

In response to these stunning and tragic developments, the other body passed, on October 6, the same amendment I am now offering. This amendment outlines the human rights abuses and other problems that have attended the Chinese occupation of Tibet since 1950. It also details the congressional involvement in the Tibetan issue over the past several years.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, it calls for several specific actions by our Government. Most importantly, it calls for the United States to "make the treatment of the Tibetan people an important factor in its conduct of relations with the People's Republic of China."

It would have us play a more active role with the Dalai Lama in "his efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Tibetan problem"; It calls for greater attention to be paid by the administration to the plight of Tibetans and other non-Chinese peoples living in the People's Republic of China; and urges congressional delegations to try to visit Tibet.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, this amendment would require any arms sales notifications to Congress concerning the People's Republic of China to be accompanied by a Presidential determination that the People's Republic of China is "acting in good faith and in a timely manner to resolve human rights issues in Tibet"; it would mandate a report from the Secretary of State on human rights in Tibet; and it reaffirms the program we passed last June to provide $200,000 for both fiscal years 1988 and 1989 for aid to Tibetan refugees and 15 USIA scholarships for Tibetan students.

The ongoing crisis in Tibet is an issue that Congress is going to revisit for as long as necessary. What is at stake is the cultural and ethnic survival of a proud and ancient people. Moreover, it touches the essential human right that the American people have declared in survey after survey to be the most important of all: freedom of religion.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, the amendment I am offering simply calls on the Soviet Union to allow Soviet Jews to emigrate freely.

Over the recent weeks and months, human rights activists the world over have had a bittersweet reaction to the marked increase in Soviet Jewry emigration. The number of Jews departing the Soviet Union in the month of October almost equalled the total number allowed to leave in 1986. In fact, it is likely that the total number of 1987 will be greater than the emigration over the last 5 years combined. A number of individuals who were informed by the OVIR, the Moscow visa office, last February that they would never be allowed to leave

the country are now in Israel or have recently received permission to emigrate.

We are hopeful, Mr. Chairman, that these positive changes indicate a systemic change in Soviet policy and not merely token gestures of cooperation in preparation for the summit meeting.

For a handful of well-known Soviet Jewish leaders, such as Vladimir and Maria Slepak, Ida Nudel, Lev Elbert, and Anatol Schransky, glasnost ostensibly has taken on a new meaning. They themselves will not be allowed true openess and freedom in the West but they have left behind many who haven't yet experienced that freedom. As we speak, even well-known, long-term refuseniks, such as Yuli Kosharovsky, Aleksandr Lerner, Valery Soifer, and the Khasins remain behind.

Mr. Gorbachev's assertion during the NBC interview last week that the United States is "making themselves out to be an active defender of * * * human rights, to resolve their own problem—(by) organizing a brain drain," is a most interesting admission on his part. In contrast, as noted in a Helsinki Commission hearing last week, the Soviets have instigated their own "brain drain" because merely applying for a visa becomes the catalyst for employers to demote or even fire the applicants. Most of the refuseniks have been unable to work in their fields of expertise since the time of their first refusal—instead they are often relegated to menial jobs such as janitors and nightwatchmen.

Mr. Chairman, I am hopeful that the increased numbers in emigration, the era of glasnost, the warming atmosphere resulting from the signing of the INF Agreement and the summit meetings will add up to a better compliance of the Helsinki accords by the Soviet Union. The amendment before us encourages the Soviets in this direction.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I am going to make an unaccustomed foray into the area of gratuitous policy language by offering an amendment on Taiwan.

I am doing so because the history of congressional debates in recent years suggests that no foreign aid bill or State Department authrorization bill is complete without language that blasts Taiwan.

Although, it must be said in all candor, that the pace of political reform in Taiwan has proceeded in a manner that seems to satisfy everyone except the Formosan Association for Public Affairs and its fund raisers.

Perhaps Taiwan's slow and steady march along the path of political liberalization has been so boring, so routine, even predictable, as to invite skepticism.

After all, where are the riots in the streets?

The mass demonstrations?

The general strikes?

The universities in turmoil?

The political assassinations?

And all the other forms of public martyrdom that have come to be expected as the necessary birth pangs at the dawn of a new political order?

In other words, where is all the excitement?

Well, the excitement is to be found in what 19 million people in Taiwan are doing to build as stable, prosperous, and egalitarian society.

In fact, in all of Asia, Japan is the only country with a larger population than Taiwan to have a higher standard of living.

And while all of this progress has been taking place, the Government has been moving at a measured and deliberate pace toward opening up the political system.

In the last year, significant steps have been taken to legalize the political participation of opposition parties; the most open and free election in the country's history was successfully conducted; and, most importantly, martial law was lifted.

Only last December, several Members and I had the opportunity of holding a private meeting with President Chiang Ching-kuo, during which he told us of his plans to further open up the political system.

And he told us of his hopes to leave behind a legacy, that he wants to be remembered as the man who laid the foundation, on a permanent basis, for democracy in Taiwan.

I will conclude by saying that, over the years, I have had the distinct impression that all of the browbeating we do in congressional resolutions can often have the effect of hindering, or retarding, the political processes we profess to be encouraging.

Nowhere is this more true than in Taiwan, where gradual, but real, efforts at liberalization and democratization have been underway for quite some time—and getting results, without all of the upheavals we have seen in some other countries. But no government is going to respond positively to outside pressures when those pressures can easily be construed as calling into question the very legitimacy of such a government.

And so that is why I am offering a balanced resolution, one that has already been passed by the other body, that salutes Taiwan, its people and Government, for the progress they have made, and exhorts them to continue that process by "consolidating fully democratic institutions." Nothing need more be said to make our point.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments en bloc offered by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL].

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 410, noes 0, answered "present" 1, not voting 22, as follows:

[Roll No. 473]

AYES—410

Ackerman
Alexander
Anderson
Andrews
Annunzio
Anthony
Applegate
Archer
Armey
Aspin
Atkins
AuCoin
Badham
Baker
Ballenger
Barnard
Bartlett
Barton
Bateman
Bates
Beilenson
Bennett
Bentley
Bereuter
Berman
Bevill
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Billey
Boehlert
Boggs
Boland
Bonior
Bonker
Borski
Bosco
Boucher
Boulter
Boxer
Brennan
Brooks
Broomfield
Brown (CA)
Brown (CO)
Bruce
Bryant
Buechner
Bunning
Burton
Bustamante
Byron
Callahan
Campbell
Cardin
Carper
Carr
Chandler
Chapman
Chappell
Cheney
Clarke
Clay
Clinger
Coats
Coble
Coelho
Coleman (MO)
Coleman (TX)
Collins
Combest
Conte
Conyers
Cooper
Coughlin
Courter
Coyne
Craig
Crane
Daniel
Dannemeyer
Darden
Daub
Davis (IL)
Davis (MI)
de la Garza
DeFazio
DeLay
Dellums
Derrick
DeWine
Dickinson
Dicks
Dingell
DioGuardi
Donnelly
Dorgan (ND)
Dornan (CA)
Downey
Dreier
Duncan
Durbin
Dwyer
Dymally
Dyson
Early
Eckart
Edwards (CA)
Edwards (OK)
Emerson
English
Erdreich
Espy
Evans
Fascell
Fawell
Fazio
Feighan
Fields
Fish
Flake
Flippo
Florio
Foglietta
Foley
Ford (MI)
Ford (TN)
Frank
Frenzel
Frost
Gallegly
Gallo
Garcia
Gejdenson
Gekas
Gibbons
Gilman
Glickman
Gonzalez
Goodling
Gordon
Gradison
Grandy
Grant
Gray (IL)
Gray (PA)
Green
Gregg
Guarini
Gunderson
Hall (TX)
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hansen
Harris
Hastert
Hatcher
Hawkins
Hayes (IL)
Hayes (LA)
Hefley
Hefner
Henry
Herger
Hertel
Hiler
Hochbrueckner
Holloway
Hopkins
Horton
Houghton
Howard
Hoyer
Hubbard
Huckaby
Hughes
Hunter
Hutto
Hyde
Inhofe
Ireland
Jacobs
Jeffords
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (SD)
Jones (TN)
Jontz
Kanjorski
Kasich
Kastenmeier
Kennedy
Kennelly
Kildee
Kleczka
Kolbe
Konnyu
Kostmayer
Kyl
LaFalce
Lagomarsino
Lancaster
Lantos
Latta
Leach (IA)
Leath (TX)
Lehman (CA)
Lehman (FL)
Leland
Lent
Levin (MI)
Levine (CA)
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (FL)
Lewis (GA)
Lightfoot
Lipinski
Livingston
Lloyd
Lott
Lowery (CA)
Lowry (WA)
Lujan
Lukens, Donald
Lungren
MacKay
Madigan
Manton
Markey
Marlenee
Martin (IL)
Martin (NY)
Martinez
Matsui
Mavroules
Mazzoli
McCandless
McCloskey
McCollum
McCurdy
McDade
McGrath
McHugh
McMillan (NC)
McMillen (MD)
Meyers
Mfume
Mica
Michel
Miller (CA)
Miller (OH)
Miller (WA)
Mineta
Moakley
Molinari
Mollohan
Montgomery
Moody
Moorhead
Morella
Morrison (CT)
Morrison (WA)
Mrazek
Murphy
Murtha
Myers
Nagle
Natcher
Neal
Nelson
Nielson
Nowak
Oakar
Oberstar
Obey
Olin
Ortiz
Owens (NY)
Owens (UT)
Oxley
Packard
Panetta
Parris
Pashayan
Patterson
Pease
Pelosi
Penny
Pepper
Perkins
Petri
Pickett
Pickle
Porter
Price (IL)
Pursell
Quillen
Rahall
Rangel
Ravenel
Ray
Regula
Rhodes
Richardson
Ridge
Rinaldo
Ritter
Roberts
Robinson
Rodino
Roe
Rogers
Rose
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roukema
Rowland (CT)
Rowland (GA)
Roybal
Russo
Sabo
Saiki
Savage
Sawyer
Saxton
Schaefer
Scheuer
Schneider
Schroeder
Schuette
Schulze
Schumer

Sensenbrenner	Spratt	Vander Jagt
Sharp	St Germain	Vento
Shaw	Staggers	Visclosky
Shays	Stallings	Volkmer
Shumway	Stangeland	Vucanovich
Shuster	Stenholm	Walgren
Sikorski	Stokes	Walker
Sisisky	Stratton	Watkins
Skaggs	Studds	Waxman
Skeen	Stump	Weber
Skelton	Sundquist	Weiss
Slattery	Swift	Weldon
Slaughter (NY)	Swindall	Wheat
Slaughter (VA)	Synar	Whittaker
Smith (FL)	Tallon	Whitten
Smith (IA)	Tauke	Williams
Smith (NE)	Tauzin	Wilson
Smith (NJ)	Taylor	Wise
Smith, Denny (OR)	Thomas (CA)	Wolf
	Thomas (GA)	Wolpe
Smith, Robert (NH)	Torres	Wortley
	Torricelli	Wyden
Smith, Robert (OR)	Towns	Wylie
	Traficant	Yates
Snowe	Traxler	Yatron
Solarz	Udall	Young (AK)
Solomon	Upton	Young (FL)
Spence	Valentine	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Crockett

NOT VOTING—22

Akaka	Jenkins	Nichols
Biaggi	Jones (NC)	Price (NC)
Dixon	Kaptur	Roemer
Dowdy	Kemp	Smith (TX)
Gaydos	Kolter	Stark
Gephardt	Luken, Thomas	Sweeney
Gingrich	Mack	
Hall (OH)	McEwen	

□ 1615

So the amendments en bloc were agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there further amendments to the bill?

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, under the rule I am permitted to offer a substitute and I am also allotted a certain amount of time. Could I be recognized?

The CHAIRMAN. It is now in order to consider the amendment in the nature of a substitute by and if offered by Representative BROOMFIELD or his designee. Said amendment is not subject to amendment, except one en bloc amendment by and if offered by Representative BROOMFIELD or his designee, which could only include amendments to the bill which have been adopted in the Committee of the Whole, as modified by the orders of the House of yesterday and today.

For what purpose does the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] rise?

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I rise to discuss the substitute that I will be offering very shortly, and before I do that, Mr. Chairman, I yield to the chairman of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will have to offer his substitute, under the rule.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. I am still working on the text, Mr. Chairman, but pursuant to the rule I will be sending to the desk an en bloc amendment to my amendment in the nature of a substitute to the bill H.R. 3100. The purpose of this amendment is to include a number of amendments which were adopted by the committee as amendments to the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman offer the substitute that he had printed in the RECORD?

Mr. BROOMFIELD. No, Mr. Chairman, it has been changed considerably.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the gentleman will offer the amendment he has prepared.

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MR. BROOMFIELD

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. BROOMFIELD: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987".

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title and table of contents.

TITLE I—MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND SALES AND RELATED PROGRAMS

Sec. 101. Foreign military sales credits.
Sec. 102. Military assistance program.
Sec. 103. International military education and training.
Sec. 104. Peacekeeping operations.
Sec. 105. Cooperative training agreements with major non-NATO allies.
Sec. 106. Sales from stocks.
Sec. 107. Financing for commercial leasing arrangements.
Sec. 108. Terms of foreign military sales credits.
Sec. 109. Waiver of penalty interest on FMS arrearages.
Sec. 110. Enforcement and processing of arms export licensing requirements.
Sec. 111. Biennial review of the International Traffic in Arms Regulations.
Sec. 112. Reciprocal leasing.
Sec. 113. Sales of antitank shells containing a depleted uranium penetrator component.
Sec. 114. Exclusion of salaries from prices of certain FMS sales.
Sec. 115. FMS Guaranty Reserve Fund.

TITLE II—ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND

Sec. 201. Authorizations of appropriations.
Sec. 202. Authority to use funds for emergency assistance.
Sec. 203. Restriction on use of funds for nuclear facilities.

TITLE III—DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Sec. 301. Agriculture, rural development, and nutrition.
Sec. 302. Child survival fund.
Sec. 303. Population and health.
Sec. 304. Education and human resources development.
Sec. 305. Cooperative development program.
Sec. 306. Energy, private and voluntary organizations, and private sector and selected development activities.
Sec. 307. Private sector revolving fund.
Sec. 308. Protecting biological diversity.
Sec. 309. Private sector assistance.
Sec. 310. Use of foreign assistance loan repayments for development assistance activities.
Sec. 311. Providing credit for the poor in developing countries.
Sec. 312. Assistance for the prevention and control of AIDS in developing countries.
Sec. 313. Minority set-aside.
Sec. 314. Enhancing the private-public partnership for foreign assistance.

TITLE IV—OTHER ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

PART A—FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT PROGRAMS

Sec. 401. American schools and hospitals.
Sec. 402. Housing guaranty program.
Sec. 403. Agricultural and productive credit and self-help community development programs.
Sec. 404. Trade credit insurance program.
Sec. 405. Voluntary contributions to international organizations and programs.
Sec. 406. International disaster assistance.
Sec. 407. Antiterrorism assistance program.
Sec. 408. Trade and development program.
Sec. 409. Operating expenses of the Agency for International Development.

PART B—PUBLIC LAW 480 AND SECTION 416 PROGRAMS

Sec. 421. Promoting biological diversity.
Sec. 422. Farmer-to-farmer program under Public Law 480.
Sec. 423. Multiyear agreements under section 416(b).
Sec. 424. Minimum level of food assistance.

TITLE V—INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL

Sec. 501. Authorizations of appropriations.
Sec. 502. Assistance for Bolivia.
Sec. 503. Assistance for Peru.
Sec. 504. Assistance for Mexico.
Sec. 505. Cooperative nonmajor drug-transit countries.
Sec. 506. Waiver of restrictions on assistance for NATO and major non-NATO allies.

TITLE VI—EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Sec. 601. Assistance for Israel.
Sec. 602. Assistance for Egypt.
Sec. 603. Cooperative scientific and technological projects.
Sec. 604. Use of certain deobligated funds for projects in the Middle East and for additional assistance for American hospitals abroad.
Sec. 605. West Bank and Gaza development initiative.
Sec. 606. Use of chemical weapons in the Near East.
Sec. 607. Assistance for Greece.
Sec. 608. Assistance for Turkey.
Sec. 609. Cyprus.
Sec. 610. Turkish occupation troops and Greek military forces on Cyprus.
Sec. 611. Excess defense articles for NATO southern flank countries and major non-NATO allies on the southern and southeastern flank of NATO.
Sec. 612. Assistance for Poland.

Sec. 613. United States contributions to the Anglo-Irish International Fund.
Sec. 614. Annual reports on economic conditions in Egypt, Israel, Turkey, and Portugal.
Sec. 615. Reporting requirements.
Sec. 616. Foreign military sales for Jordan.

TITLE VII—WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Sec. 701. Costa Rica's peace initiative.
Sec. 702. Suspension of assistance if a military coup occurs.
Sec. 703. Assistance for El Salvador.
Sec. 704. Annual report on Soviet military assistance to Cuba.
Sec. 705. Restriction on training assistance for Argentina and Brazil.
Sec. 706. Inter-American Foundation.
Sec. 707. Administration of justice program.
Sec. 708. Levels of nonmilitary assistance for Central America.
Sec. 709. Assistance for Haiti.
Sec. 710. Nicaragua.
Sec. 711. Criteria for democratization of Nicaragua.
Sec. 712. Central American peace agreement.
Sec. 713. Assistance to opposition civilian democratic forces in Nicaragua.
Sec. 714. Relations with the private sector in El Salvador.

TITLE VIII—AFRICA

Sec. 801. Africa famine recovery and development.
Sec. 802. Conforming amendments.
Sec. 803. African Development Foundation.

TITLE IX—ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

PART A—EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Sec. 901. Support for the right of self-determination for the Cambodian people.
Sec. 902. Assistance for the Cambodian people.
Sec. 903. Japan and the Arab economic boycott of Israel.
Sec. 904. Annual report regarding Korea.
Sec. 905. Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Preferences for New Zealand.
Sec. 906. Assistance for the Philippines.
Sec. 907. Authority to stockpile defense articles in Thailand and Korea.
Sec. 908. Refugees from Southeast Asia.
Sec. 909. Cooperation on POW/MIA issue.

PART B—SOUTH ASIA

Sec. 921. Assistance for the Afghan people.
Sec. 922. Democracy in Bangladesh.
Sec. 923. Israel-India relations.
Sec. 924. Waiver for Pakistan of section 669 prohibition on assistance.
Sec. 925. Democracy and human rights in Pakistan.
Sec. 926. Limitation on development assistance for India.

TITLE X—PEACE CORPS

Sec. 1001. Authorizations of appropriations.
Sec. 1002. Passenger automobiles.
Sec. 1003. Technical publications.

TITLE XI—ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR BASE RIGHTS COUNTRIES

Sec. 1101. Additional authorizations of appropriations.
Sec. 1102. Foreign military sales program ceiling.
Sec. 1103. Maintenance of military balance in the Eastern Mediterranean.

TITLE XII—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Sec. 1201. Use of foreign currencies.
Sec. 1202. Comprehensive annual reports on foreign assistance.
Sec. 1203. Foreign assistance allocation reports.
Sec. 1204. Foreign debt repayment.
Sec. 1205. Annual foreign assistance report.
Sec. 1206. Technical corrections.
Sec. 1207. Countries which import sugar from Cuba.
Sec. 1208. Early warning system regarding multilateral development bank loans.
Sec. 1209. Countries listed as Communist countries.
Sec. 1210. Requirement to specify duration for period of waiver of Communist country prohibition.
Sec. 1211. Effectiveness of United States economic assistance.
Sec. 1212. International scholarship partnership program.
Sec. 1213. Assistance for police of democratic governments.

TITLE I—MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND SALES AND RELATED PROGRAMS

SEC. 101. FOREIGN MILITARY SALES CREDITS.

(a) AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.—The first sentence of section 31(a) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended to read as follows: "There are authorized to be appropriated to the President to carry out this Act $3,950,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $4,088,250,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

(b) AGGREGATE PROGRAM CEILING.—Section 31(b)(1) of that Act is amended to read as follows:

"(b)(1) The total amount of credits extended under section 23 of this Act may not exceed $3,950,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $4,088,250,000 for fiscal year 1989."

SEC. 102. MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

Section 504(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"(a)(1) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President to carry out the purposes of this chapter $1,033,716,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $1,069,896,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 103. INTERNATIONAL MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

(a) AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.—Section 542 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 542. AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated to the President to carry out the purposes of this chapter $55,851,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $57,806,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

(b) HUMAN RIGHTS TRAINING IN IMET PROGRAMS.—Chapter 5 of part II of that Act is amended by adding at the end the following:

"SEC. 546. HUMAN RIGHTS TRAINING.

"Respect for internationally recognized human rights shall be an important component of the assistance provided to any country under this chapter for any fiscal year.".

(c) SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS.—Chapter 5 of part II of that Act (as amended by subsection (b) of this section) is further amended by adding at the end the following:

"SEC. 547. SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS.

"Of the funds made available to carry out this chapter, up to $3,000,000 each fiscal year may be used for the fixed base operating costs of the United States Army School of the Americas.".

SEC. 104. PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS.

Section 552(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"(a) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President to carry out the purposes of this chapter, in addition to amounts otherwise available for such purposes, $31,689,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $32,798,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 105. COOPERATIVE TRAINING AGREEMENTS WITH MAJOR NON-NATO ALLIES.

Section 21(g) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended—

(1) by inserting "and with other countries which are major non-NATO allies," after "New Zealand,"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following: "As used in this subsection, the term 'major non-NATO allies' means those countries designated as major non-NATO allies for purposes of section 1105 of the National Defense Authorization Act of Fiscal Year 1987.".

SEC. 106. SALES FROM STOCKS.

Section 21 of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(j) In the case of a sale under subsection (a)(1)(B) of this section, the President may contract for the procurement of replacement major defense equipment if the eligible country or international organization provides the United States Government with a dependable undertaking as described in section 22(a) of this Act. The authority of this subsection may be exercised only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.".

SEC. 107. FINANCING FOR COMMERCIAL LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.

Section 23(a) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by adding at the end the following: "The authority of this section may be used to provide financing to Israel for the procurement by leasing (including leasing with an option to purchase) of defense articles from United States commercial suppliers if the President determines that there are compelling foreign policy or national security reasons for those defense articles being provided by commercial lease rather than by government-to-government sale under this Act.".

SEC. 108. TERMS OF FOREIGN MILITARY SALES CREDITS.

(a) WHEN INTEREST RATES DETERMINED.—Section 23(c)(2) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by striking out the parenthetical phrase in subparagraph (B).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—Section 23(c) of that Act is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(3) Loan agreements made on market rate terms pursuant to this section after September 30, 1984, may be amended to fix the interest rates applicable to undisbursed funds as of the time each disbursement is made. The authority of this paragraph may be exercised only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.".

SEC. 109. WAIVER OF PENALTY INTEREST ON FMS ARREARAGES.

Section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(e) The President may waive the collection of penalty charges that have accrued or may accrue on loans made pursuant to this section or section 24. The authority of this subsection may be exercised only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.".

SEC. 110. ENFORCEMENT AND PROCESSING OF ARMS EXPORT LICENSING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) REGISTRATION FEES FOR MUNITIONS CONTROL LICENSES.—Section 38(b) of the

Arms Export Control Act is amended by inserting at the end the following:

"(3)(A) For each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, $250,000 of registration fees collected pursuant to paragraph (1) shall be credited to a Department of State account, to be available without fiscal year limitation. Fees credited to that account shall be available only for the payment of expenses incurred for—

"(i) contract personnel to assist in the evaluation of munitions control license applications, reduce processing time for license applications, and improve monitoring of compliance with the terms of licenses; and

"(ii) the automation of munitions control functions and the processing of munitions control license applications, including the development, procurement, and utilization of computer equipment and related software.

"(B) Funds made available under subparagraph (A) may not be used for any purpose other than those specified in subparagraph (A), and this limitation may not be waived under the authority of any other provision of law.

"(C) The authority of this paragraph may be exercised only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.".

(b) DISQUALIFICATION AND FORFEITURE FOR VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC IN ARMS REGULATIONS.—Section 38 of that Act is amended by inserting after subsection (c) the following:

"(d)(1) No contract between a foreign government and a person convicted or debarred for a violation of this section or section 39, or any rule or regulation issued under either section, may be approved for financing under this Act during the twelve months following the date of such conviction or debarment.

"(2)(A) Any person who is convicted for a violation of this section or section 39, or any rule or regulation issued under either section, shall (in addition to any other penalty) forfeit to the United States—

"(i) any of that person's interest in, security of, claim against, or property or contractual rights of any kind in any defense article or other tangible item that was the subject of the violation;

"(ii) any of that person's interest in, security of, claim against, or property or contractual rights of any kind in any defense article or other tangible item that was used in—

"(I) the export or attempt to export, or

"(II) the contribution, gift, commission, or fee that was paid or offered or agreed to be paid,

that was the subject of the violation; and

"(iii) any of that person's property constituting, or derived from, any proceeds obtained directly or indirectly as a result of the violation.

"(B) The procedures in any forfeiture under this paragraph, and the duties and authorities of the courts of the United States and the Attorney General with respect to any forfeiture action under this paragraph or with respect to any property that may be subject to forfeiture under this paragraph, shall be governed by section 1963 of title 18, United States Code. Any new budget authority provided by this subparagraph may be exercised only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.".

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—Subsection (d) of section 38 of that Act, as enacted by subsection (b) of this section, applies—

(1) in the case of paragraph (1) of subsection (d), with respect to convictions or debarments occurring on or after the date of enactment of this Act; and

(2) in the case of paragraph (2) of subsection (d), with respect to convictions based on conduct occurring on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 111. BIENNIAL REVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC IN ARMS REGULATIONS.

Section 38(f) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by striking out the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "At least once every 2 years, the President shall review the regulations issued to carry out this section, including the items listed on the United States Munitions List, in order to determine what changes in those regulations are appropriate, including determining what items, if any, no longer warrant export controls under this section. Based on each such review, the President shall revise those regulations as necessary and shall publish a revised compilation of those regulations.".

SEC. 112. RECIPROCAL LEASING.

Section 61(a) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended in subparagraph (B) by striking out "fiscal year 1987 and only with respect to one country" and inserting in lieu thereof "fiscal years 1987, 1988, and 1989 and only with respect to one country each such year".

SEC. 113. SALES OF ANTITANK SHELLS CONTAINING A DEPLETED URANIUM PENETRATOR COMPONENT.

The President may not sell any M833 antitank shells, or any comparable antitank shells containing a depleted uranium penetrator component, to any country other than—

(1) a country which is member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or

(2) a country which has been designated as a major non-NATO ally for purposes of section 1105 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1987.

SEC. 114. EXCLUSION OF SALARIES FROM PRICES OF CERTAIN FMS SALES.

The last sentence of section 503(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by inserting ", or from funds made available on a nonrepayable basis under section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act," after "under paragraph (3)"; and

(2) by inserting "(other than the Coast Guard)" after "Armed Forces of the United States".

SEC. 115. FMS GUARANTY RESERVE FUND.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) during any period in which the balance of the Guaranty Reserve Fund established by section 24(c) of the Arms Export Control Act is inadequate to satisfy claims made on guaranties issued pursuant to that Act, the Federal Financing Bank may defer making such a claim for a reasonable period of time; and

(2) under present circumstances in which the balance of the Guaranty Reserve Fund has been depleted while security assistance funding is constrained at unduly low levels for general budgetary reasons, it is inconsistent with the security interests of the United States to divert security assistance funds to the Guaranty Reserve Fund unless absolutely essential.

(b) LIMITATION ON REPLENISHMENT OF GUARANTY RESERVE FUND.—During fiscal years 1988 and 1989—

(1) the authority contained in the third sentence of section 24(c) of the Arms Export Control Act (as amended by the paragraph under the heading "GUARANTY RESERVE FUND" in Public Law 100-71) may not be exercised; and

(2) funds made available to carry out section 23 of that Act or section 503 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shall not be made available to the Guaranty Reserve Fund (or otherwise used) for the payment of claims under guaranties issued under section 24 of the Arms Export Control Act, notwithstanding any other provision of law (specifically including any law providing appropriations for foreign assistance and related programs);

unless the President determines, in his discretion, that all other resources and authorities available for the purposes of managing arrearages on credits guaranteed pursuant to the Arms Export Control Act, including authorities available to the Federal Financing Bank, have been exhausted.

TITLE II—ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND

SEC. 201. AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.

Section 532(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"(a) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President to carry out the purposes of this chapter $3,380,812,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $3,535,365,000 for fiscal year 1989, in addition to amounts otherwise authorized to be appropriated for those purposes.".

SEC. 202. AUTHORITY TO USE FUNDS FOR EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE.

Section 533(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "1986" and "1987" and inserting in lieu thereof "1988" and "1989", respectively.

SEC. 203. RESTRICTION ON USE OF FUNDS FOR NUCLEAR FACILITIES.

Funds authorized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for fiscal year 1988 or fiscal year 1989 may not be used to finance the construction of, the operation or maintenance of, or the supplying of fuel for, any nuclear facility in a foreign country unless the President certifies to the Congress that such country is a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons or the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (the "Treaty of Tlatelolco"), cooperates fully with the International Atomic Energy Agency, and pursues nonproliferation policies consistent with those of the United States.

TITLE III—DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

SEC. 301. AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, AND NUTRITION.

The first sentence of section 103(a)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows: "There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for purposes of this section, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, $471,612,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $488,118,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 302. CHILD SURVIVAL FUND.

(a) AUTHORIZATION.—Section 104(c)(2)(B) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"(B)(i) Not less than $80,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $90,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 shall be used for activities described in subparagraph (A) which are carried out with funds made available under this subsection and chapter 7 of this part.

"(ii) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President $66,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $76,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 for use in carrying out subparagraph (A), which are in addition to amounts other-

wise available for that purpose and which are authorized to remain available until expended.".

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 104(c)(2)(C) of that Act is amended by striking out "Appropriations" and inserting in lieu thereof "Funds made available".

(c) USE OF FUNDS TO REIMBURSE MEDICAL PERSONNEL DETAILED TO AID.—Section 104(c)(2)(A) of that Act is amended by adding at the end the following: "Funds authorized to be appropriated to carry out the purposes of this subsection may be used to reimburse United States Government agencies, State government agencies, and institutions of higher education for the full cost of personnel detailed or assigned to the agency primarily responsible for administering this part for the purpose of carrying out activities authorized by this paragraph. Personnel so detailed or assigned shall not, during the period of detail or assignment, be counted toward any personnel ceiling applicable to any United States Government agency.".

(d) RESTRICTIONS ON ASSISTANCE NOT APPLICABLE.—Section 104(c)(2) of that Act is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(D) Except as provided in this section, assistance provided under this paragraph may be made available notwithstanding any other provision of this Act (other than subsections (a), (f), and (t) of section 620 and section 620A) or any other Act.".

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by subsections (c) and (d) do not apply with respect to funds appropriated prior to the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 303. POPULATION AND HEALTH.

(a) AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.—Section 104(g)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"(1) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes—

"(A) $223,724,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $231,554,000 for fiscal year 1989 to carry out subsection (b) of this section (relating to assistance for population planning); and

"(B) $143,161,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $148,172,000 for fiscal year 1989 to carry out subsection (c) of this section (relating to assistance for health and disease prevention).".

(b) FAMILY PLANNING PROJECTS.—Section 104(c) of that Act is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(4) In order to reduce reliance on abortion in developing countries, funds shall be available under this part only to voluntary family planning projects which offer, either directly or through referral to or information about access to, a broad range of family planning methods and services. In awarding grants for natural family planning under this part, no applicant shall be discriminated against because of such applicant's religious or conscientious commitment to offer only natural family planning; and, additionally, all such applicants shall comply with the requirements of the first sentence of this paragraph.".

SEC. 304. EDUCATION AND HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT.

(a) AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.—Section 105(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for the purposes of this section, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, $122,699,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $126,993,000 for fiscal year 1989. Funds appropriated under this subsection are authorized to remain available until expended.".

(b) GLOBAL BASIC EDUCATION ENHANCEMENT.—The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Basic education, which includes primary education for children and literacy training for adults, is necessary to promote the social and economic development of people and nations, developing the necessary knowledge, skills, and productive capacities of the workforce.

(2) Basic education increases the effectiveness of investments in other development sectors. The poorer the country, the higher the payoff for teaching its citizens to read, write, and perform basic arithmetic skills.

(3) Improvements in educational levels, particularly of women, are strongly associated with increasing agricultural productivity, improving nutritional status, declining infant and child mortality, and slowing population growth.

(4) Literacy rates in many countries which receive assistance from the Agency for International Development are very low.

(5) The Congress authorizes the appropriation of funds to the Agency for International Development under section 105 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 in order "to reduce illiteracy, to extend basic education, and to increase manpower training in skills related to development".

(6) As a percentage of development assistance funding for education, funding for basic education enhancement has been declining in recent years.

(7) The Agency for International Development could have a substantial role in improving the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of educational systems in developing countries if more resources were directed toward enhancing basic education.

SEC. 305. COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.

Section 106(f) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "1986" and "1987" and inserting in lieu thereof "1988" and "1989", respectively.

SEC. 306. ENERGY, PRIVATE AND VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS, AND SELECTED DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES.

Section 106(e)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"(e)(1) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for purposes of this section, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, $146,699,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $151,833,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 307. PRIVATE SECTOR REVOLVING FUND.

The first sentence of section 108(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "in each of the fiscal years 1986 and 1987, up to $18,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof ", up to $12,000,000 in fiscal year 1988 and up to $12,000,000 in fiscal year 1989".

SEC. 308. PROTECTING BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY.

Section 119(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "fiscal year 1987" and inserting in lieu thereof "each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989".

SEC. 309. PRIVATE SECTOR ASSISTANCE.

(a) REPAYMENT.—Section 122 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(f) Section 620(r) of this Act shall not apply in the case of loans made at or near market rates of interest to private borrowers pursuant to the authority contained in this chapter, chapter 7 of this part, or chapter 4 of part II if the President determines that by not applying such provisions repayment to the United States is likely to be greater than if such provisions were applicable.".

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) does not apply with respect to funds appropriated prior to the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 310. USE OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE LOAN REPAYMENTS FOR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES.

(a) AUTHORITY TO USE.—Chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"SEC. 129. USE OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE LOAN REPAYMENTS FOR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES.

"(a) AUTHORITY.—Subject to subsection (e), in the case of any developing country which faces severe difficulties in repaying its external debt obligations, the President may (on a case-by-case basis) permit that country to place amounts, which would otherwise be paid to the United States as payments on principal or interest on liability incurred by that country under this part, into local currency accounts (in equivalent amounts of local currency as determined by the official exchange rate for that country) for use by that country, with the concurrence of the Administrator of the agency primarily responsible for administering this part, for development activities which are consistent with section 102. Such activities may include development activities carried out by United States and indigenous private and voluntary organizations.

"(b) NOTIFICATION TO CONGRESS.—The President shall notify the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, in accordance with the procedures applicable to reprogramming notifications under section 634A, at least 15 day before each exercise of the authority contained in subsection (a).

"(c) OTHER PROVISIONS.—The authority contained in subsection (a) may be exercised notwithstanding section 620(r) of this Act and section 321 of the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975.

"(d) ACTING IN CONCERT WITH OTHER CREDITORS.—In exercising the authority of this section, the President should act in concert with other creditor countries.

"(e) REQUIREMENT FOR APPROPRIATIONS ACTION.—The authority of subsection (a) may be exercised only to such extent or in such amount as is provided in advance in appropriation Acts.".

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Subsection (c) of section 124 of that Act is repealed, and subsection (d) is redesignated as subsection (c).

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) applies with respect to liability incurred under part I of that Act at any time before or after the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 311. PROVIDING CREDIT FOR THE POOR IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Hunger and hunger-related disease take the lives of 13,000,000 to 18,000,000 people annually. Three-quarters of these deaths are children under the age of 5.

(2) A primary cause of this suffering is the inability of the poor majority living in developing countries to earn incomes which would enable them to provide the nutrition-

al and health benefits that their families need.

(3) The rural and urban poor comprise the developing world's greatest untapped resource, and the health of national economies and democratic institutions is vastly improved when opportunities for the poor to participate in the economies of their countries are actively promoted and expanded.

(4) The inability of the rural and urban poor to obtain credit to finance their economic activities (and related nonfinancial assistance) has long been an obstacle to their achievement of economic progress and well-being.

(5) This inability to obtain credit and other critical productive inputs has been a significant factor inhibiting the growth of micro and small enterprises. Even so, such enterprises still represent an important source of private sector commercial activity in developing countries, provide significant benefits for the poor majority in those countries (particularly women, tribal peoples, and other minorities), and serve to integrate them into the economic life of their countries.

(6) Formal financial institutions in developing countries have not recognized that, although the poor majority may lack collateral for loans and may not be able to comply with all the traditional loan formalities, the productive activities of micro and small enterprises can nevertheless be financially viable if access to sources of credit is expanded.

(7) Experience with making productive credit available to the poor, including to micro-enterprises and to groups of poor people, has demonstrated their ability to repay loans and to achieve significant improvements in their living standards and to make significant contributions to the local economy.

(8) Economic policies, particularly those which are neutral as to enterprise size, are important to the encouragement and operation of micro and small enterprises.

(b) CREDIT PROGRAMS AND OTHER ASSISTANCE.—The Administrator shall make assistance available, in accordance with this section, to financial intermediaries in developing countries to enable them to provide loans and other assistance for micro and small enterprises of the poor majority. In carrying out this section, primary emphasis shall be placed on making loans and other assistance available to those individuals living in absolute poverty. Funds described in subsection (f)(2) may be made available to financial intermediaries pursuant to this section for use by them—

(1) in extending credit for micro and small enterprises in order to provide such enterprises with financial resources for working capital, the acquisition of equipment and other supplies, and payment of other expenses of the enterprise;

(2) in extending credit for such purposes as the procurement of farm implements and commodities, the acquisition of livestock, the construction of storage facilities, water and soil conservation activities, and the enhancement of marketing facilities;

(3) for the startup costs incurred by a nongovernmental organization in becoming a financial intermediary, and for other institutional development expenses (including audit and evaluation costs) of the intermediary which are related to the establishment and initial operation of the credit and other business support activities assisted pursuant to this section;

(4) for expenses incurred by the financial intermediary in providing training and technical assistance for micro and small enterprises, in order to enable them to obtain and utilize credit and other nonfinancial assistance under this section; and

(5) to provide other assistance necessary to the successful functioning of micro and small enterprises.

(c) GUIDELINES FOR PROGRAM.—The Administrator shall issue guidelines for financial intermediaries providing assistance pursuant to this section. These guidelines shall seek to ensure that financial intermediaries—

(1) consult with potential recipients of credit and other assistance under this section, and include their views to the greatest extent possible, in the designing of credit projects to ensure that the projects are responsive to the credit and other productive input needs of the recipients;

(2) establish credit terms at rates of interest which reflect the prevailing market rate of interest and the real cost of providing credit to the targeted beneficiaries;

(3) utilize the assistance made available pursuant to this section to provide credit and related assistance to the poorest people, with special attention being given to the provision of credit and other assistance to women, tribal peoples, and other minorities; and

(4) minimize or remove obstacles to credit provided under this section, such as collateral and literacy requirements.

(d) PRIMARY EMPHASIS.—In carrying out this section, the Administrator shall place primary emphasis on the development of the capacity of indigenous nongovernmental organizations (especially those representing women, tribal peoples, and other minorities) which will assist the development of micro and small enterprises, but the Administrator may also support other entities as appropriate. Attention shall also be directed to savings and capital formation as part of the systems support for micro and small enterprises.

(e) ADVISORY COMMITTEE.—The Administrator shall appoint an advisory committee to advise the Administrator with regard to the implementation of this section. This advisory committee shall be composed of individuals from nongovernmental organizations who are knowledgeable about the needs of micro and small enterprises in developing countries for credit and other assistance. Among other responsibilities, the advisory committee shall—

(1) assist the Administrator in developing the report required by subsection (m); and

(2) shall review and comment on the initial guidelines issued by the Administrator pursuant to subsection (c) before those guidelines are issued.

(f) SOURCES OF FUNDS AND FUNDING LEVELS.—

(1) ASSISTANCE FOR FISCAL YEARS 1988 AND 1989.—The total amount of assistance provided pursuant to this section shall be at least $50,000,000 during fiscal year 1988 and at least $75,000,000 during fiscal year 1989.

(2) SOURCES OF FUNDS.—Assistance pursuant to this section shall be provided with the following funds:

(A) Funds made available to carry out chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance), chapter 7 of part I of that Act (relating to Africa famine recovery and development), and chapter 4 of part II of that Act (relating to the economic support fund).

(B) Foreign currencies acquired as payments of loans made under those chapters pursuant to the authority contained in subsection (h).

(C) Foreign currencies accruing from assistance provided under those chapters.

(D) Foreign currencies accruing or acquired under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, including foreign currencies made available to carry out section 108 and foreign currencies available for use pursuant to title III.

(E) Amounts paid to the United States on loans made to financial intermediaries pursuant to this section.

(3) ALLOCATIONS OF ASSISTANCE.—Funds allocated under this section shall, to the maximum extent feasible, be made available in support of micro enterprises. The size of individual loans made under this section to micro and small enterprises shall take into consideration such factors as the size of the borrowing enterprise, the nature of the activity being undertaken by the enterprise, and the financial requirements of the enterprise.

(g) APPLICABLE AUTHORITIES.—Except as provided in this section, assistance provided pursuant to this section shall be provided in accordance with the relevant authorities contained in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 or the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954.

(h) AUTHORITY TO GENERATE FOREIGN CURRENCIES.—In order to generate foreign currencies which can be made available to financial intermediaries pursuant to this section, the Administrator is authorized to use funds made available to carry out chapter 1 of part I, chapter 7 of part I, and chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide assistance to the governments of developing countries on a loan basis repayable in foreign currencies, at a rate of exchange to be negotiated by the Administrator and the foreign government. Such loans shall have a rate of interest and a repayment period determined by the Administrator.

(i) FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT ASSISTANCE TO INTERMEDIARIES.—

(1) TERMS.—Loans and grants made to financial intermediaries for the purposes of this section with funds described in subsections (f)(2)(A), (B), and (C), or with amounts made available pursuant to paragraph (2) of this subsection, shall be on such terms and conditions as are determined by the Administrator and the intermediary.

(2) USE OF LOAN PROCEEDS.—Amounts paid to the United States on loans under this section with funds described in subsections (f)(2)(A), (B), and (C) or with amounts used pursuant to this paragraph shall, as determined by the Administrator, be available for use for assistance pursuant to this section.

(j) APPLICATION OF CERTAIN LAWS.—Section 122 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shall not apply with respect to loans pursuant to subsections (h) or (i). Funds described in subsection (f)(2)(B) and (C) or subsection (i)(2) which are received by the United States pursuant to this section shall not be subject to the requirements of section 1306 of title 31, United States Code, or other laws governing the use of foreign currencies accruing to the United States. New budget authority provided by this section may be exercised only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.

(k) TERMS OF FOREIGN CURRENCY ASSISTANCE UNDER PUBLIC LAW 480.—Funds described in subsection (f)(2)(D), or in the

second sentence of this subsection, which are made available to financial intermediaries pursuant to this section may be provided on a grant or loan basis, notwithstanding any provision of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. Any foreign currencies under that Act which are repaid by financial intermediaries under this section shall be available to and used by the Administrator to make available assistance for the purposes of this section. Section 108(d) of that Act shall not apply to the use of such currencies. Section 103(m) of that Act shall not apply to agreements entered into under section 108 of that Act for purposes of this section.

(l) NOTICE TO CONGRESS.—Funds made available under this section shall be provided in accordance with the procedures applicable to reprogrammings under section 634A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

(m) INITIAL REPORT.—Not later than January 1, 1988, the Administrator shall submit to the Congress a report setting forth the manner in which this section will be implemented.

(n) ANNUAL REPORTS.—Not later than February 1, 1989, and each year thereafter, the Administrator shall submit a report to the Congress describing the implementation of this section. The report shall include—

(1) a description of the activities funded under this section during the previous fiscal year and the amount of funds described in each subparagraph of subsection (f)(2) which were provided for such activities; and

(2) recommendations for procedural or statutory changes which would facilitate the implementation of this section.

(o) ECONOMIC POLICIES.—In policy dialogues concerning economic policies with, and efforts to reform economic policies of, countries receiving assistance under part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the Administrator shall encourage economic policies which promote micro and small enterprises.

(p) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

(1) the term "Administrator" means the administrator of the agency primarily responsible for administering part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

(2) the term "micro enterprises" means enterprises which are—

(A) single or family proprietorships, small-group enterprises, or other for-profit business entities, which have approximately 7 or fewer workers, which are wholly owned by the poor majority in the developing country, and which often lack access to credit at reasonable cost, and

(B) cooperatives consisting primarily of such individuals or entities;

(3) the term "small enterprises" means enterprises which are—

(A) single or family proprietorships, small-group enterprises, or other for-profit business entities, which have approximately 8 to 15 workers, which are wholly owned by the poor majority in the developing country, and which often lack access to credit at reasonable cost, and

(B) cooperatives consisting primarily of such individuals or entities;

(4) the term "financial intermediary" has the same meaning as is given that term in section 108(i)(2) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954; and

(5) the term "absolute poverty" refers to those people who lack access to assets sufficient to permit them to provide for their basic human needs.

SEC. 312. ASSISTANCE FOR THE PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF AIDS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

Of the aggregate amounts made available to carry out chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance) and chapter 7 of part I of that Act (relating to Africa famine recovery and development), not less than $20,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 shall be available only for activities relating to research on and the treatment and control of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) in developing countries.

SEC. 313. MINORITY SET-ASIDE.

Except to the extent that the Administrator of the Agency for International Development determines otherwise, not less than 10 percent of the aggregate of the funds made available for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 to carry out chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance) and chapter 7 of part I of that Act (relating to Africa famine recovery and development) shall be made available only for activities of economically and socially disadvantaged enterprises (within the meaning of section 133(c)(5) of the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1977), historically black colleges and universities, and private and voluntary organizations which are controlled by individuals who are black Americans, Hispanic Americans, or Native Americans, or who are socially and economically disadvantaged (within the meaning of section 133(c)(5) of the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1977). For purposes of this section, socially and economically disadvantaged individuals shall be deemed to include women.

SEC. 314. ENHANCING THE PRIVATE-PUBLIC PARTNERSHIP FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.

(a) ADDITIONAL POLICIES AND REQUIREMENTS CONCERNING PVOs AND COOPERATIVES.—Section 123 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsections (b) through (h) as subsections (e) through (k), respectively; and

(2) by inserting after subsection (a) the following:

"(b) The Congress encourages the fuller utilization of private indigenous organizations and cooperatives, especially those representing women, tribal peoples, and other minorities, in the implementation and planning of activities authorized by this part. Public and private technical and financial assistance from United States private and voluntary organizations and cooperatives can accelerate the strengthening of these organizations and their ability to assist the poor.

"(c) The Congress encourages the Administrator of the agency primarily responsible for administering this part to use, in addition to funding for other activities of private and voluntary organizations, up to $20,000,000 in each of fiscal years 1988 and 1989 for private and voluntary organizations and cooperatives under this chapter, chapter 7 of this part, and chapter 4 of part II to design, initiate, expand, and enhance food assistance programs that reach the poor in conjunction with food made available under title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 and section 416(b) of the Agricultural Act of 1949.

"(d) The Congress finds that one of the most effective and least costly ways to maintain and restore the natural resource base in developing countries is through small-scale, affordable, participatory projects using methods suited to the local environment. Assistance under this part may support private and voluntary organizations in carrying out resource conserving development projects, training, and education programs that promote sustainable agricultural development practices. Particular emphasis should be placed on agricultural and rural development projects which include environmentally sound land and water management technologies, including agroforestry, water harvesting, soil conservation, reforestation, range and pasture management, small-scale irrigation systems, family gardens, park management, renewable and decentralized energy techniques, and the training of local staff on more effective community-based extension techniques that promise greater choice, improved communications, and the more active involvement of farmers in projects utilizing these technologies.".

(b) FUNDING LEVELS.—Subsection (i) of that section (as so redesignated by subsection (a) of this section) is amended to read as follows:

"(i) For each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, funds in an amount not less than 15 percent of the aggregate amount appropriated to carry out sections 103, 104(b), 104(c)(1), 104(c)(2), 105, 106, 471, and 491 of this Act shall be made available for the activities of private and voluntary organizations and cooperatives; and the President shall seek to channel funds in an amount not less than 18 percent of such aggregate amount for the activities of private and voluntary organizations and cooperatives. Funds made available under chapter 4 of part II of this Act for the activities of private and voluntary organizations and cooperatives may be considered in determining compliance with the requirements of this subsection.".

(c) NON-FEDERAL FUNDING REQUIREMENT.—Subsection (j) of that section (as so redesignated by subsection (a) of this section) is amended to read as follows:

"(j) Funds made available to carry out this part may not be made available to any United States private and voluntary organization (other than a cooperative development organization) which obtains less than 20 percent of its total annual funding for international activities from sources other than the United States Government. In calculating the amount of Government support received by an organization, there shall be excluded the value of commodities (and related transportation) made available for overseas distribution and the value of contracts for services, grants, and other activities initiated primarily by the agency primarily responsible for administering this part.".

TITLE IV—OTHER ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AND AUTHORIZATIONS

PART A—FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT PROGRAMS

SEC. 401. AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS.

Section 214(c)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"(c)(1) To carry out the purposes of this section, there are authorized to be appropriated to the President $35,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $36,225,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 402. HOUSING GUARANTY PROGRAM.

(a) INCREASING AUTHORIZED HIG PROGRAM LEVEL.—Section 222(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out

"$2,158,000,000" in the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "$2,308,000,000".

(b) EXTENDING HIG PROGRAM AUTHORITY.—Such section is further amended by striking out "1988" in the third sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "1990".

(c) BORROWING AUTHORITY.—Section 223(e)(2)(A)(ii) of that Act is amended by striking out "$40,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$100,000,000".

(d) BUDGET ACT.—The authority provided by the amendment made by subsections (a) and (b) may be exercised only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.

SEC. 403. AGRICULTURAL AND PRODUCTIVE CREDIT AND SELF-HELP COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS.

(a) EXTENDING PROGRAM AUTHORITY.—Section 222A(h) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "1988" and inserting in lieu thereof "1990".

(b) BUDGET ACT.—The authority provided by the amendments made by subsection (a) may be exercised only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.

SEC. 404. TRADE CREDIT INSURANCE PROGRAM.

Section 224(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "the aggregate amount of outstanding commitments under subsection (a) may not exceed $300,000,000 of contingent liability for loan principal during fiscal year 1986 and may not exceed $400,000,000 of contingent liability for loan principal during fiscal year 1987" and inserting in lieu thereof "commitments entered into during fiscal year 1988 to guarantee loans under subsection (a) may not exceed $200,000,000 of contingent liability for loan principal and commitments entered into during fiscal year 1989 to guarantee loans under subsection (a) may not exceed $200,000,000 of contingent liability for loan principal".

SEC. 405. VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PROGRAMS.

(a) AUTHORIZATIONS.—Section 302(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"(a)(1) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President $92,264,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $95,493,000 for fiscal year 1989 for grants to carry out the purposes of this chapter, in addition to funds available under other Acts for such purposes.".

(b) INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.—Paragraph (2) of section 103(g) of that Act is amended to read as follows:

"(2) In addition to any funds made available under chapter 3 of this part (relating to international organizations and programs) which are used for such purpose, other funds made available to carry out this part may be used for United States contributions to the International Fund for Agricultural Development.".

(c) CONDITION ON CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY.—Section 302(a) of that Act is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(3) Funds authorized to be appropriated by paragraph (1) may be contributed to the International Atomic Energy Agency only if the Secretary of State determines (and so reports to the Congress) that Israel is not being denied its right to participate in the activities of that Agency.".

SEC. 406. INTERNATIONAL DISASTER ASSISTANCE.

The first sentence of section 492(a) is amended to read as follows: "There are authorized to be appropriated to the President to carry out section 491, $25,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $25,875,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 407. ANTITERRORISM ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

Section 575(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"(a) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President to carry out this chapter, $9,840,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $10,184,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 408. TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.

Section 661(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"(b) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for purposes of this section, $20,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $20,700,000 for fiscal year 1989. Amounts appropriated under this subsection are authorized to remain available until expended.".

SEC. 409. OPERATING EXPENSES OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

(a) AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.—Paragraph (1) of section 667(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"(1) $340,600,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $352,521,000 for fiscal year 1989 for necessary operating expenses of the agency primarily responsible for administering part I of this Act; and".

(b) USE OF PROGRAM FUNDS FOR OPERATING EXPENSES.—Section 667 of that Act is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(c)(1) Amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out the purposes of chapter 1 and chapter 7 of part I and chapter 4 of part II of this Act for fiscal years 1988 and 1989 may be made available to carry out the purposes of this section and section 668.

"(2) For fiscal years 1988 and 1989, the Administrator of the agency primarily responsible for administering part I of this Act shall make available to the Inspector General of the Agency for International Development, from funds made available pursuant to subsection (a) or paragraph (1) of this subsection, such amount for payment of expenses described in section 668(a)(1) as the Inspector General may request. The Inspector General may not request funds under this paragraph for a fiscal year in an amount—

"(A) which is greater than 10 percent of the amount authorized to be appropriated for that fiscal year by section 668(a)(1), or

"(B) which would cause the limitation in paragraph (3) to be exceeded.

"(3) The authorities of this subsection may not be used to increase the amount available for a fiscal year to carry out this section or section 668 to an amount greater than the amount made available for the previous fiscal year to carry out the purposes described in such section, except that the amount used to cover the costs of converting to the mandatory Federal Employee Retirement System shall be excluded in applying this limitation for fiscal year 1988.".

(c) OPERATING EXPENSES OF THE OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL.—Chapter 3 of part III of that Act is amended by inserting the following after section 667:

"SEC. 668. OPERATING EXPENSES OF THE OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL.

(a) AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated to the President, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes—

"(1) $21,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $21,735,000 for fiscal year 1989 for necessary operating expenses of the Office of the Inspector General of the Agency for International Development; and

"(2) such amounts as may be necessary for increases in salary, pay, retirement, and other employee benefits authorized by law, and for other nondiscretionary costs of such office.

"(b) AUTHORITY FOR EXTENDED AVAILABILITY.—Amounts appropriated under this section are authorized to remain available until expended.".

PART B—PUBLIC LAW 480 AND SECTION 416 PROGRAMS

SEC. 421. PROMOTING BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY.

(a) SELF-HELP MEASURES BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.—Section 109(a) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 is amended—

(1) by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (10);

(2) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (11) and inserting in lieu thereof "; and"; and

(3) by adding after paragraph (11) the following:

"(12) promoting the conservation and study of biological diversity.".

(b) USE OF LOCAL CURRENCIES PROCEEDS UNDER TITLE I PROGRAMS.—Section 106(b)(2) of that Act is amended—

(1) by inserting "to carry out activities promoting the conservation and study of biological diversity," after "population planning,"; and

(2) by inserting "promote biological diversity," after "distribution of commodities,".

(c) USE OF LOCAL CURRENCIES PROCEEDS UNDER TITLE II PROGRAMS.—Section 206 of that Act is amended in the first sentence by striking out "or (C)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(C) programs and projects to promote the conservation and study of biological diversity, or (D)".

(d) USE OF LOCAL CURRENCIES UNDER THE TITLE III FOOD FOR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS.—Section 301(b) of that Act is amended in the second sentence—

(1) by inserting "programs to promote the conservation and study of biological diversity," after "population planning,"; and

(2) by inserting "promote biological diversity," after "distribution of commodities,".

SEC. 422. FARMER-TO-FARMER PROGRAM UNDER PUBLIC LAW 480.

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, not less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the funds available for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 to carry out the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 shall be used to carry out paragraphs (1) and (2) of section 406(a) of that Act. Any such funds used to carry out paragraph (2) of that section shall not constitute more than one-fourth of the funds used pursuant to the first sentence of this section, shall be used for activities in direct support of the farmer-to-farmer program under paragraph (1) of section 406(a), and shall be administered whenever possible in conjunction with programs under sections 296 through 300 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

SEC. 423. MULTIYEAR AGREEMENTS UNDER SECTION 416(b).

Section 416(b)(4) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 is amended by adding at the end the following: "In agreements with recipients of eligible commodities under this subsection (including nonprofit agencies or cooperatives), the Secretary is encouraged to approve multiyear agreements to make agricultural commodities available for distribution or sale by the recipients if the agree-

ments otherwise meet the requirements of this subsection. Such agreements shall be subject to the availability each fiscal year of the necessary agricultural commodities.".

SEC. 424. MINIMUM LEVEL OF FOOD ASSISTANCE.

(a) ANNUAL MINIMUM.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United States should maintain its historic proportion of food assistance constituting one-third of all United States foreign economic assistance; and

(2) accordingly, not less than one-third of the funds available each fiscal year of foreign economic assistance programs should be used to make United States food assistance available to foreign countries pursuant to the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 and section 416(b) of the Agricultural Act of 1949.

(b) DEFINITION.—For purposes of this section, the term "foreign economic assistance" includes—

(1) assistance under chapter 1 or chapter 7 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, or section 416(b) of the Agricultural Act of 1949; and

(2) United States contributions to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the African Development Bank, or any other multilateral development bank.

TITLE V—INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL

SEC. 501. AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.

Section 482(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out paragraphs (1) and (3) and by inserting the following new paragraph (1) after "(a)": "(1) To carry out the purposes of section 481, there are authorized to be appropriated to the President $105,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $108,675,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 502. ASSISTANCE FOR BOLIVIA.

(a) CONDITIONS ON FISCAL YEAR 1988 ASSISTANCE.—

(1) SECURITY ASSISTANCE.—For fiscal year 1988, assistance may be provided for Bolivia under chapter 2 (relating to grant military assistance), chapter 4 (relating to the economic support fund), and chapter 5 (relating to international military education and training) of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and under chapter 2 of the Arms Export Control Act (relating to foreign military sales financing) only if the President certifies to the Congress that the Government of Bolivia has enacted legislation that will—

(A) establish its legal coca requirements,

(B) provide for the licensing of the number of hectares necessary to produce the legal requirement,

(C) make unlicensed coca production illegal, and

(D) make possession and distribution of coca leaf illegal (other than for licit purposes).

(2) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENT FOR ESF.—In addition, funds may be obligated for assistance for Bolivia for fiscal year 1988 under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 only if the Secretary of State has submitted to the Congress a plan for conditioning the expenditure of those funds on the Government of Bolivia meeting specific coca eradication targets.

(3) SECTION 481 CERTIFICATION.—For fiscal year 1988, the President may make a certification with respect to Bolivia under clause (i) of section 481(h)(2)(A) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 only if the Government of Bolivia has entered into the narcotics cooperation agreement with the United States specified in section 611(2)(B) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985.

(4) RELATION TO OTHER REQUIREMENTS.—The requirements of this subsection are in addition to the requirements contained in section 481(h) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and other applicable provisions of law.

(b) CONDITIONS ON FISCAL YEAR 1989 ASSISTANCE.—

(1) SECTION 481 CERTIFICATION.—For fiscal year 1989, the President may make a certification with respect to Bolivia under clause (i) or (ii) of section 481(h)(2)(A) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 only if the Government of Bolivia—

(A) has entered into the narcotics cooperation agreement with the United States specified in section 611(2)(B) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985;

(B) has fully achieved the eradication targets contained in that agreement; and

(C) has begun a program of forced eradication of illicit coca cultivation.

(2) NONWAIVABILITY.—The authorities contained in section 614 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 may not be used to waive the requirements of this subsection, and may not be used to waive the requirements of section 481(h) of that Act for fiscal year 1989 with respect to Bolivia.

(c) DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE.—For fiscal years 1988 and 1989, the project agreement document for any project carried out in Bolivia pursuant to chapter I of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance) shall contain a clause requiring that project activities be suspended if the Government of Bolivia fails to keep project areas free of illicit coca cultivation.

SEC. 503. ASSISTANCE FOR PERU.

(a) DETERMINATIONS REGARDING NARCOTICS CONTROL COOPERATION.—In making determinations with respect to Peru pursuant to section 481(h)(2)(A)(i) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, the President shall give foremost consideration to whether the Government of Peru made substantial progress in meeting its coca eradication targets during the previous year.

(b) UPPER HUALLAGA VALLEY PROJECT.—Funds authorized to be appropriated for fiscal years 1988 and 1989 to carry out chapter 1 of part I of that Act (relating to development assistance) may be made available for the project of the Agency for International Development in the Upper Huallaga Valley of Peru only if, before obligating funds for that fiscal year, the Administrator of that Agency determines, and reports to the Congress, that such project continues to be effective in reducing and eradicating coca leaf production, distribution, and marketing in the Upper Huallaga Valley.

SEC. 504. ASSISTANCE FOR MEXICO.

Of the funds allocated for assistance for Mexico for each of those fiscal years under that chapter, $1,000,000 shall be withheld from expenditure until the President reports to the Congress that the Government of Mexico—

(1) has fully investigated the 1985 murders of Drug Enforcement Administration agent Enrique Camarena Salazar and his pilot Alfredo Zavala Avelar;

(2) has fully investigated the 1986 detention and torture of Drug Enforcement Administration agent Victor Cortez, Junior; and

(3) is effectively prosecuting those responsible for those murders and those responsible for that detention and torture.

SEC. 505. COOPERATIVE NONMAJOR DRUG-TRANSIT COUNTRIES.

The Congress urges the Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics Matters to give greater attention, and provide more narcotics control assistance, to those countries which are drug-transit countries but are not major drug-transit countries (as defined in section 481(i)(5) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961) and which are cooperating with the United States in its international narcotics control efforts.

SEC. 506. WAIVER OF RESTRICTIONS ON ASSISTANCE FOR NATO AND MAJOR NON-NATO ALLIES.

(a) WAIVER.—Section 481(h) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(6) Paragraph (1) does not apply with respect to any country which is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or which is designated as a major non-NATO ally for purposes of section 1105 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1987.".

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall not apply with respect to funds appropriated before the date of enactment of this Act.

TITLE VI—EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

SEC. 601. ASSISTANCE FOR ISRAEL.

(a) FMS FINANCING.—

(1) AMOUNT.—Of the total amount of credits extended under section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act, not less than $1,800,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $1,800,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 shall be available only for Israel.

(2) TERMS.—Israel shall be released from its contractual liability to repay the United States Government with respect to the credits provided pursuant to paragraph (1).

(3) ADVANCED FIGHTER AIRCRAFT.—To the extent that the Government of Israel requests that funds be used for such purposes, credits made available for Israel pursuant to paragraph (1) shall be available for the Lavi program or for another advanced fighter aircraft (if agreed by Israel and the United States) or for other advanced weapon systems, as follows:

(A) Up to $150,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 shall be available for research and development in the United States.

(B) Not less than $300,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 shall be available for the procurement in Israel of defense articles and defense services (including research and development).

(b) ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND.—

(1) AMOUNT.—Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, not less than $1,200,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $1,200,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 shall be available only for Israel.

(2) TERMS.—The total amounts of funds allocated for Israel under that chapter for those fiscal years shall be made available as a cash transfer on a grant basis. Such transfer shall be made on an expedited basis in the first 30 days of the respective fiscal year. In exercising the authority of this paragraph, the President shall ensure that

the level of cash transfer made to Israel does not cause an adverse impact on the total level of nonmilitary exports from the United States to Israel.

SEC. 602. ASSISTANCE FOR EGYPT.

(a) FMS FINANCING.—

(1) AMOUNT.—Of the total amount of credits extended under section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act, not less than $1,300,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $1,300,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 shall be available only for Egypt.

(2) TERMS.—Egypt shall be released from its contractual liability to repay the United States Government with respect to the credits provided pursuant to paragraph (1).

(b) ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND.—

(1) AMOUNT.—Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, not less than $815,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $815,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 shall be available only for Egypt.

(2) TERMS.—All of the funds made available to Egypt under that chapter for those fiscal years shall be provided on a grant basis.

(3) CONDITIONS ON CASH TRANSFERS.—Subject to the requirements of paragraphs (5) and (6), of the amounts provided for Egypt for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 pursuant to paragraph (1)—

(A) $115,000,000 may be provided as a cash transfer with the understanding that Egypt will undertake significant economic reforms which are additional to those which were undertaken in previous fiscal years; but

(B) amounts in excess of $115,000,000 may be provided as a cash transfer (subject to the ceiling imposed by the last clause of the second sentence of paragraph (4)) only if—

(i) significant progress is being made by Egypt in implementing a comprehensive economic reform program; and

(ii) the additional funds for such transfer are derived by reprogramming equal amounts from—

(I) funds justified for project assistance for Egypt, and

(II) funds justified for Commodity Import Programs for Egypt.

(4) DERIVATION OF FUNDS FROM CIP PROGRAMS.—For purposes of subclause (II) of paragraph (3)(B)(ii), funds shall be derived first from funds justified for public sector Commodity Import Programs. If all the funds justified for those programs have been used for purposes of subclause (II), funds justified for private sector Commodity Import Programs may be used for purposes of that subclause, except that not more than 75 percent of the total amount of funds justified for both public sector and private sector Commodity Import Programs may be used for purposes of subclause (II).

(5) MAINTAINING THE LEVEL OF UNITED STATES EXPORTS.—In exercising the authority of paragraph (3), the President shall ensure that the level of cash transfer made to Egypt does not cause an adverse impact on the total level of nonmilitary exports from the United States to Egypt.

(6) NOTICE TO CONGRESS.—Not less than 15 days before making any cash transfer to Egypt under subparagraph (A) or (B) of paragraph (3), the President shall notify the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate in accordance with the procedures applicable to reprogramming notifications under section 634A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

(c) PUBLIC LAW 480.—The Congress finds that, as a result of previous expressions of congressional concern, there has been a phased reduction in recent fiscal years in the amount of assistance provided for Egypt under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. The Congress directs that this phased reduction continue in fiscal year 1989 and subsequent fiscal years.

SEC. 603. COOPERATIVE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROJECTS.

Of the amounts made available to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund), not less than $5,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 shall be available only for regional cooperative programs in the Middle East in accordance with section 202(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985.

SEC. 604. USE OF CERTAIN DEOBLIGATED FUNDS FOR PROJECTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND FOR ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR AMERICAN HOSPITALS ABROAD.

(a) USES OF FUNDS.—Funds made available pursuant to subsections (b) and (c) shall be used as follows:

(1) The first $750,000 shall be transferred to and consolidated with the funds made available to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund) and shall be used for scholarships for Israeli Arabs for study at institutions of higher education in the United States.

(2) The next $2,000,000 shall be transferred to and consolidated with the funds made available to carry out section 214 of that Act (relating to American schools and hospitals abroad) and shall be used to provide assistance for hospitals outside the United States. The assistance provided pursuant to this paragraph shall be in addition to the level of assistance traditionally provided for hospitals under that section.

(3) The remaining amount shall be transferred to and consolidated with the funds made available to carry out chapter 4 of part II of that Act, with—

(A) half used for regional cooperative programs in the Middle East in accordance with section 202(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985, and

(B) half used for development projects on the West Bank and in Gaza.

(b) PROTOTYPE DESALTING PLANT IN ISRAEL.—Any unexpended amounts of the funds obligated to carry out section 219 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, which are not needed to carry out that section, shall be deobligated and, to such extent as may be provided in advance in an appropriation Act, shall be used in accordance with subsection (a).

(c) DEOBLIGATED ASSISTANCE FOR SYRIA.—Amounts continued available for the necessary expenses arising from the termination of assistance programs for Syria pursuant to section 1004 of the Department of State Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1984 and 1985, and pursuant to section 101(b)(1) of Public Law 98-151, which are not needed for such expenses, shall be deobligated and, to such extent as may be provided in advance in an appropriation Act, shall be used in accordance with subsection (a), notwithstanding the paragraph relating to the "SYRIA TERMINATION ACCOUNT" in section 101(j) of Public Law 90-190.

(d) CONTINUED AVAILABILITY.—To such extent as may be provided in advance in an appropriation Act, funds deobligated pursuant to subsection (b) or (c) shall continue to be available until expended in accordance with subsection (a).

SEC. 605. WEST BANK AND GAZA DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the United States has shown its support for the West Bank and Gaza development initiative;

(2) United States assistance provided directly to the West Bank and Gaza, as well as through Jordan, necessitate increased cooperation between the United States and the regional states involved; and

(3) other members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development have professed their desire for peace in the Middle East and their concern for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—The United States—

(1) hereby reiterates its support for the West Bank and Gaza development initiative, and

(2) calls upon the other members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to contribute to West Bank and Gaza economic development either directly or through Jordan, as a demonstration by them of a tangible commitment toward peace and coexistence in the Middle East and toward the well-being of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza.

(c) REPORT TO CONGRESS.—Not later than February 1, 1988, the Secretary of State shall report to the Congress on United States efforts to encourage other members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to contribute to West Bank and Gaza economic development, either directly or through Jordan.

SEC. 606. USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN THE NEAR EAST.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) there is evidence that chemical weapons have been used in the Iran-Iraq war;

(2) there are reports that Syria and Libya have the capability to engage in chemical warfare; and

(3) the existence of chemical weapons would pose a threat should wider war break out in the Middle East.

(b) REPORT TO CONGRESS.—Not later than February 1, 1988, the Secretary of State shall report to the Congress on the activities and capabilities of Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Libya with regard to chemical, biological, and radiological weapons, including their sources of supply for such weapons, the technology, equipment, and material each possesses, and the extent to which such weapons could affect the balance of power in the region. This report shall include a United States plan for addressing this problem.

SEC. 607. ASSISTANCE FOR GREECE.

(a) FOREIGN MILITARY SALES CREDITS.—Of the total amount of credits extended under section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act, not less than $313,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $313,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 shall be available only for Greece.

(b) GRANT MILITARY ASSISTANCE.—Of the funds made available to carry out chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, not less than $30,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $30,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 shall be available only for Greece.

SEC. 608. ASSISTANCE FOR TURKEY.

(a) LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE.—The aggregate amount of funds made available for assistance for Turkey under chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to grant military assistance) and under the Arms Export Control Act (relating to foreign military sales financing) may not exceed $490,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and may not exceed $490,000,000 for fiscal year 1989, of which not more than $350,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not more than $350,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 may be assistance under chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

(b) WITHDRAWAL OF TURKISH MILITARY FORCES FROM CYPRUS.—It is the sense of the Congress that the President should ask the Government of Turkey to reduce substantially the number of its military personnel on Cyprus.

(c) REPORT ON AMERICANS MISSING IN CYPRUS.—The President shall request from the Government of Turkey a communication regarding its efforts to determine the status of United States citizens missing since the 1974 Cyprus conflict and previously resident in areas of the country now under Turkish Cypriot control. The President shall submit a report with respect to any communication received from the Government of Turkey pursuant to this subsection to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

(d) REPORT ON EFFORTS TO RESETTLE FAMAGUSTA/VAROSHA.—Before providing any assistance for Turkey described in subsection (a), the President shall submit a report, to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, on efforts to return the formerly Greek-Cypriot occupied area of Famagusta/Varosha to the Government of Cyprus under the auspices of the United Nations for the immediate resettlement of refugees.

SEC. 609. CYPRUS.

(a) ESF ASSISTANCE.—Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, not less than $15,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $15,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 shall be available only for Cyprus. Of these funds, not less than $5,000,000 each fiscal year shall be available only for bicommunal development projects.

(b) UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 550.—It is the sense of the Congress that there should be compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 550, which "considers attempts to settle any part of Varosha (Famagusta) by people other than its inhabitants as inadmissible".

SEC. 610. TURKISH OCCUPATION TROOPS AND GREEK MILITARY FORCES ON CYPRUS.

(a) POLICY AGAINST USE ON CYPRUS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT PROVIDED BY THE UNITED STATES.—Section 620C of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(e)(1) It is the sense of the Congress that defense articles of United States origin should not be transferred to or used on Cyprus by Turkey or Greece, except as provided in paragraph (2). This policy should apply with respect to all defense articles of United States origin which are made available to Turkey or Greece after the date of enactment of this subsection.

"(2) The policy expressed in paragraph (1) should not apply to the extent that—

"(A) there has been an armed attack against one or more parties to North Atlantic Treaty, or such an armed attack is imminent; and

"(B) such transfer is necessary to enable that country to carry out its obligation to respond to that attack pursuant to Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty.".

(b) PERIODIC REPORTS REGARDING ACTIVITIES ON CYPRUS OF FOREIGN ARMED FORCES.—Section 620C(c) of that Act is amended by adding at the end the following: "Such transmissions shall also—

"(1) specify the number of members of the armed forces of the Government of Turkey, and the number of members of the armed forces of the Government of Greece, who were on Cyprus during the preceding 120 days;

"(2) specifying the number of members of the armed forces of the Government of Turkey, and the number of members of the armed forces of the Government of Greece, who were on Cyprus during the preceding 120 days with the permission of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus; and

"(3) describe any defense articles of United States origin (as defined in subsection (e)(3)(A)), which have been made available to Turkey or Greece, which were on Cyprus at any time during the preceding 120 days, specifying (to the extent such information can be obtained) when those articles were transferred to Cyprus and when those articles were made available by the United States to Turkey or Greece (as the case may be).".

SEC. 611. EXCESS DEFENSE ARTICLES FOR NATO SOUTHERN FLANK COUNTRIES AND MAJOR NON-NATO ALLIES ON THE SOUTHERN AND SOUTHEASTERN FLANK OF NATO.

(a) EXTENSION OF PROGRAM.—Section 516(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended in the first sentence by striking out "and 1988" and inserting in lieu thereof ", 1988, and 1989,".

(b) MAJOR NON-NATO ALLIES.—Section 516(a) of that Act is amended in the first sentence by inserting ", and to major non-NATO allies on the southern and southeastern flank of NATO which are eligible for United States security assistance," after "military structure".

(c) EXCESS DEFENSE ARTICLES.—Section 516 of that Act is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in the first sentence, by inserting "excess" before "defense articles", and

(B) in the second sentence, by inserting "excess defense" before "articles"; and

(2) in the text of subsection (b) preceding paragraph (1), in subsection (c), and in subsection (d), by inserting "excess" before "defense articles".

(d) NOTIFICATION TO CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.—Section 516(c) of that Act is amended—

(1) by striking out "and Foreign Relations" and inserting in lieu thereof ", Foreign Relations, and Appropriations"; and

(2) by striking out "and Foreign Affairs" and inserting in lieu thereof ", Foreign Affairs, and Appropriations".

(e) MAINTENANCE OF MILITARY BALANCE IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.—That section is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (e) as subsection (f); and

(2) by inserting the following new subsection (e) after subsection (d):

"(e) MAINTENANCE OF MILITARY BALANCE IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.—

"(1) UNITED STATES POLICY.—The Congress intends that defense articles be made available under this section consistent with the United States policy, established by section 620C of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, of maintaining the military balance in the Eastern Mediterranean.

"(2) MAINTENANCE OF BALANCE.—Accordingly, the President shall ensure that, for each fiscal year, the ratio of—

"(A) the value of excess defense articles made available for Turkey under this section, to

"(B) the value of excess defense articles made available for Greece under this section,

closely approximates the ratio of—

"(i) the amount of military assistance and financing provided for Turkey, to

"(ii) the amount of military assistance and financing provided for Greece.

"(3) EXCEPTION TO REQUIREMENT.—This subsection shall not apply if either Greece or Turkey ceases to be eligible to receive excess defense articles under subsection (a).".

(f) DEFINITIONS.—Subsection (f) of that section (as so redesignated by this section) is amended to read as follows:

"(f) DEFINITIONS.—As used in this section—

"(1) the term 'excess defense articles' has the meaning given that term by section 644(g) of this Act;

"(2) the term 'made available' means that a good faith offer is made by the United States to furnish the excess defense articles to a country;

"(3) the term 'member country of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on the southern flank of NATO' means Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey; and

"(4) the term 'military assistance and financing' means military assistance authorized by section 503 of this Act and foreign military sales financing authorized by the Arms Export Control Act.".

SEC. 612. ASSISTANCE FOR POLAND.

(a) USE OF POLISH CURRENCIES TO BENEFIT THE HANDICAPPED AND ORPHANS AND FOR HOLOCAUST EDUCATION.—

(1) PROJECTS FOR THE HANDICAPPED AND ORPHANS.—Up to the equivalent of $1,500,000 of the Polish currencies described in paragraph (3) may be made available for projects in Poland, carried out under the auspices of the Polish Catholic Church, for the benefit of the handicapped and orphans.

(2) HOLOCAUST EDUCATION.—Up to the equivalent of $500,000 of the Polish currencies described in paragraph (3) may be made available for projects, carried out under the auspices of the Institute of Jewish Culture and History of the Jagiellonian University of Krakow, for the study of events related to the Holocaust in Poland.

(3) POLISH CURRENCIES TO BE USED.—The Polish currencies which may be used pursuant to this subsection are the nonconvertible Polish currencies (zlotys) held by the United States, which have been generated by the sale to Poland of surplus United States dairy products, to the extent that such currencies are available after satisfaction of existing commitments to use such currencies for other purposes specified by law.

(4) WAIVER OF CERTAIN REQUIREMENTS.—Polish currencies may be used pursuant to this subsection without regard to the requirements of section 1306 of title 31, United States Code, or any other provision of law.

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(5) BUDGET ACT.—The authority provided by this subsection may be exercised only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.

(b) AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES.—Of the funds authorized to be appropriated to carry out section 103 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance for agriculture, rural development, and nutrition), up to $10,000,000 may be used for assistance for agricultural activities in Poland which are managed by the Polish Catholic Church or other nongovernmental organizations, notwithstanding any other provision of law.

SEC. 613. UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ANGLO-IRISH INTERNATIONAL FUND.

Section 3 of the Anglo-Irish Agreement Support Act of 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(c) FISCAL YEAR 1989.—Of the amounts made available for fiscal year 1989 to carry out that chapter, up to $35,000,000 may be used for United States contributions to the International Fund.".

SEC. 614. ANNUAL REPORTS ON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN EGYPT, ISRAEL, TURKEY, AND PORTUGAL.

Section 1205(b) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 is amended by adding at the end the following: "Each such report shall also include—

"(1) a description of how United States assistance for each country is designed to help it through its economic difficulties;

"(2) an assessment of the steps being taken by each country to help it overcome its economic difficulties, including a description of any economic policy reforms undertaken during the previous year;

"(3) a listing and explanation of the steps proposed by the United States to help each country overcome its economic difficulties, and a description of the means by which the United States conveys its recommendations to each country; and

"(4) such other information as the Congress may request with respect to the economic conditions in each country.".

SEC. 615. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS.—

(1) FREQUENCY OF REPORTS.—Section 620C(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "60-day" and inserting in lieu thereof "120-day".

(2) DUPLICATIVE REQUIREMENT.—Section 620(x)(2) of that Act is repealed.

(b) MULTINATIONAL FORCE AND OBSERVERS.—Section 6(b) of the Multinational Force and Observers Participation Resolution is amended by striking out "Not later than January 15 of each year (beginning in 1983)," and inserting in lieu thereof "As part of the annual congressional presentation materials for security assistance,".

SEC. 616. FOREIGN MILITARY SALES FOR JORDAN.

(a) MIDDLE EAST PEACE.—The foreign military sales financing authorized by this Act for Jordan is provided in the recognition of progress Jordan has made in the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, to encourage further progress, in recognition of the continuing defense needs of Jordan, and in the expectation that Jordan will enter into direct and meaningful negotiations with Israel based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 in order to resolve the state of war between those two countries.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that no foreign military sales financing authorized by this Act may be used to finance the procurement by Jordan of United States advanced aircraft, new air defense weapons systems, or other new advanced military weapons systems, and no notification may be made pursuant to section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act with respect to a proposed sale to Jordan of United States advanced aircraft, new air defense systems, or other new advanced military weapons systems, unless Jordan is publicly committed to the recognition of Israel and to negotiate promptly and directly with Israel under the basic tenets of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

(c) CERTIFICATION.—Any notification made pursuant to section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act with respect to a proposed sale to Jordan of United States advanced aircraft, new air defense systems, or other new advanced military weapons, shall be accompanied by a Presidential certification of Jordan's public commitment to the recognition of Israel and to negotiate promptly and directly with Israel under the basic tenets of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

TITLE VII—WESTERN HEMISPHERE

SEC. 701. COSTA RICA'S PEACE INITIATIVE.

The Congress applauds the efforts of Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez to establish a firm and durable peace in Central America. The Congress strongly supports and encourages such attempts to end the regional military conflict and strengthen democracy through diplomatic initiatives.

SEC. 702. SUSPENSION OF ASSISTANCE IF A MILITARY COUP OCCURS.

For fiscal years 1988 and 1989, all assistance allocated for any country in Central America under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Arms Export Control Act shall be suspended if the elected president of that country is deposed by military coup or decree, unless the President determines that—

(1) resumption of assistance will promote a return to democracy, or

(2) an elected civilian government has taken office.

SEC. 703. ASSISTANCE FOR EL SALVADOR.

(a) OBJECTIVES.—The Congress expects that—

(1) the Government of El Salvador, and the armed opposition forces and their political representatives, will be willing to pursue a dialogue for the purposes of achieving an equitable political settlement of the conflict, including the opportunity for participation in free and fair elections by all Salvadorans;

(2) the elected civilian government will maintain control of the Salvadoran military and security forces, and those forces will comply with applicable rules of international law and with Presidential directives pertaining to the protection of civilians during combat operations, including Presidential directive C-111-03-984 (relating to aerial fire support);

(3) the Government of El Salvador will make demonstrated progress, during the period covered by each report pursuant to subsection (b), in ending political violence;

(4) the Government of El Salvador will make demonstrated progress, during the period covered by each report pursuant to subsection (b), in improving the effectiveness of the judicial system; and

(5) the Government of El Salvador will make demonstrated progress, during the period covered by each report pursuant to subsection (b), in implementing the land reform program.

(b) REPORTS.—Not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act and on April 1, 1988, October 1, 1988, and April 1, 1989, the President shall report to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate on the extent to which the objectives described in subsection (a) are being met. With respect to the objective described in paragraph (4) of that subsection, each report shall specify the status of all cases presented to the Salvadoran courts involving human rights violations against civilians occurring on or after January 1, 1987, allegedly committed by members of the Salvadoran security forces, including military officers and other military personnel and civil patrolmen.

SEC. 704. ANNUAL REPORT ON SOVIET MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO CUBA.

Section 25 of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended by section 904 of this Act, is amended by adding at the end of subsection (d) the following: "The information required by subsection (a)(9) shall be transmitted to the Congress no later than May 1 of each year.".

SEC. 705. RESTRICTIONS ON TRAINING ASSISTANCE FOR ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL.

Section 638 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by inserting "(a)" before "No"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

"(b) No provision of this Act or any other provision of law shall be construed to prohibit assistance for any training activity which is funded under this Act for Brazil or Argentina as long as such country continues to have a democratically elected government and the assistance is otherwise consistent with sections 116, 502B, 620(f), 620A, and 660 of this Act.".

SEC. 706. INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION.

The first sentence of section 401(s)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969 is amended to read as follows: "There are authorized to be appropriated $11,800,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $20,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 to carry out the purposes of this section.".

SEC. 707. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE PROGRAM.

Section 534 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 534. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

"(a) GENERAL AUTHORITY.—Subject to the provisions of this section, the President is authorized to furnish assistance to countries and organizations, including national and regional institutions, in order to strengthen the administration of justice in countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. To the fullest extent practicable, such assistance should be provided through multilateral or regional institutions. Such assistance shall be designed to encourage and support efforts in the region to—

"(1) promote respect for the rule of law and internationally recognized human rights by all elements of society;

"(2) improve the professionalism and effectiveness of judicial systems and increase the accessibility of those systems and their capabilities to operate fairly and efficiently; and

"(3) promote the development of civilian democratic institutions, including an effective legal profession; an independent judiciary; modern and humane professional law enforcement agencies; and effective application of the principle of equal justice under law.

"(b) TYPES OF ASSISTANCE AUTHORIZED.—Assistance under this section may only include the following:

"(1) Programs to support specialized professional training, scholarships, and exchanges for continuing legal education.

"(2) Programs to enhance prosecutorial and judicial capabilities and protection for participants in judicial cases.

"(3)(A) Programs to enhance investigative and forensic capabilities, conducted under judicial or prosecutorial control.

"(B) For fiscal years 1988 and 1989, programs to assist in the development of academic instruction and curricula for training law enforcement personnel.

"(C) For fiscal years 1988 and 1989, programs to improve the administrative and management capabilities of law enforcement agencies, especially their capabilities relating to career development, personnel performance evaluation, and internal discipline procedures.

"(D) Programs, conducted through multilateral or regional institutions, to improve penal institutions and the rehabilitation of offenders.

"(4) Programs to strengthen professional organizations in order to promote services to members and the role of the bar in judicial selection, enforcement of ethical standards, and legal reform.

"(5) Programs to increase the availability of legal materials and publications.

"(6) Programs to provide seminars, conferences, and training and educational programs to improve the administration of justice and to strengthen respect for the rule of law and internationally recognized human rights.

"(7) Programs to revise and modernize legal codes and procedures.

"(c) PROHIBITION ON UNITED STATES MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN PROGRAM.—Personnel of the Department of Defense and members of the United States Armed Forces may not participate in the provision of training under this section.

"(d) EQUIPMENT.—In carrying out this section, primary emphasis shall be placed on the provision of training and other services, rather than the provision of equipment. Funds made available to carry out this section may not be used to provide any lethal equipment, except equipment used exclusively for training purposes.

"(e) CONSULTATION WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.—The Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs shall be consulted in the development and implementation of programs under this section, including determinations of the countries that will receive assistance and determinations of the nature of the assistance to be provided.

"(f) ADVANCE NOTICE TO CONGRESS.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—Funds may not be obligated for assistance under this section unless the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate are notified in writing in accordance with the procedures applicable to reprogrammings pursuant to section 634A of this Act. Such notification shall specify the country which will receive the assistance and the amount, purpose, and nature of the assistance, including a detailed description of the assistance. Except as provided in paragraph (2), such notification shall be provided at least 15 days before the funds are obligated.

"(2) SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS.—In the case of assistance under subsection (b)(3), such notifications shall be given at least 30 days in advance and shall specify where the assistance is to be provided and the recipient of the assistance.

"(g) ANNUAL REPORT.—As part of the annual presentation materials on foreign assistance, the President shall include a description of the assistance provided to each country under this section during the preceding fiscal year, planned for the current fiscal year, and proposed for the coming fiscal year.

"(h) FUNDING.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—For each of fiscal years 1988 and 1989, not more than $28,000,000 of the funds made available to carry out this chapter shall be available to carry out this section, in addition to amounts otherwise available for such purpose. Not more than $7,000,000 of the funds made available for each such fiscal year to carry out this section shall be used for the programs described in subsection (b)(3).

"(2) ADDITIONAL FUNDS.—For each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, not to exceed $6,000,000 of the funds made available to carry out chapter 2 of this part may be transferred to and commingled with funds made available to carry out this section, without regard to the limitations contained in paragraph (1). Not more than $2,000,000 of the funds so transferred in any fiscal year shall be available for bilateral assistance to any one country. Each such transfer shall be subject to the advance notice requirements of subsection (f).

"(i) WAIVER OF CERTAIN LAWS.—Assistance under this section may be provided without regard to section 660 of this Act. Notwithstanding any other provision of law which restricts assistance to foreign countries, assistance may be provided under this section for fiscal years 1988 and 1989 for programs for Peru and for programs for Argentina, Brazil, and Guyana which only involve their participation in regional and multilateral projects and activities.".

SEC. 708. LEVELS OF NONMILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR CENTRAL AMERICA.

Section 465 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 465. NONMILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR CENTRAL AMERICA.—The Congress continues to support the recommendations made by the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America with respect to the provision of nonmilitary assistance for Central American countries. However, the Congress believes that it would be inconsistent under current budgetary constraints to provide increased levels of assistance during fiscal years 1988 and 1989 and that it is possible to furnish the needed nonmilitary assistance over a longer period of time than originally recommended by the Commission without negatively affecting the goals and objectives the Commission had in mind.".

SEC. 709. ASSISTANCE FOR HAITI.

(a) ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND.—Of the amounts made available to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, up to $41,300,000 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 shall be available for Haiti.

(b) DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE.—Of the amounts made available to carry out chapter 1 of part I of that Act, up to $40,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 shall be available for Haiti. These funds shall be used to support a transition to and to strengthen democracy in Haiti, emphasizing job creation, rural development, health care and sanitation, small scale irrigation, reforestation, watershed conservation, swine repopulation, and literacy education. Such assistance should reflect the need to distribute development assistance resources more equitably among the various regions in Haiti in order to support sustainable development in all of Haiti.

SEC. 710. NICARAGUA.

In order to make current law applicable to assistance under this Act, section 722(d) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 is amended by amending the second sentence to read as follows: "The United States shall not enter into any arrangement conditioning, expressly or impliedly, the provision of assistance under this Act or the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987 or the purchase of defense articles and services under the Arms Export Control Act upon the provision of assistance by a recipient to persons or groups engaging in an insurgency or other act of rebellion against the Government of Nicaragua.".

SEC. 711. CRITERIA FOR DEMOCRATIZATION IN NICARAGUA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) in signing the Central American peace accord on August 7, 1987, entitled "Procedure for the Establishment of a Strong and Lasting Peace in Central America", the Nicaraguan Government pledged "to promote an authentic democratic, pluralist and participatory process that includes the promotion of social justice" and "respect for human rights"; and

(2) under that accord, Nicaragua is specifically required to establish "complete freedom of press, television and radio" "for all ideological groups" "without prior censorship"; to grant political groupings "broad access to communications media" and full exercise of the rights of association, free speech, and movement; to decree an amnesty guaranteeing "freedom in all its forms"; and to terminate state of emergency laws while reestablishing "the full exercise of all constitutional guarantees".

(b) ACTIONS WHICH SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN BY NICARAGUA.—Nicaragua should undertake the reforms described in subsection (c) in order to bring about lasting peace, pluralism, and democracy in Nicaragua.

(c) REFORMS.—The reforms referred to in subsection (b) to be undertaken by the Government of Nicaragua are as follows:

(1) IN GENERAL.—

(A) Ensure freedoms of expression, association, assembly and movement, religion, and education.

(B) Restore rights to security of person and home and freedom from unjustified arrest.

(C) Stop coercive pressure to join Sandinista party groups.

(D) Stop discriminatory and punitive application of military conscription.

(E) Allow all citizens, including refugees and exiles, to return to Nicaragua.

(F) Reinstate due process and fair trials and release those imprisoned without charge, trial, or due process, including campesinos, Creoles, and Indians.

(G) Abolish extraordinary tribunals and the powers of police forces to conduct trials, decide appeals, and sentence individuals to prison terms.

(H) Permit independent human rights observers, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, to meet and travel freely and to visit prisoners, prisons, and tribunals.

(I) End all forms of torture and conditions of confinement which constitute torture

and end the practice of holding prisoners incommunicado.

(2) POLITICAL PROCESS REFORMS.—

(A) Allow political parties and the democratic opposition to meet and march publicly, publicize meetings, and meet with and utilize the media.

(B) End jailing of opposition party activists and the drafting of opposition party activists and their children in reprisal for nonviolent political activity.

(C) Abolish the role of the Committees for the Defense of Sandinismo's (CDS) and other party organizations in dispensing rationing cards and government services.

(D) Conduct free and open presidential, legislative, and municipal elections by December 31, 1990, as specified by current Nicaraguan law.

(E) Repeal the suspension provisions of the Nicaraguan constitution.

(F) Separate the armed forces from any political party.

(3) PRESS AND MEDIA RIGHTS.—

(A) Allow an uncensored, free press.

(B) End newsprint restrictions and allow private newsprint sales.

(C) Allow the full spectrum of private television and radio broadcasting.

(4) LABOR RIGHTS.—

(A) Ensure the right to strike and to publish by independent unions.

(B) Release those imprisoned because of non-violent union activities.

(5) RELIGIOUS FREEDOMS.—

(A) Allow the Catholic church to reopen its social welfare, human rights, and publication offices.

(B) Allow Cardinal Obando Y Bravo to resume his televised Sunday mass.

(C) Allow the return of all expelled Catholic priests.

(D) Allow religion courses to be taught in private schools.

(E) Allow Protestant evangelicals to preach and conduct meetings.

(6) CAMPESINO RIGHTS.—

(A) End preventive detention and forcible resettlement of campesinos and allow those who have been displaced to return.

(B) Cease aerial bombing attacks against civilians and their properties.

(C) Cease the destruction of peasant farmlands.

(D) End pressure to join Sandinista farming cooperatives.

(7) INDIAN AND CREOLE RIGHTS.—

(A) Permit Indian and Creole residents to freely travel, assemble, speak, publish, broadcast, and maintain cultural beliefs and practices.

(B) End forcible detention and relocation of Indian and Creole residents and allow them to return to their home communities.

(C) Cease aerial bombings and attacks on Atlantic Coast civilians and their properties.

(D) Allow Indians and Creoles to engage in traditional farming, fishing, hunting, and necessary subsistence activity.

(d) ACHIEVEMENT OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND PROCESSES IN CENTRAL AMERICA.—It is the sense of the Congress that all countries in Central America should continue to work toward achieving the democratic principles and processes specified in the Central American peace accord of August 7, 1987, entitled "Procedure for the Establishment of a Strong and Lasting Peace in Central America".

SEC. 712. CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE AGREEMENT.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the Presidents of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica signed the Central American peace accord in Guatemala City on August 7, 1987, to establish democracy, end civil strife, and promote economic, stability in Central America;

(2) the establishment of democracy, the termination of civil strife, and the promotion of economic stability in Central America is in the national interest of the United States;

(3) the peace accord calls for the signatories "to make dialogue prevail over violence and reason over rancor";

(4) a lasting peace in Central America can only come about through dialogue;

(5) the Governments of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras have entered into direct negotiations with the representatives of both internal opposition organizations and antigovernment insurgent forces to bring about a mutual and verifiable cease fire within those countries and the region as a whole;

(6) the President of Costa Rica and Nobel Laureate Oscar Arias has called for direct negotiations between the Government of Nicaragua and the Nicaraguan Resistance for a mutual and verifiable cease fire;

(7) President Arias stated that a negotiated cease fire between the Government of Nicaragua and the Nicaraguan Resistance is "indespensable if we are to achieve a lasting peace in Central America";

(8) the Presidents of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras have also called upon the Government of Nicaragua to negotiate directly with the Nicaraguan Resistance; and

(9) the President of Nicaragua announced on November 5, 1987, that the Nicaraguan Government would negotiate a cease fire with the Directorate of the Nicaraguan Resistance through an intermediary.

(b) STATEMENT OF CONGRESS.—The Congress urges the Government of Nicaragua to enter into direct negotiations with the Directorate of the Nicaraguan Resistance in order to bring about a mutual and verifiable cease fire and to reach a political settlement with the Nicaraguan Resistance, so that the spirit of the Central Amercian peace accord signed on August 7, 1987, may be fulfilled and democracy, peace, and economic stability will become reality for Central America.

SEC. 713. ASSISTANCE TO CIVILIAN DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN NICARAGUA.

(a) ASSISTANCE TO BE PROVIDED.—The Secretary of State shall use the funds appropriated pursuant to subsection (e) to make assistance available for civilian democratic forces in Nicaragua in order to support a full range of humanitarian and peaceful political activities by those forces.

(b) OPPOSITION CIVILIAN DEMOCRATIC FORCES.—As used in this section, the term "civilian democratic forces" means those civilian forces in Nicaragua (such as political parties, labor unions, and private sector organizations) which are committed to democratic values and to the democratization of Nicaragua.

(c) USES OF ASSISTANCE.—Funds provided to civilian democratic forces pursuant to this section may be used only to support a full range of humanitarian and peaceful political activities and may not be used to support military or paramilitary activities. The Secretary of State shall establish appropriate procedures to ensure that those funds are used consistent with these limitations.

(d) REPORTS.—Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act and every 90 days thereafter until all the funds provided to civilian democratic forces in Nicaragua pursuant to this section have been used, the Secretary of State shall provide to the Congress a detailed accounting of how those funds were used and a description of the steps taken to ensure that they were used in accordance with the limitations specified in subsection (c).

(e) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated to carry out this section $10,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $12,000,000 for fiscal year 1989.

SEC. 714. RELATIONS WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN EL SALVADOR.

It is the sense of the Congress that:

(a) The Government of El Salvador, the business community (including the small business community), the free labor unions, and all other major social, economic and political groups which have a potentially constructive role to play should begin a new dialogue for nation building in El Salvador;

(b) None of these groups can be excluded from the national dialogue; and

(c) The Government of El Salvador and the private sector must abandon the distrust and antagonism that have characterized their relations in the past and must move forward in a cooperative and constructive manner to resolve the problems that threaten to undermine the democratic processes now underway in the country.

TITLE VIII—AFRICA

SEC. 801. AFRICA FAMINE RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT.

Part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding after chapter 6 the following new chapter:

"CHAPTER 7—AFRICA FAMINE RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT

"SEC. 471. LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE.

"(a) AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE.—The President is authorized to provide project and program assistance, on such terms and conditions as he may determine, for long-term development in sub-Saharan Africa.

"(b) APPLICATION OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE POLICIES AND GENERAL AUTHORITIES.—

"(1) POLICIES.—Assistance under this section shall be provided in accordance with the policies contained in section 102.

"(2) GENERAL AUTHORITIES.—Reference in any law to chapter 1 of this part (including references to sections 103 through 106, inclusive) shall be deemed to include reference to this section.

"(c) CRITICAL SECTORAL PRIORITIES.—Assistance under this section shall be provided only with respect to the following critical sectoral priorities for long-term development:

"(1) AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND NATURAL RESOURCES.—

"(A) AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION.—Increasing agricultural production in ways which protect and restore the natural resource base, especially food production, through agricultural policy changes at the macroeconomic and sector levels, agricultural research (including participatory research, in which small farmers are directly involved in the definition of research agendas and the formulation of problems in order to capitalize on local knowledge and experience and enhance support for research efforts; and also including linkages between indigenous efforts and United States universities and between indigenous efforts and International Agricultural Research Centers) and extension, development, and promotion of agriculture marketing activities, credit facilities, and appropriate production packages, and the construction and improvement of

needed production-related infrastructure such as farm-to-market roads, small-scale irrigation, and rural electrification. Emphasis shall be given to promoting increased equity in rural income distribution, recognizing the role of small farmers (the majority of whom are women) and the farm family. In view of the central role of women in sub-Saharan African food systems, gender roles shall be analyzed and taken into account in order to ensure the integration of women into development activities.

"(B) NATURAL RESOURCE BASE.—Maintaining and restoring the renewable natural resource base in ways which increase agricultural production, through the following:

"(i) Primary emphasis on small-scale, affordable, resource-conserving, low-risk local projects, using appropriate technologies (including traditional agricultural methods) suited to local environmental, resource, and climatic conditions, and featuring close consultation with and involvement of local people at all stages of project design and implementation. Emphasis shall be given to grants for African local government organizations, international or African nongovernmental organizations, and United States private and voluntary organizations. Appropriate activities include agroforestry, small-scale farms and gardens, and other innovative agricultural methods (including energy and resource-conserving techniques and use of organic or regenerative methods where feasible); check dams and terraces and other projects to prevent erosion or protect watersheds; tree planting for windbreaks, soil stabilization, or firewood; energy conservation and small-scale energy production to reduce consumption of firewood and animal wastes otherwise usable as fertilizer; sustained production from indigenous plants and animals, especially to conserve rangelands; and local education and training efforts.

"(ii) Significant support for efforts at national and regional levels to provide technical and other support for projects of the kinds described in clause (i) and to strengthen the capacities of African countries to provide effective extension and other services in support of environmentally sustainable increases in food production. Appropriate activities include strengthening institutions such as environmental authorities, soil conservation and forestry services, and nongovernmental organizations; providing seeds, seedlings, energy-efficient and resource-conserving devices, and other needed materials; and creating financial mechanisms to furnish credit to small farmers.

"(iii) Significant support for special training and education efforts to improve the capacity of countries in sub-Saharan Africa to manage their own environments and natural resources. Appropriate activities include support for African training and educational institutions; development of curricula; training and education components of projects of the kinds described in clauses (i) and (ii); training and education programs through national and local government extension services, nongovernmental organizations, and other appropriate indigenous institutions; establishment of cooperative arrangements between United States and African academic institutions; support for natural resource managers to participate in conferences, courses, seminars, and the like; and training of trainers.

"(2) HEALTH.—Improving health conditions in order to improve the quality of life of the people and their ability to contribute to economic growth, with special emphasis on meeting the health needs of mothers and children through the establishment of self-sustaining primary health care systems that give priority to preventive health.

"(3) VOLUNTARY FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES.—Providing increased access to voluntary family planning services, including encouragement of private, community, and local government initiatives, in order to allow couples to space the births of their children as they desire, thus contributing to improved health for mothers and children and reduced pressure on natural resources.

"(4) EDUCATION.—Improving the relevance to production and the efficiency of education, with substantial attention given to improving basic literacy and numeracy, especially to those outside the formal educational system, and improving primary education.

"(5) INCOME-GENERATING OPPORTUNITIES.—Developing income-generating opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed in urban and rural areas. Off-farm employment opportunities in micro- and small-scale labor-intensive enterprises shall be emphasized (especially those which relate to processing increased agricultural production and adding to the value of that production and to production of consumer goods in rural areas).

"(d) MINIMUM LEVELS OF ASSISTANCE FOR CERTAIN CRITICAL SECTORS.—Not less than an aggregate of 30 percent of the amount authorized to be appropriated for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 by section 472 shall be used for activities described in paragraphs (1)(B), (2), and (3) of subsection (b).

"SEC. 472. AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.

"There are authorized to be appropriated to the President $450,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $465,750,000 for fiscal year 1989 to carry out this chapter. Funds appropriated under this section are authorized to remain available until expended.

"SEC. 473. AFRICAN AGRICULTURAL UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT.

"Given the critical role in African growth and development that indigenous institutions of higher education can play in developing agriculture and human resources, the Administrator of the agency primarily responsible for administering this part is directed to provide support for strengthening and developing selected African higher education institutions in order to address the problems of food production and distribution. In order to create continuing support for applied agricultural research and education, this support should, to the maximum extent possible, promote linkages (1) between agricultural research and extension activities in sub-Saharan Africa through the involvement of institutions of higher education, and (2) between African institutions of higher education and indigenous farmers' associations. This support should be provided on a long-term basis in recognition of the complexity of institution-building efforts and should utilize, in a collaborative manner, the capabilities and expertise of United States universities participating in programs under title XII of chapter 2 of this part. The Administrator shall consult with the Board for International Food and Agricultural Development on effective means of implementing this section.".

SEC. 802. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.

(a) FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT.—The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended as follows:

(1) PRIVATE SECTOR REVOLVING FUND.—In section 108(b), by inserting "and chapter 7 of this part" after "this chapter".

(2) INTEGRATING WOMEN INTO NATIONAL ECONOMIES.—In section 113(b)(1), by inserting "and chapter 7 of this part" after "this chapter".

(3) HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES.—In section 116(e)(1)—

(A) by inserting ", chapter 7 of this part," after "available under this chapter"; and

(B) by inserting before the period at the end of the first sentence "or under chapter 7 of this part, except that funds made available under chapter 7 of this part may only be used under this subsection with respect to countries in sub-Saharan Africa".

(4) ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES.—In section 117(c)(1), by inserting "and chapter 7 of this part" after "this chapter".

(5) SAHEL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.—By repealing sections 120 and 121.

(6) GENERAL AUTHORITIES.—In section 122, by inserting "and chapter 7 of this part" after "this chapter".

(7) PVOs.—In subsection (e) of section 123, as so redesignated by section 314 of this Act, by inserting "and chapter 7 of this part" after "this chapter".

(8) DEVELOPMENT AND ILLICIT NARCOTICS PRODUCTION.—In section 126(b)(1), by inserting ", and chapter 7 of this part," after "this chapter".

(9) TARGETED ASSISTANCE.—In subsections (a) and (b) of section 128, by inserting "and chapter 7 of this part" after "this chapter".

(10) ESF.—In section 531(a), by inserting "or, in the case of countries in sub-Saharan Africa, chapter 7 of part I" after "chapter 1 of part I".

(b) PUBLIC LAW 480.—The Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 is amended—

(1) in section 106(b)(2), by inserting "or, in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, paragraphs (1) through (3) of section 471(c) of that Act," after "sections 103 and 104 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961";

(2) in clause (3)(A) of section 206, by inserting "(or in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, paragraph (1) of section 471(c) of that Act)" after "section 103 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961";

(3) in section 301(b), by inserting "or, in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, paragraphs (1) through (3) of section 471(c) of that Act," after "sections 103 and 104 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961"; and

(4) in section 303(b), by inserting "(or in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, paragraph (1) of section 471(c) of that Act)" after "section 103 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961".

SEC. 803. AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION.

Section 510 of the African Development Foundation Act is amended by striking out all of the first sentence that follows "purpose," and inserting in lieu thereof "$6,500,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $6,728,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

TITLE IX—ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

PART A—EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

SEC. 901. SUPPORT FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, in violation of its obligations under international law, including the United Nations Charter, invaded Cambodia in December 1978;

(2) in January 1979, Vietnam installed a puppet government in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, headed by Heng Samrin;

(3) eight years later Vietnam continues, with Soviet backing, to occupy Cambodia with over 140,000 troops;

(4) Vietnam has attempted to submerge Cambodian culture and heritage through the settlement of large numbers of Vietnamese in Cambodia;

(5) human rights observers have noted a pattern of torture, political detention, inhumane treatment, and other abuses of human rights by officials of the Vietnamese-backed puppet Cambodian regime;

(6) the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia has compounded the hardship and suffering of a people which had previously suffered barbaric crimes of genocide under Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge;

(7) in recognition of the illegal occupation of Cambodia by the Vietnamese, the United Nations has refused to recognize the credentials of the Heng Samrin regime and has instead continued to recognize the credentials of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk;

(8) the member states of the United Nations for the eighth time, and by a record vote of 115-21, approved a resolution at the forty-first session of the General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia;

(9) the 1981 United Nations-sponsored International Conference on Kampuchea called for the early withdrawal of foreign troops and the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision;

(10) the United States has supported the leadership role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the quest for a negotiated political settlement to the Cambodian problem;

(11) the President has indicated the United States is prepared to play a constructive role in such a settlement; and

(12) in the absence of such a settlement, the non-Communist Cambodian forces continue to wage a war of resistance against Vietnamese occupation forces.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—The Congress—

(1) deplores the continued violation of the sovereignty and territorial independence of Cambodia by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam;

(2) calls upon Vietnam to negotiate decisively to restore self-determination in Cambodia;

(3) calls upon Vietnam to withdraw completely its troops from Cambodia;

(4) believes that such negotiations and withdrawal by Vietnam, together with a satisfactory accounting of Americans still missing in action, would constitute positive steps that would help facilitate the prospect of normalization of relations between the United States and Vietnam;

(5) supports the efforts of the member nations of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the United Nations Secretary General, and the non-Communist Cambodian people to achieve a political settlement which would include such elements as internationally supervised free and fair elections, as well as assurances that there will be no return to the genocidal policies of the Pol Pot regime;

(6) supports efforts to establish an international tribunal to bring to justice those Khmer Rouge leaders during the reign of Pol Pot, and any others, responsible for crimes of genocide against the Cambodian people; and

(7) calls upon the international community to observe a special day of remembrance—

(A) in recognition of the suffering of the Cambodian people under Pol Pot,

(B) in protest of the efforts of Vietnam to suppress basic human rights and exterminate the culture and way of life of the Cambodian people, and

(C) in protest of the illegal occupation of Cambodia by Vietnamese troops.

SEC. 902. ASSISTANCE FOR THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE.

Section 905 of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 is amended by striking out "1986" and "1987" and inserting in lieu thereof "1988" and "1989", respectively.

SEC. 903. JAPAN AND THE ARAB ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL.

It is the sense of the Congress that the United States should encourage the Government of Japan in its efforts to expand trade relations with Israel and to end compliance by Japanese commercial enterprises with the Arab economic boycott of Israel.

SEC. 904. ANNUAL REPORT REGARDING KOREA.

Section 25(a) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended—

(1) by repealing paragraph (9); and

(2) by redesignating paragraphs (10) through (12) as paragraph (9) through (11), respectively.

SEC. 905. SECURITY ASSISTANCE AND ARMS EXPORT CONTROL PREFERENCES FOR NEW ZEALAND.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the people of the United States enjoy a long-standing friendship and close association with the people of New Zealand, and not only share common democratic values, heritage, and national interests but have fought side-by-side in the two World Wars of this century as well as the Korean conflict and the Vietnam conflict, and have participated jointly in numerous multilateral peacekeeping efforts under United Nations and similar auspices;

(2) visits to New Zealand ports by United States naval vessels are a part of this historical, overall framework of military cooperation and coordination which includes many other functions of benefit to all parties to the ANZUS Treaty;

(3) the recent codification of New Zealand Government policy to deny port access to United States ships which might be nuclear powered or nuclear armed is incompatible with the "neither confirm nor deny policy" of the United States, has raised serious operational difficulties for United States naval forces in defending the national security interests of the United States and its allies, and impairs the objective of maximum military cooperation between the United States and New Zealand under the ANZUS Treaty;

(4) the President has taken appropriate action in response to New Zealand's diminished defense cooperation with the United States by suspending United States obligations to New Zealand under the ANZUS Treaty, as announced in August 1986; and

(5) important aims of United States policy, in reaction to the port policies and law of New Zealand, must be to maintain the ANZUS Treaty alliance structure during the absence of New Zealand, to look forward to New Zealand's early return to a normal trilateral defense relationship, and to deny the Soviet Union any potential benefit it might otherwise derive from this temporary discord in the ANZUS Treaty alliance.

(b) NEW ZEALAND SHOULD RECONSIDER ITS POLICY.—The United States urges the Government of New Zealand—

(1) to reconsider its decision and law denying port access to certain United States ships, and

(2) to resume its fulfillment of its obligations under the ANZUS Treaty.

(c) SUSPENSION OF PREFERENCES.—Section 515(a)(6) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and sections 3(d)(2)(B), 21(e)(2), 21(g), 36(b)(1), 36(b)(2), 36(c)(2)(B), and 63(a)(2) of the Arms Export Control Act shall apply with respect to New Zealand only if the President determines, and reports to the Congress, that New Zealand is complying fully with its obligations under the ANZUS Treaty.

(d) ANZUS TREATY.—As used in this section, the term "ANZUS Treaty" means the Security Treaty Between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.

(e) ASSIGNMENT OF UNITED STATES MILITARY PERSONNEL TO MANAGE DEFENSE COOPERATION MEASURES.—Section 515(a)(6) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 905(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand".

(f) CHARGES FOR CERTAIN ARMS SALES COSTS.—Section 21(e)(2) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 905(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand".

(g) COOPERATIVE MILITARY TRAINING AGREEMENTS.—Section 21(g) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 905(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand".

(h) CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW OF ARMS TRANSFERS.—The Arms Export Control Act is amended—

(1) in section 3(d)(2)(B), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 905(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand";

(2) in section 36(b)(1), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 905(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand" in the second sentence following subparagraph (P);

(3) in section 36(b)(2), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 905(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand";

(4) in section 36(c)(2)(B), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 905(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand"; and

(5) in section 63(a)(2), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 905(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand".

SEC. 906. ASSISTANCE FOR THE PHILIPPINES.

(a) ASSISTANCE PURSUANT TO BASE AGREEMENT.—

(1) FISCAL YEAR 1988.—For fiscal year 1988, there shall be available only for the Philippines—

(A) not less than $110,000,000 of the funds made available to carry out chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to grant military assistance), and

(B) not less than $124,000,000 of the funds made available to carry out chapter 4 of part II of that Act (relating to the economic support fund).

(2) FISCAL YEAR 1989.—For fiscal year 1989, there shall be available only for assistance for Philippines—

(A) of the funds made available to carry out chapter 2 of part II of that Act, and

(B) of the funds made available to carry out chapter 4 of part II of that Act,

not less than the amount necessary to provide the remaining amount of military and economic assistance specified in the 1983 amendment to the agreement between the United States and the Philippines concerning military bases.

(b) SUSPENSION OF ASSISTANCE IF A MILITARY COUP OCCURS.—For fiscal years 1988 and 1989, all assistance allocated for the Philippines under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Arms Export Control Act shall be suspended if the elected president of that country is deposed by military coup or decree, unless the President determines that—

(1) resumption of assistance will promote a return to democracy, or

(2) an elected civilian government has taken office.

(c) AGRARIAN REFORM.—Funds made available to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for fiscal years 1988 and 1989 may be used to assist in the implementation of agrarian reform in the Philippines if the Government of the Philippines initiates an effective agrarian reform program and requests United States assistance for that program and if a substantial majority of the resources for the implementation of that program each year will be provided by the Government of the Philippines or other non-United States donors, or both.

(d) UNCOMMITTED FMS CREDITS.—Uncommitted balances of loans made to the Philippines pursuant to section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act since October 1, 1984, may be disbursed without requirement for repayment of principal or interest, except that the new budget authority provided by this subsection may be exercised only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.

SEC. 907. AUTHORITY TO STOCKPILE DEFENSE ARTICLES IN THAILAND AND KOREA.

(a) STOCKPILING IN THAILAND.—Section 514(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting ", Thailand," after "Korea".

(b) AUTHORIZED LEVEL OF ADDITIONS TO STOCKPILES.—Section 514(b)(2) of that Act is amended to read as follows:

"(2) The value of such additions to stockpiles in foreign countries shall not exceed $116,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and shall not exceed $77,000,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 908. REFUGEES FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the United States remains firmly committed to the security of Thailand and to improving relations between our two nations;

(2) the United States refugee resettlement and humanitarian assistance programs constitute an important factor in bilateral relations between the United States and Thailand;

(3) the preservation of first asylum for those fleeing persecution is one of the primary objectives of the United States refugee program;

(4) the actions of another government in labeling refugee populations as "displaced persons" or closing its borders to new arrivals shall not constitute a barrier to the United States considering those individuals or groups to be refugees;

(5) it is in the national interest to facilitate the reunification of separated families of United States citizens and permanent residents, and the Congress will look with disfavor on any nation which seriously hinders emigration for such reunifications;

(6) the persecution of the Cambodian people under the Khmer Rouge rule from 1975-1979, which caused the deaths of up to two million people and in which the bulk of the Khmer people were subjected to life in an Asian Auschwitz, constituted one of the clearest examples of genocide in recent history;

(7) the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam and the subsequent occupation of that country by 140,000 Vietnamese troops backing up the Heng Samrin regime, which itself continues to seriously violate the human rights of Cambodians, and the presence of 40,000 heavily armed troops under the control of the same Khmer Rouge leaders, overwhelmingly demonstrate that the life or freedom of any Cambodian not allied with the Khmer Rouge or supporting Heng Samrin would be seriously endangered if such individual were forced by a country of first asylum to return to his or her homeland.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) any Cambodians who are, or had been, at Khao I Dang camp should be considered and interviewed for eligibility for the United States refugee program, irrespective of the date they entered Thailand or that refugee camp;

(2) any Cambodian rejected for admission to the United States who can demonstrate new or additional evidence relating to his claim should have his or her case reviewed;

(3) the United States should work with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the Government of Thailand to improve the security of all refugee facilities in Thailand and to prevent the forced repatriation of Cambodian refugees;

(4) the United States should treat with utmost seriousness the continued reports of forced repatriations to Laos of would-be asylum seekers, and should lodge strong and continuous protests with the Thai Government to bring about an end to these repatriations, which endanger the life and safety of those involuntarily returned to Laos;

(5) the United States will try to facilitate on a high priority basis the resumption of the Orderly Departure Program from Vietnam and the processing of Amerasians from Vietnam; and

(6) within the Orderly Departure Program the United States will give high priority consideration to determining the eligibility of serious health cases and cases involving children separated from both parents.

SEC. 909. COOPERATION ON POW/MIA ISSUE.

It is the sense of the Congress that the President should use available authority and appropriations to provide up to $200,000 in the fiscal year 1988 and up to $200,000 in the fiscal year 1989 for support of humanitarian projects in Laos directly associated with joint United States-Laotian cooperative efforts to resolve questions concerning Vietnam era prisoners of war or those missing in action.

PART B—SOUTH ASIA

SEC. 921. ASSISTANCE FOR THE AFGHAN PEOPLE.

(a) FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR ASSISTANCE.—Section 904 of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), by striking out "chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund)" and inserting in lieu thereof "chapter 1 of part I (relating to development assistance) and chapter 4 of part II (relating to the economic support fund) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961";

(2) by striking out "(a) AUTHORIZATION.—"; and

(3) by repealing subsections (b) and (c).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a)(1) does not apply with respect to funds appropriated prior to the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 922. DEMOCRACY IN BANGLADESH.

(a) PRIMARY PURPOSE OF UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE.—The primary purpose of United States economic assistance for Bangladesh is to foster economic development and political pluralism. Accordingly, in determining whether to provide economic assistance to Bangladesh and in determining how much assistance to provide, the President shall take into account whether—

(1) there is a credible electoral process, in which by elections and eventual general elections accurately reflect the popular will;

(2) there is an effective parliament, in which both the majority and minority are able to make constructive contributions;

(3) the press is allowed to operate freely, and all points of view can be expressed in the press;

(4) there is effective elected government at the local and regional levels; and

(5) there is an independent judiciary.

(b) REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE.—Whenever requesting economic assistance for Bangladesh, the President shall report to the Congress with respect to each of the issues described in paragraph (1) through (5) of subsection (a).

SEC. 923. ISRAEL-INDIA RELATIONS.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the Government of India has blocked participation by Israelis in international academic gatherings and sporting events held in India; and

(2) India and Israel are sister democracies that share an interest in international cooperation and development.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the sense of the Congress that the growth of contacts between Indians and Israelis would benefit both countries and that the Government of India should facilitate such contacts in the future.

SEC. 924. WAIVER FOR PAKISTAN OF SECTION 669 PROHIBITION ON ASSISTANCE.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the United States considers the spread of nuclear weapons to South Asia to be potentially catastrophic for the countries of the region and, therefore, has made nuclear nonproliferation a vital element of United States policy toward the region;

(2) United States assistance is intended to induce Pakistan to forgo the development of nuclear weapons and, therefore, any effort by Pakistan to develop a nuclear weapons capability could have serious adverse consequences for the United States assistance relationship with Pakistan; and

(3) the most viable, long-term solution to the dangers posed by the threat of nuclear proliferation in South Asia is an agreement involving all countries of the region and, therefore, it is in the interest of the United States to encourage all countries to seek such an agreement.

(b) EXTENSION OF WAIVER.—Section 620E(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by striking out "1987" and inserting in lieu thereof "1989";

(2) by inserting "(1)" after "(d)"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

"(2)(A) Any waiver for Pakistan under this subsection shall cease to be effective if the President certifies to the Congress that India has formally accepted the application of appropriate, verifiable, and reliable safeguards to all its nuclear materials.

"(B) If such a certification is made with respect to India and the President certifies to the Congress (at the same time or subsequently) that Pakistan has also formally accepted the application of appropriate, verifiable, and reliable safeguards to all its nuclear materials, such acceptance shall be deemed to constitute reliable assurances, for purposes of section 669(b)(1)(B) of this Act, that Pakistan will not acquire or develop nuclear weapons or assist other nations in doing so.".

(c) ADDITIONAL CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—Section 620E(e) of that Act is amended—

(1) by striking out "device and" and inserting in lieu thereof "device,"; and

(2) by inserting before the period at the end ", and that Pakistan is taking responsible steps to reduce nuclear tensions on the Asian Subcontinent".

(d) REPORT ON ILLEGAL NUCLEAR EXPORTS.—Not later than January 1, 1988, the President shall submit to Congress a report detailing—

(1) the degree to which the Government of Pakistan has cooperated in the investigation of the Arshad Pervez case;

(2) what legal action Pakistan has taken against any Pakistanis who are shown to have been involved in this case;

(3) what action Pakistan has taken, and what laws, regulations, or other measures Pakistan has implemented to ensure that no such incident, whether or not undertaken with the support or active assistance of Pakistani Government officials, occurs again; and

(4) the nature of any assurances which the Government of Pakistan has provided against any future procurement which would contribute significantly to the ability of Pakistan to manufacture a nuclear explosive device.

(e) INFORMATION ON PAKISTAN'S ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES.—The President shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report containing a factual description of the uranium enrichment levels which Pakistan has reached as of the time of the report. This report may be classified if necessary and shall be submitted when the extension (which is provided for in subsection (a)(1) of this section) of the waiver contained in section 620E(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 takes effect.

SEC. 925. DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN PAKISTAN.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the United States has a great interest in Pakistan's political stability;

(2) the completion of the process of democratization is essential for the establishment and maintenance of political stability in Pakistan;

(3) the lifting of martial law and the state of emergency in December 1985 was a positive step in the direction of political democracy; and

(4) the holding of parliamentary elections and the lifting of censorship are additional welcome indications of Pakistan's intent to move toward a system of democracy.

(b) UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE.—Section 620E of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(f) United States assistance for Pakistan is intended to assist Pakistan's self defense and to promote democratic and representative government and respect for internationally recognized human rights in Pakistan. Therefore, in considering future requests for assistance for Pakistan under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the Arms Export Control Act, and the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, the Congress will be significantly influenced by such factors as whether the Government of Pakistan—

"(1) intends to hold (or has held), in accordance with the current stipulations of the Pakistani constitution, free and fair elections open to the full participation of all eligible voters (as currently specified in that constitution);

"(2) has made significant and demonstrated progress in eliminating human rights violations, in particular the practice of torture, armed attacks against civilian noncombatants, prolonged arbitrary detention, and imprisonment on political grounds;

"(3) has made significant and demonstrated progress in promoting respect for freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom of peaceful assembly, and the right of all citizens to participate in political life; and

"(4) has demonstrated progress in promoting religious tolerance and the right of all citizens to worship according to their beliefs.

Information on these factors shall be included in the annual human rights reports pursuant to sections 116 and 502B of this Act.".

SEC. 926. LIMITATION ON DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FOR INDIA.

For each of fiscal years 1988 and 1989, not more than $35,000,000 of the funds made available to carry out chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 may be made available for assistance for India.

TITLE X—PEACE CORPS

SEC. 1001. AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.

Section 3(b) of the Peace Corps Act is amended to read as follows:

"(b) There are authorized to be appropriated to carry out the purposes of this Act $142,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $146,970,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 1002. PASSENGER AUTOMOBILES.

Section 15(d)(4) of the Peace Corps Act is amended to read as follows:

"(4) purchase and hire of passenger motor vehicles, except that—

"(A) section 1343 of title 31, United States Code, shall not apply to vehicles purchased for the transportation, maintenance, or direct overseas support of volunteers,

"(B) except as may otherwise be provided in an appropriation or other Act, passenger motor vehicles for administrative purposes outside the United States may be purchased for replacement only, and such vehicles may be exchanged or sold and replaced by an equal number of such vehicles and the cost, including exchange allowance, of each such replacement shall not exceed the current market price in the United States of a mid-sized sedan or station wagon meeting the requirements established by the General Services Administration for a class III vehicle of United States manufacture (or, if the replacement vehicle is a right-hand drive vehicle, 120 percent of that price) in the case of an automobile for any Peace Corps country representative appointed under section 7(c), and

"(C) passenger motor vehicles may be purchased for use in the United States only as may be specifically provided in an appropriation or other Act;".

SEC. 1003. TECHNICAL PUBLICATIONS.

Section 15 of the Peace Corps Act is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(e) Technical publications produced by the Peace Corps may be sold at cost in furtherance of the purposes of this Act. Up to $200,000 of the proceeds of such sales in each fiscal year may, to such extent as may be provided in advance in appropriations Acts, be credited to the currently applicable appropriation of the Peace Corps, notwithstanding section 3302(b) of title 31, United States Code.".

TITLE XI—ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR BASE RIGHTS COUNTRIES

SEC. 1101. ADDITIONAL AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.

(a) AUTHORIZATIONS.—In addition to the amounts authorized to be appropriated by the preceding provisions of this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated, for use in accordance with subsection (b), an aggregate of $400,000,000 for fiscal year 1988 and an aggregate of $414,000,000 for fiscal year 1989 to carry out chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to military assistance), chapter 4 of that part (relating to the economic support fund), and chapter 5 of that part (relating to international military education and training) and section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act (relating to foreign military sales credits).

(b) BASE RIGHTS COUNTRIES.—The funds authorized to be appropriated by subsection (a) shall be available only to meet United States security assistance requirements arising from agreements providing for United States access to military facilities in foreign countries.

(c) AUTHORITY TO EXTEND PERIOD OF AVAILABILITY.—Amounts appropriated pursuant to the authorizations of appropriations contained in subsection (a) are authorized to be made available until expended.

SEC. 1102. FOREIGN MILITARY SALES PROGRAM CEILING.

The aggregate foreign military sales financing ceiling for fiscal year 1988 and for fiscal year 1989 which is specified in section 31(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act shall be deemed to be increased by the amount appropriated under this title to carry out section 23 of that Act for that fiscal year.

SEC. 1103. MAINTENANCE OF MILITARY BALANCE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

(a) REQUIREMENT THAT BALANCE BE MAINTAINED.—Amounts authorized to be appropriated by this title may not be made available in a manner inconsistent with—

(1) the policy established in section 620C(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961; and

(2) the ratio described in section 516(e)(2)(B)(i) and (ii) of that Act (as enacted by section 611 of this Act).

(b) CONFORMING PROVISION.—Assistance provided for Greece and Turkey with funds authorized to be appropriated by this title is in addition to the amounts of assistance provided for in section 607 and section 608 of this Act.

TITLE XII—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SEC. 1201. USES OF FOREIGN CURRENCIES.

(a) SPECIAL ACCOUNTS; USE FOR DEVELOPMENT PURPOSES.—Section 609(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by striking out "any commodity" and all that follows through "sale thereof," and inserting in lieu thereof "assistance is furnished to a foreign country under part I under arrangements which will result in the accrual to that country of local currencies,";

(2) in paragraph (1) by striking out "proceeds" and inserting in lieu thereof "accrued local currencies"; and

(3) by amending paragraph (3) to read as follows:

"(3) utilize the remainder of the Special Account for purposes which are consistent with the objectives of sections 103 through 106 or, in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, section 472, and which are agreed to by the agency primarily responsible for administering part I.".

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 531(d) of that Act is amended—

(1) by striking out ", not less than 50 percent" and all that follows through "part I of this Act"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following: "All local currencies that accrue as the result of assistance under this chapter shall be deposited in a special account and used in accordance with section 609 of this Act.".

SEC. 1202. COMPREHENSIVE ANNUAL REPORTS ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.

Section 634 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(c) As part of the annual congressional presentation materials on foreign assistance programs, the President shall provide to the Congress a full, complete, and detailed accounting of all assistance provided during the preceding fiscal year under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Arms Export Control Act. This accounting shall include for each fiscal year, among other things, the following with respect to each authorization account:

"(1) The specific projects and other activities carried out in each country.

"(2) The number of persons from each country who were provided with training, and the types of training provided.

"(3) The defense articles and defense services provided for each country.

"(4) The types of goods and commodities provided to each country for economic stabilization purposes under chapter 4 of part II (relating to the economic support fund).

"(5) The amounts of local currency generated by United States assistance to each country, the uses of those currencies, and the total amount of those currencies still available for use as of the time of the report.

"(6) A report on any transfers or reprogrammings of funds, and a description of how transferred or reprogrammed funds modified the amounts requested for each account.

"(7) A report on the funds which have been obligated but remain unexpended for each country in each account.

"(8) An analysis of the amount of funds and programs provided through nongovernmental as contrasted to governmental channels.

"(9) For each country which received cash transfer assistance under chapter 4 of part II during the previous fiscal year, a detailed description of how the country used the funds that were made available, with a discussion of the United States interests that were served by the assistance (including, as appropriate, a description of any economic policy reforms that were promoted by the cash transfer assistance).

"(d) The annual congressional presentation materials on foreign assistance programs shall also include, for each country for which cash transfer assistance is proposed under chapter 4 of part II for the coming fiscal year, a discussion of the United States interests that will be served by the assistance, including, as appropriate, a description of the economic policy and development situation in the country which may affect the implementation of United States economic assistance programs and long-term economic development.".

SEC. 1203. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ALLOCATION REPORTS.

(a) APPLICABILITY TO CONTINUING RESOLUTIONS.—Section 653(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting after "law making continuing appropriations" the following: "for a period of less than 60 days,".

(b) APPLICABILITY TO INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL ASSISTANCE.—Section 653(a) of that Act is amended by striking out "other than" in the parenthetical clause and inserting in lieu thereof "including section 481 but excluding".

SEC. 1204. FOREIGN DEBT REPAYMENT.

(a) POLICY ON NEW ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE LOANS TO COUNTRIES UNABLE TO SERVICE EXISTING DEBTS.—It is the sense of the Congress that the Agency for International Development should generally not provide assistance on a loan basis to a country which is unable to service its debt obligations arising from loans provided by the Agency in prior fiscal years, unless it can be demonstrated clearly that the country's inability to service its existing debt is temporary and nonrecurring.

(b) REPORTS TO CONGRESS ON DEBT RESCHEDULING.—Section 603(a)(2) of the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1978 is amended by inserting after the first sentence the following: "This justification shall explain why the proposed debt relief is necessary, how much debt has previously been rescheduled for that government by the United States, why previous debt relief agreements have failed, and what the current prospects are for collecting the rescheduled receivables.".

(c) ACCELERATED LOAN REPAYMENTS.—Paragraph (3) of section 634(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by inserting "(A)" after "(3)";

(2) by inserting "and" after the semicolon; and

(3) by inserting the following at the end of the paragraph:

"(B) a description of the efforts made pursuant to section 127 by the Administrator of the agency primarily responsible for administering part I to negotiate accelerated loan repayments by countries with the financial resources to make accelerated loan repayments, in particular European countries that were recipients of concessional loans by predecessor agencies;".

SEC. 1205. ANNUAL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE REPORT.

Section 634(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)(A), by striking out "oceans,"; and

(2) by repealing paragraph (8) and redesignating paragraphs (9) through (12) as paragraphs (8) through (11), respectively.

SEC. 1206. TECHNICAL CORRECTIONS.

(a) CORRECTION OF CROSS-REFERENCES TO INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC IN ARMS REGULATIONS.—

(1) Section 505(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended in the second sentence—

(A) by striking out "significant defense articles" and inserting in lieu thereof "significant military equipment"; and

(B) by striking "such defense articles" both places it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "such significant military equipment".

(2) Section 3(a) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended in the second sentence following paragraph (4)—

(A) by striking out "significant defense articles" and inserting in lieu thereof "significant military equipment"; and

(B) by striking "such defense articles" both places it appears and inserting in lieu "such significant military equipment".

(3) Section 36(d) of that Act is amended by striking out "combat" and inserting in lieu thereof "military".

(b) CLERICAL ERRORS IN 1985 AUTHORIZATION ACT.—

(1) Subsection (d) of section 25 of the Arms Export Control Act, as added by section 112(b) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985, is amended—

(A) by redesignating that subsection as subsection (e); and

(B) by striking out the semicolon at the end and inserting in lieu thereof a period.

(2) Subparagraph (B) of section 25(a)(5) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by striking out "subsection (d)" and inserting in lieu thereof "subsection (e)".

(3)(A) Section 124(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as so redesignated by section 310 of this Act, is amended by striking out "110(a)" and inserting in lieu thereof "110".

(B) Section 124(e) of that Act is repealed.

(C) Section 110 of that Act is amended by striking out "AND FUNDING LIMITS".

(c) CLERICAL ERRORS IN ANTI-DRUG ABUSE ACT OF 1986.—

(1) Section 481 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (as amended by section 2005 of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986) is amended—

(A) in subsection (h)(2)(A), by striking out ", or" at the end of clause (ii) and inserting in lieu thereof a period;

(B) in subsection (h)(4)(A), by inserting "a" before "joint resolution"; and

(C) in subsection (i)(4)(vi), by striking out "section 1049(c)(2)" and inserting in lieu thereof "section 104(c)(2)".

(2) Section 2015(b)(1) of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 is amended by striking out "effects" and inserting in lieu thereof "efforts".

(3) Section 2030(b) of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 is amended by striking out "subsection (A)(4)" and inserting in lieu thereof "subsection (a)(4)".

(d) PUBLIC LAWS 99-440 AND 99-529.—Chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by redesignating section 117 (as enacted by section 201(b) of Public Law 99-440) as section 115 and by inserting that section before section 116.

SEC. 1207. COUNTRIES WHICH IMPORT SUGAR FROM CUBA.

(a) REDUCTION OF ASSISTANCE BY VALUE OF SUGAR IMPORTS FROM CUBA.—Beginning in fiscal year 1989, the President shall have the authority to withhold from the amount

of assistance under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund) which is allocated to a country for a fiscal year the amount equal to the value of confirmed sales of sugar which is the product of Cuba and which is imported by that country in the preceding fiscal year.

(b) REDUCTIONS TO BE MADE NOTWITHSTANDING EARMARKINGS.—The withholding of amounts under subsection (a) may be made notwithstanding any provision of law specifying the amount of assistance to be provided to a particular country.

(c) SENSE OF CONGRESS WITH RESPECT TO OTHER COUNTRIES.—It is the sense of the Congress that the President should urge countries that import sugar which is the product of Cuba and do not receive economic support funds or other forms of foreign assistance from the United States to import sugar from other Central American or Caribbean countries with democratically elected governments.

SEC. 1208. EARLY WARNING SYSTEM REGARDING MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT BANK LOANS.

(a) ANALYSIS.—The President shall instruct missions of the Agency for International Development and United States diplomatic missions in the relevant foreign countries to analyze the impacts of proposed loans by multilateral development banks well in advance of such loan's approval by the bank. Such analyses shall address the economic viability of the project, adverse impacts on the environment, natural resources, public health, and indigenous peoples, and recommendations as to measures (including alternatives) that could eliminate or mitigate adverse impacts. If not classified under the national security system of classification, the information obtained in carrying out this subsection shall be made available to the public.

(b) INVESTIGATIONS.—The President shall further instruct those missions that, if the analysis of a proposed loan pursuant to subsection (a) fails to identify adverse impacts on the environment, natural resources, public health, or indigenous peoples, but there is nonetheless reason to believe that such a loan may have such impacts, they shall undertake an affirmative investigation of such impacts in consultation with relevant Federal agencies.

(c) FURNISHING INFORMATION TO SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.—If an analysis pursuant to subsection (a) or an investigation pursuant to subsection (b) identifies adverse impacts of a proposed multilateral development bank loan on the environment, natural resources, public health, or indigenous peoples, the Administrator of the Agency for International Development or the Secretary of State (as appropriate) shall provide the relevant information to the Secretary of the Treasury for his consideration in determining whether to instruct the United States Executive Director of the relevant multilateral development bank to seek changes in the loans necessary to eliminate or mitigate such impacts.

(d) COOPERATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES.—The Administrator of the Agency for International Development or the Secretary of State (as appropriate) shall make the information collected pursuant to subsections (a) and (b), other than classified information, available to foreign governments and shall actively cooperate with such governments to facilitate exchanges of such information.

(e) SEMIANNUAL LISTS.—Six months after the date of enactment of this Act and semiannually thereafter, the Administrator of the Agency for International Development shall publish a list of proposed multilateral development bank loans that may have adverse impacts on the environment, natural resources, public health, or indigenous peoples. The list shall be developed in consultation with interested members of the public and shall contain—

(1) the name of the lending institution;

(2) the name of the borrowing country;

(3) the name of the project or loan;

(4) a brief description of the project or loan;

(5) the total anticipated cost and anticipated contribution from development banks;

(6) a summary of adverse effects on the environment, natural resources, public health, or indigenous peoples;

(7) identification of alternatives which may eliminate or mitigate such effects, including the possibility of terminating further action on the potential loan; and

(8) identification of actions taken or underway by the Administrator or other Federal agencies to secure necessary changes in the project.

SEC. 1209. COUNTRIES LISTED AS COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

Section 620(f)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended as follows:

(1) After "Democratic People's Republic of Korea." insert the following:

"Democratic Republic of Afghanistan."

(2) After "Mongolian People's Republic." insert the following:

"People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

"People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.".

(3) After "People's Republic of Albania." insert the following:

"People's Republic of Angola.".

(4) After "People's Republic of China." insert the following:

"People's Republic of Kampuchea.".

SEC. 1210. REQUIREMENT TO SPECIFY DURATION FOR PERIOD OF WAIVER OF COMMUNIST COUNTRY PROHIBITION.

Section 620(f)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting "specified" before "period as the President determines".

SEC. 1211. EFFECTIVENESS OF UNITED STATES ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

(a) REPORTS.—Not later than December 31, 1988, and December 31 of each third year thereafter, the President shall submit to the Congress a report which analyzes, on a country-by-country basis, the impact and effectiveness of the United States economic assistance provided during the preceding 3 fiscal years. Each such report shall include the following for each recipient country:

(1) An analysis of the impact of United States economic assistance during the preceding 3 fiscal years on economic development in that country, with a discussion of the United States interests that were served by the assistance. This analysis shall be done on a sector-by-sector basis to the extent possible and shall identify any economic policy reforms which were promoted by the assistance. This analysis shall—

(A) include a description, quantified to the extent practicable, of the specific objectives the United States sought to achieve in providing economic assistance for that country, and

(B) specify the extent to which those objectives were not achieved, with an explanation of why they were not achieved.

(2) A description of the amount and nature of economic assistance provided by other donors during the preceding 3 fiscal years, set forth by development sector to the extent possible.

(3) A discussion of the commitment of the host government to addressing the country's needs in each development sector, including a description of the resources devoted by that government to each development sector during the preceding 3 fiscal years.

(4) A description of the trends, both favorable and unfavorable, in each development sector.

(5) Statistical and other information necessary to evaluate the impact and effectiveness of United States economic assistance on development in the country.

(6) A comparison of the analysis provided in the report with relevant analyses by international financial institutions, other international organizations, other donor countries, or nongovernmental organizations.

(b) LISTING OF MOST AND LEAST SUCCESSFUL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.—Each report required by this section shall identify—

(1) those countries in which United States economic assistance has been most successful, and

(2) those countries in which United States economic assistance has been least successful.

For each country listed pursuant to paragraph (2), the report shall explain why the assistance was not more successful and shall specify what the United States has done as a result.

(c) REPORT TO BE A SEPARATE DOCUMENT.—Each report required by this section shall be submitted to the Congress as a separate document.

(d) DEFINITION.—As used in this section, the term "United States economic assistance" means assistance under chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance), chapter 7 of part I of that Act (relating to Africa famine recovery and development), or chapter 4 of part II of that Act (relating to the economic support fund).

SEC. 1212. INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM.—The Administrator of the Agency for International Development shall establish and administer a program of scholarship assistance, in cooperation with State governments, universities, community colleges, and businesses, to provide scholarships in the form of loans to enable students from eligible countries to study in the United States.

(b) PROGRAM OBJECTIVES.—The program authorized by subsection (a) of this section shall be designed and administered to provide educational opportunities for talented students of limited financial means from eligible countries in order to foster democracy and development in those countries and their regions and to strengthen the relationships between the United States and such countries and regions.

(c) ELIGIBLE COUNTRIES.—For purposes of this section, the term "eligible country" means any country which is a recipient of United States assistance pursuant to chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance), chapter 7 of part I of that Act (relating to Africa famine recovery and development), chapter 4 of part II of that Act (relating to the economic support fund), or the Agricul-

tural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954.

(d) FUNDING.—

(1) LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.—For each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, up to $2,000,000 of the funds allocated for the Latin American and the Caribbean regional program under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shall be available only to provide scholarships for qualified students from eligible countries in Central America and the Caribbean pursuant to this section.

(2) SOUTH PACIFIC.—For each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, not less than $2,000,000 of the funds allocated for South Pacific regional programs under chapter 1 of part I of that Act shall be available only to provide scholarship assistance to qualified students from eligible countries in the South Pacific for study at post-secondary institutions of education in the United States pursuant to this section. Not more than 10 percent of funds made available under this paragraph may be used for scholarships for graduate study.

(3) OTHER REGIONS.—Funds made available to carry out chapter 1 of part I, chapter 7 of part I, and chapter 4 of part II of that Act may be used to provide scholarships pursuant to this section to qualified students from eligible countries in regions other than those specified in paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection.

(4) PERIOD OF AVAILABILITY.—Funds allocated to carry out this subsection shall remain available until expended, notwithstanding any other provision of law.

(e) COOPERATION WITH STATES AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR.—

(1) CONSULTATION WITH STATES.—The Administrator shall consult with the participating States with regard to the educational opportunities available within each State and on the assignment of scholarship recipients.

(2) GRANTS TO STATES.—In furtherance of the objectives of this section, the Administrator may make grants to States to provide scholarship assistance to students participating in the program conducted pursuant to this section to attend undergraduate degree programs or training programs of one year or longer in study areas related to the critical development needs of the students' countries.

(3) FEDERAL SHARE.—The Federal share for each year for which a State receives payments under this subsection shall be not less than 50 percent.

(4) NON-FEDERAL SHARE.—The non-Federal share of payments under this subsection may be in cash, including the waiver of tuition or the offering of in-State tuition or housing waivers or subsidies, or in-kind fairly evaluated, including the provision of books and supplies.

(5) PRIVATE SECTOR—To the maximum extent practicable, each participating State shall enlist the assistance of the private sector to enable the State to meet the non-Federal share of payments under this section.

(f) IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS.—The Administrator shall issue such regulations as may be necessary to carry out this section. Such regulations shall include provisions for—

(1) forgiveness of repayment of a student's loan upon the student's prompt return to the student's country of origin for a period which is at least one year longer than the period the student spent studying in the United States; and

(2) forgiveness of half the repayment of the loan if the student is granted asylum or refugee status in the United States under the Immigration and Neutrality Act.

SEC. 1213. ASSISTANCE FOR POLICE OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS.

(a) WAIVER.—Subsections (c) and (d) of section 660 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 are amended to read as follows:

"(c) Subsection (a) shall not apply with respect to a country which has an elected government seeking to strengthen democratic institutions, including the criminal justice system, and to improve observance of civil and political rights, and which is not engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights.

"(d) Assistance shall not be provided pursuant to subsection (c) unless the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate are notified of the amount and nature of the proposed assistance at least fifteen days in advance of obligation.".

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) does not apply with respect to funds appropriated before the date of enactment of this Act.

Mr. BROOMFIELD (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment in the nature of a substitute be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would state to the gentleman from Michigan, it is not necessary for him to offer his en bloc amendment at this point. It could be offered later.

The gentleman is recognized for 30 minutes in support of his amendment.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at this point?

Mr. BROOMFIELD. I am happy to yield to the chairman, the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the gentleman from Michigan for yielding.

I take this moment because I just want to be sure we all understand where we are at this point.

We have completed consideration of the principal bill. We are now under consideration of the substitute of the gentleman from Michigan, which he is prepared to discuss. He will explain it and I will try to unexplain it in appropriate time, which I have been assured will be brief on both sides, I will say to my colleagues, at which point we will consider the substitute and then we will be prepared to go to final passage one way or the other, if the substitute is adopted or otherwise.

I wanted to take this time before we get into that to express my appreciation to the gentleman from Michigan and to the minority, as well as to the staff on both sides, because they have worked very, very hard to get to the point where we are as rapidly, expeditiously, and as thoroughly as we have been able to do.

So I would hope that we get sufficient quietness now so we can all hear the gentleman explain his substitute.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, first of all, I want to join the chairman in paying tribute to the staffs of the majority as well as the minority.

I also wish to thank the gentleman from Florida personally. He has been very considerate of the minority to have an opportunity to offer a substitute, and to give the Members an opportunity to actually weigh the committee bill versus my substitute.

I will give a brief explanation to my substitute text to H.R. 3100 that I will be offering. The gentleman from California [Mr. LAGOMARSINO] and others also wish to speak on my substitute as modified by the en bloc amendments that we will be offering.

My substitute contains many of the positive provisions from the committee bill, but it also modifies flawed policy language and eliminates unnecessary and restrictive provisions.

H.R. 3100, which is the committee bill, is strongly opposed by the administration and the President's senior advisers have recommended to me that he would veto it in its present form. It contains many restrictions, limitations, and constraints that would make it very difficult for the President to conduct foreign policy.

The substitute that I am offering is underbudget. It authorizes lower funding than the committee bill. It strikes unnecessary earmarking and offensive language in the bill.

While it provides the President with lower funding levels, it increases executive branch flexibility to protect U.S. interests abroad.

There have been several changes, Mr. Chairman, in my substitute since it was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD over a month ago.

In response to concerns that funding for U.N.-related international organizations and programs were insufficient, I would suggest that Members look at the language we have in the substitute, because we have restored the bulk of the funding authorization for this account.

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Furthermore, I have included in the substitute identical language on the use of assistance to station troops in Cyprus to that found in the bill, H.R. 3100. Actually, it is the same language that we have in the committee bill.

Last, I have included in the substitute many positive and constructive amendments agreed to during the House consideration of the bill, H.R. 3100.

Rather than mention each of the amendments, we have prepared a complete list of them which is available

for Members to examine at both the minority and the majority desks on the floor.

My substitute, Mr. Chairman, differs from the committee bill in some very significant ways. It eliminates many of the restrictive earmarks. It is also underbudget. It eliminates vast amounts of unnecessary, and what we call micromanaging, and highly restrictive language that would serve no useful purpose, and would indeed hinder the President in carrying out his constitutionally mandated role to conduct the foreign policy of the United States.

My substitute also reduces the inherent friction that makes if difficult to improve executive and legislative relations.

In addition, my substitute already includes the Chandler amendment, the Central American language, which we adopted yesterday with an overwhelming vote.

In addition, my substitute also strikes the Nicaragua language in H.R. 3100. On the floor this amendment to strike was only narrowly defeated by a vote of 214 to 200.

Furthermore, the Broomfield substitute includes $10 million to aid the democratic forces in Nicaragua such as the labor unions, the press, the Catholic Church, and other groups attempting peaceful democratic reforms in Nicaragua. Overall, the Central American provisions of the Broomfield substitute offer a very positive and constructive approach to fostering democracies in Nicaragua, something sadly lacking, I believe, in the committee bill.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROOMFIELD. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. LAGOMARSINO. Mr. Chairman, I want to join with the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] in support of his substitute and also to commend him and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL], the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, as well as the chairmen of the various subcommittees and the ranking minority members for the way they have conducted this debate.

I think it has been outstanding, and very fair, and everybody has had a chance under a very difficult procedural situation to make his or her views known.

With regard to title VII of the substitute, which is the Western Hemisphere portion of the substitute, I can tell my colleagues that the language in it is acceptable to the administration, whereas the language in the bill itself, although it was somewhat improved in some cases, is not acceptable and in some cases I think would be grounds for veto by itself.

I can tell my colleagues that the administration does approve of title VII of this bill.

With regard to another very important part of the legislation, that is, Pakistan, the substitute contains the same language that the bill does on that matter. I want to commend the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] and the gentleman from California [Mr. WILSON] and others for working up the agreement they did on that and that agreement is typified as stated in the substitute as well.

I would urge my colleagues to support the substitute. This is something that can become law. The majority bill in my opinion cannot.

As I say, I urge my colleagues to support the substitute.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the substitute offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD].

Mr. Chairman, I want to inform the committee, about the nature of the provisions that are within the purview of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East and the Task Force on International Narcotics Matters, on each of which I serve as ranking minority member. Both the narcotics provisions and the Europe and Middle East provisions in the Broomfield substitute are identical to the committee bill. I repeat those provisions are identical.

The Broomfield substitute is the only foreign aid ballgame in town, right now. I plead to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to vote for this substitute. While many of us are not fully satisfied with either the committee bill or Broomfield substitute, the Broomfield language is the only language which the administration could support. This Broomfield amendment is better than the committee bill as amended, because it contains less earmarking, less policy micromanaging, than does the committee bill at this point.

I believe it is important that we continue with the regular order of the House by moving forward with passage of a regular authorization bill, because there is policy language in this substitute that we can all agree to, that is necessary, and most important that the administration will probably find it can live with.

Accordingly, I urge that we support this substitute that contains much of what we have agreed to over the past several days, which leaves out some of the material which the administration could use as an excuse to oppose this bill on final passage. Let us pass this bill that we've worked so hard on for so many hours.

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Iowa, the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs.

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I would make two very brief points. First of all, the impressive aspect of this substitute is not how far apart it is from the majority bill, but how close it is to the majority bill. After all of these extraordinarily testy issues, we have crafted two approaches to foreign policy that are not too far apart.

My own personal sense is that in a number of issues the majority party may well have a slightly more persuasive case but the fact of the matter is it will be vetoed if it passes.

The Broomfield substitute is the only act that can receive acquiescence of the administration. Therefore, I urge this House for the effective legislation that we need, that what we do is pass the Broomfield substitute, pass the bill and that way this House will have, A, done its duty; and, B, in a very significant sense we will have affected the foreign policy of the United States in a very constructive way.

I compliment the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] on an extremely constructive substitute.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Iowa for his very constructive comments.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New York, the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I just want to take off my hat to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD]. He has done an outstanding yeoman job in putting together this substitute which is a real substitute. Let me say there are major differences between this substitute and the bill, H.R. 3100. I know that many of us have labored on both sides of the aisle to make the committee bill a better bill, but the fact remains as we said during committee time and time again, that if we have language in the bill there is no way we will be able to vote for it, and there is no way that President Reagan will sign it.

I know that President Reagan will sign your substitute with these amendments en bloc added to it. Therefore, although I am not a great believer in foreign aid, I will vote for the foreign aid package if your substitute is successful and try to push it through the Senate so that we will have a foreign aid bill.

The question is, Do my colleagues want a foreign aid bill or do they not want a foreign aid bill?

Vote for the Broomfield substitute and my colleagues will have a foreign aid bill.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Chairman, briefly, if I could explain an amendment that is included in the Broomfield substitute, and in the committee bill, it is what I call the truth in lending, or the anti-cook-the-books amendment. A lot of people in this House are very skeptical about voting for foreign aid. I happen to be one that is supportive of foreign aid and has been in the past. There is only one problem, however, with the current system of trying to determine how much money we really do give to other countries. When we get right down to it, it is in fact true that many of the loans and the loan guarantees that we make are rescheduled and when we reschedule any of the loans or the loan guarantees, they are not reported on the books as an actual loss of money to the United States. We then turn around and make additional loans to countries once they have already defaulted in a sense, defaulted on the loans and guarantees that we have already made.

In 1987 there are four countries which have received new 3-year GSM 102 loan guarantees although they have defaulted on past guarantees. Here we are in 1987 running huge budget deficits, making additional loans to countries that have already defaulted. Yet we do not call it default, we call it rescheduling, because we call it rescheduling it does not appear on the books as an obligation to the United States, and what this amendment will do is force the various agencies involved in loans and loan guarantees to give us an accurate estimate of how much money is owed to us, how much money we can collect, and not allow the Congress to vote additional foreign aid to countries that have not been able to meet their obligations.

I am pleased that the chairman has accepted it. I am pleased that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] has accepted it. I suspect there will be an attempt made to take it out of the conference committee because nobody really wants to have truth in lending, or information on cooking the books when it comes down to foreign aid. I hope the Members of the House will support this provision when we go to the conference committee.

Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentlewoman from Kansas.

Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, today I rise in support of the Broomfield substitute to H.R. 3100, International Security and Development Assistance Act because it removes some unnecessary earmarking, restrictive policy language, and provides with greater flexibility in making funding allocations. The substitute provides $11.42 billion for foreign aid programs in fiscal year 1988. It provides for a 3.5-percent increase in most foreign aid programs in fiscal year 1989.

The Broomfield substitute retains the earmarks for Israel and Egypt, and funding levels for base-rights countries as in the bill, but eliminates policy language and unnecessary earmarking placed in H.R. 3100.

The substitute retains the "informed consent" language under title III—development assistance; provides a 30-percent aggregate earmark for population, health, and natural resources and retains the bill's policy language on these critical areas under the Africa title; includes the small and micro-enterprise loan program; provides dollars for the Nicaraguan civilian opposition and retains current law restrictions on assistance to the Contras; provides $450 million for Africa fund in each of fiscal years 1988 and 1989; modifies the Hamilton amendment which reforms cash grants, and strikes the Torricelli cargo preference provision, and eliminates $50 million earmarked for front-line states bordering South Africa.

The substitute is not perfect, but I urge support of the Broomfield substitute so that we can pass a foreign aid bill which has bipartisan support.

AMENDMENTS EN BLOC OFFERED BY MR. BROOMFIELD TO THE AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MR. BROOMFIELD

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, pursuant to the rule, I offer an en bloc amendment to my amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendments en bloc offered by Mr. BROOMFIELD to the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. BROOMFIELD: Amend the Broomfield substitute to include the following amendments:

TITLE I—MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND SALES AND RELATED PROGRAMS

Page 16, after line 7, insert the following:

SEC. 116. CONDITIONS ON SALES OF F-15's TO SAUDI ARABIA.

Any sale or other transfer to Saudi Arabia by the United States of F-15 aircraft shall be subject to the following conditions:

(1) Any F-15 aircraft sold or otherwise transferred to Saudi Arabia shall be limited to models A, B, C, and D.

(2) The United States shall not sell or otherwise transfer to Saudi Arabia the F-15-E or other advanced aircraft with a ground attack capability and shall not upgrade existing Saudi Arabia aircraft to that capability.

(3) Saudi Arabia shall not possess more than 60 F-15 aircraft at any one time, except that additional replacement F-15 aircraft may be held in the United States, at the expense of Saudi Arabia, for shipment to Saudi Arabia only after the President notifies the Congress that the existing inventory of F-15 aircraft held by Saudi Arabia is less than 60 and, then, only on a one-for-one replacement basis as each F-15 aircraft is totally removed from the inventory of Saudi Arabia.

Page 16, after line 7, insert the following:

SEC. 117. RESTRICTIONS OF FMS SALES OF STINGER MISSILES.

(a) PROHIBITION.—Except as provided in subsection (b), the United States Government may not sell any STINGER air defense guided missile (or any other man-portable ground-to-air missile with comparable advanced technology) to any foreign military or paramilitary force under the Arms Export Control Act.

(b) EXCEPTIONS.—The prohibition contained in subsection (a) does not apply with respect to—

(1) a transfer to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or the armed forces of a member nation of that organization;

(2) a transfer to the armed forces of a country designated as major non-NATO ally for purposes of section 1105 of the National Defense Authorization Act of Fiscal Year 1987;

(3) a transfer otherwise specifically authorized by the Congress by an act or joint resolution enacted after the date of enactment of this Act; or

(4) a transfer if the President certifies to the Congress that—

(A) an unforeseen emergency exists which requires the immediate transfer of the missiles; and

(B) no other air defense system can meet the air defense needs of the recipient.

(c) REPORT.—Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to the Congress a report which assesses the global threat caused by the proliferation of man-portable ground-to-air missiles with advanced technology comparable to that of the STINGER missile, without regard to the country of origin of those missiles. This report shall give special emphasis to the danger of such missiles being used in acts of terrorism.

Page 16, after line 7, insert the following:

SEC. 116. LIMITATIONS ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

(a) GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTES.—Funds authorized to be appropriated by this title may not be allocated to any country whose votes in the United Nations General Assembly Plenary differed from the United States position by more than 90 percent, as recorded in the most recent Department of State report entitled "Report to the Congress on Voting Practices in the United Nations".

(b) MOST RECENT REPORT DEFINED.—For purposes of applying subsection (a)—

(1) with respect to fiscal year 1988 assistance, the most recent such report shall be deemed to be the report dated April 23, 1987; and

(2) with respect to fiscal year 1989 assistance, the most recent such report shall be deemed to be the next annual report submitted after that date.

At the end of subsection (a), strike the period and add the following: ", unless the President determines, and reports to the Congress, that national security or humanitarian reasons justify furnishing such assistance to that country."

At the end of the amendment, strike the period and add the following: ", and

"(3) With respect to such assistance for each fiscal year thereafter, the most recent report shall be deemed to be the last such report submitted before that fiscal year begins."

TITLE III—DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Page 26, after line 4, insert the following:

(c) VITAMIN A DEFICIENCY PROGRAM.—Section 103 of that Act, as amended by subsection (b), is further amended by adding at the end the following:

"(j)(1) The Congress recognizes that vitamin A deficiency is a major cause of childhood morbidity and mortality. An estimated 500,000 children are blinded every year from the vitamin A deficiency disease known as Xerophthalmia. The Congress further recognizes that vitamin A intervention programs are inexpensive, practical to administer, and cost-effective in terms of human productivity. Supplying doses of vitamin A, promoting the consumption of foods which are either good natural sources of vitamin A or fortified with vitamin A, nutrition education, and agricultural extension projects which emphasize the utility of consuming adequate amounts of dietary sources of vitamin A are essential interventions to be considered in the design of programs to eliminate vitamin A deficiency.

"(2) Of the funds authorized to be appropriated to carry out this section for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, not less than $8,000,000 shall be available only for the Vitamin A Deficiency Program.".

Page 31, strike out lines 13 through 15.

Page 45, strike out line 17 and all that follows through line 22 on page 57 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SEC. 314. PROVIDING CREDIT FOR THE POOR IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Hunger and hunger-related disease take the lives of 13,000,000 to 18,000,000 people annually. Three-quarters of these deaths are children under the age of 5.

(2) A primary cause of this suffering is the inability of the poor majority living in developing countries to earn incomes which would enable them to provide the nutritional and health benefits that their families need.

(3) The rural and urban poor comprise the developing world's greatest untapped resource, and the health of national economies and democratic institutions is vastly improved when opportunities for the poor to participate in the economies of their countries are actively promoted and expanded.

(4) The inability of the rural and urban poor to obtain credit to finance their economic activities (and related nonfinancial assistance) has long been an obstacle to their achievement of economic progress and well-being.

(5) This inability to obtain credit and other critical productive inputs has been a significant factor inhibiting the growth of micro and small enterprises. Even so, such enterprises still represent an important source of private sector commercial activity in developing countries, provide significant benefits for the poor majority in those countries (particularly women, tribal peoples, and other minorities), and serve to integrate them into the economic life of their countries.

(6) Formal financial institutions in developing countries have not recognized that, although the poor majority may lack collateral for loans and may not be able to comply with all the traditional loan formalities, the productive activities of micro and small enterprises can nevertheless be financially viable if access to sources of credit is expanded.

(7) Experience with making productive credit available to the poor, including to micro-enterprises and to groups of poor people, has demonstrated their ability to repay loans and to achieve significant improvements in their living standards and to make significant contributions to the local economy.

(8) Economic policies, particularly those which are neutral as to enterprise size, are important to the encouragement and operation of micro and small enterprises.

(b) CREDIT PROGRAMS AND OTHER ASSISTANCE.—The Administrator shall make assistance available, in accordance with this section, to financial intermediaries in developing countries to enable them to provide loans and other assistance for micro and small enterprises of the poor majority. In carrying out this section, primary emphasis shall be placed on making loans and other assistance available to those individuals living in absolute poverty. Funds described in subsection (f)(3) may be made available to financial intermediaries pursuant to this section for use by them—

(1) in extending credit for micro and small enterprises in order to provide such enterprises with financial resources for working capital, the acquisition of equipment and other supplies, and payment of other expenses of the enterprises;

(2) in extending credit for such purposes as the procurement of farm implements and commodities, the acquisition of livestock, the construction of storage facilities, water and soil conservation activities, and the enhancement of marketing facilities;

(3) for the startup costs incurred by a nongovernmental organization in becoming a financial intermediary, and for other institutional development expenses (including audit and evaluation costs) of the intermediary which are related to the establishment and initial operation of the credit and other business support activities assisted pursuant to this section;

(4) for expenses incurred by the financial intermediary in providing training and technical assistance for micro and small enterprises, in order to enable them to obtain and utilize credit and other nonfinancial assistance under this section; and

(5) to provide other assistance necessary to the successful functioning of micro and small enterprises.

(c) GUIDELINES FOR PROGRAM.—The Administrator shall issue guidelines for financial intermediaries providing assistance pursuant to this section. These guidelines shall seek to ensure that financial intermediaries—

(1) consult with potential recipients of credit and other assistance under this section, and include their views to the greatest extent possible, in the designing of credit projects to ensure that the projects are responsive to the credit and other productive input needs of the receipents;

(2) establish credit terms at rates of interest which reflect the prevailing market rate of interest and the real cost of providing credit to the targeted beneficiaries;

(3) utilize the assistance made available pursuant to this section to provide credit and related assistance to the poorest people, with special attention being given to the provision of credit and other assistance to women, tribal peoples, and other minorities; and

(4) minimize or remove obstacles to credit provided under this section, such as collateral and literacy requirements.

(d) PRIMARY EMPHASIS.—In carrying out this section, the Administrator shall place primary emphasis on the development of the capacity of indigenous nongovernmental organizations (especially those representing women, tribal peoples, and other minorities) which will assist the development of micro and small enterprises, but the Administrator may also support other entities as appropriate. Attention shall also be directed to savings and capital formation as part of the systems support for micro and small enterprises.

(e) ADVISORY COMMITTEE.—The Administrator shall appoint an advisory committee to advise the Administrator with regard to the implementation of this section. This advisory committee shall be composed of individuals from nongovernmental organizations who are knowledgeable about the needs of micro and small enterprises in developing countries for credit and other assistance. Among other responsibilities, the advisory committee shall—

(1) assist the Administrator in developing the report required by subsection (m); and

(2) shall review and comment on the initial guidelines issued by the Administrator pursuant to subsection (c) before those guidelines are issued.

(f) SOURCES OF FUNDS AND FUNDING LEVELS.—

(1) DETERMINATION OF FISCAL YEAR 1987 ASSISTANCE LEVEL.—The Administrator shall conduct a benchmark survey to determine the total amount of assistance made available during fiscal year 1987 for credit and other assistance (as described in subsection (b)) for micro and small enterprises under part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. The results of this survey shall be reported to the Congress not later than September 30, 1987, or 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, whichever is later.

(2) ASSISTANCE FOR FISCAL YEARS 1988 AND 1989.—The total amount of assistance provided pursuant to this section—

(A) during fiscal year 1988, shall be at least $50,000,000, or 25 percent more than the amount determined pursuant to paragraph (1), whichever is greater; or

(B) during fiscal year 1989, shall be at least $75,000,000 or 50 percent more than the amount determined pursuant to paragraph (1), whichever is greater.

(3) SOURCES OF FUNDS.—Assistance pursuant to this section shall be provided with the following funds:

(A) Funds made available to carry out chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance), chapter 7 of part I of that Act (relating to Africa famine recovery and development), and chapter 4 of part II of that Act (relating to the economic support fund).

(B) Foreign currencies acquired as payments of loans made under those chapters pursuant to the authority contained in subsection (h).

(C) Foreign currencies accruing from assistance provided under those chapters.

(D) Foreign currencies accruing or acquired under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, including foreign currencies made available to carry out section 108 and foreign currencies available for use pursuant to title III.

(E) Amounts paid to the United States on loans made to financial intermediaries pursuant to this section.

(4) ALLOCATIONS OF ASSISTANCE FOR MICRO ENTERPRISES.—At least 80 percent of the funds described in paragraph (3) which are made available under this section each fiscal year shall be used in support of micro enter-

prises. Of the funds used pursuant to this paragraph—

(A) to the maximum extent practicable, at least 50 percent shall be used in support of micro enterprises with 4 or fewer workers, with special emphasis on 1 or 2 person enterprises; and

(B) at least 80 percent shall be used for loans to micro enterprises, to the maximum extent practicable in an amount of $300 or less or, in the case of an initial loan, of $150 or less.

(5) ALLOCATIONS OF ASSISTANCE FOR SMALL ENTERPRISES.—At least 50 percent of the funds described in paragraph (3) which are made available under this section each fiscal year in support of small enterprises shall be used in support of small enterprises with 10 or fewer workers.

(g) APPLICABLE AUTHORITIES.—Except as provided in this section, assistance provided pursuant to this section shall be provided in accordance with the relevant authorities contained in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 or the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954.

(h) AUTHORITY TO GENERATE FOREIGN CURRENCIES.—In order to generate foreign currencies which can be made available to financial intermediaries pursuant to this section, the Administrator is authorized to use funds made available to carry out chapter 1 of part I, chapter 7 of part I, and chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide assistance to the governments of developing countries on a loan basis repayable in foreign currencies, at a rate of exchange to be negotiated by the Administrator and the foreign government. Such loans shall have a rate of interest and a repayment period determined by the Administrator.

(i) FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT ASSISTANCE TO INTERMEDIARIES.—

(1) TERMS.—Loans and grants made to financial intermediaries for the purposes of this section with funds described in subsections (f)(3)(A), (B), and (C), or with amounts made available pursuant to paragraph (2) of this subsection, shall be on such terms and conditions as are determined by the Administrator and the intermediary.

(2) USE OF LOAN PROCEEDS.—Amounts paid to the United States on loans under this section with funds described in subsections (f)(3)(A), (B), and (C) or with amounts used pursuant to this paragraph shall, as determined by the Administrator, be available for use for assistance pursuant to this section.

(j) APPLICATION OF CERTAIN LAWS.—Section 122 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shall not apply with respect to loans pursuant to subsections (h) or (i). Funds described in subsection (f)(3)(B) and (C) or subsection (i)(2) which are received by the United States pursuant to this section shall not be subject to the requirements of section 1306 of title 31, United States Code, or other laws governing the use of foreign currencies accruing to the United States. New budget authority provided by this section may be exercised only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts.

(k) TERMS OF FOREIGN CURRENCY ASSISTANCE UNDER PUBLIC LAW 480.—Funds described in subsection (f)(3)(D), or in the second sentence of this subsection, which are made available to financial intermediaries pursuant to this section may be provided on a grant or loan basis, notwithstanding any provision of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. Any foreign currencies under that Act which are repaid by financial intermediaries under this section shall be available to and used by the Administrator to make available assistance for the purposes of this section. Section 108(d) of that Act shall not apply to the use of such currencies. Section 103(m) of that Act shall not apply to agreements entered into under section 108 of that Act for purposes of this section.

(l) NOTICE TO CONGRESS.—At least 15 days before making funds described in subsection (f)(3) available to a financial intermediary under this section, the Administrator shall notify the Congress in accordance with the procedures applicable to reprogrammings under section 634A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

(m) INITIAL REPORT.—Not later than January 1, 1988, the Administrator shall submit to the Congress a report setting forth the manner in which this section will be implemented.

(n) ANNUAL REPORTS.—Not later than February 1, 1989, and each year thereafter, the Administrator shall submit a report to the Congress describing the implementation of this section. The report shall include—

(1) a description of the activities funded under this section during the previous fiscal year and the amount of funds described in each subparagraph of subsection (f)(3) which were provided for such activities; and

(2) recommendations for procedural or statutory changes which would facilitate the implementation of this section.

(o) ECONOMIC POLICIES.—In policy dialogues concerning economic policies with, and efforts to reform economic policies of, countries receiving assistance under part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the Administrator shall encourage economic policies which promote micro and small enterprises.

(p) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

(1) the term "Administrator" means the administrator of the agency primarily responsible for administering part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

(2) the term "micro enterprises" means enterprises which are single or family proprietorships, small-group enterprises, or cooperatives, which generally have 7 or fewer workers, which are wholly owned by the poor majority in the developing country, and which often lack access to credit at reasonable cost;

(3) the term "small enterprises" means enterprises which are single or family proprietorships, small-group enterprises, or cooperatives, which generally have between 8 and 15 workers, which are wholly owned by the poor majority in the developing country, and which often lack access to credit at reasonable cost;

(4) the term "financial intermediary" has the same meaning as is given that term in section 108(i)(2) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954; and

(5) the term "absolute poverty" refers to those people who lack access to assets sufficient to permit them to provide for their basic human needs.

Page 62, after line 7, insert the following:

SEC. 317. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO PROTECT BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY.

(a) FINDING.—The Congress finds that habitat destruction is a main cause of the accelerating extinction of animal and plant species and that increased international cooperation is essential to protect species threatened with extinction and to halt the loss of unique and irreplaceable ecosystems.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICIES.—The Congress—

(1) supports the United States efforts, consistent with section 119(g) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, to initiate discussions to develop an international agreement to preserve biological diversity; and

(2) calls upon the President to exert United States leadership in order to achieve the earliest possible negotiation of an international convention to conserve the earth's biological diversity, including the protection of a representative system of ecosystems adequate to conserve biological diversity.

(c) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall submit a report to the Congress on progress toward the goal of negotiating such an international convention.

Page 59, line 3, after "universities," insert "colleges and universities having a student body in which more than 40 percent of the students are Hispanic".

On page 58, after line 15, insert the following new section:

SEC. . AIDS EDUCATION.

Section 104 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(H) AIDS EDUCATION.—As part of providing population assistance under this act, the President shall require that all individuals who ultimately receive family planning assistance are fully informed as to the risks of infection with human immunodeficiency virus through sexual activity. A grant may be made under this act for population assistance only upon assurance satisfactory to the President that the recipient of the grant will, prior to providing to any individual any such assistance, inform the individual—

"(1) of the effectiveness of the particular contraceptive method provided to the individual by the recipient as a method to prevent infection with the human immunodeficiency virus and a comparison of such effectiveness with the effectiveness of sexual abstinence outside a sexually monogomus marriage.

"(2) that many individuals who are infected with the human immunodeficiency virus will develop acquired immunodeficiency syndrome, which is a fatal disease; and

"(3) that the most effective way to avoid becoming infected with the human immunodeficiency virus is to abstain from homosexual relations, from heterosexual relations outside of marriage, and from the intravenous use of illegal drugs.".

Page 42, strike out line 17 and all that follows through line 4 on page 43 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(i)(1) For each fiscal year, funds in an amount not less than the percentage specified in paragraph (2) of the aggregate amount appropriated for that fiscal year to carry out sections 103, 104(b), 104(c)(1), 104(c)(2), 105, 106, 472, and 491 of this Act shall be made available for the activities of private and voluntary organizations; and the President shall seek to channel funds in an amount not less than 25 percent of such aggregate amount for the activities of private and voluntary organizations. Funds made available under chapter 4 of part II of this Act for the activities of private and voluntary organizations and cooperatives may be considered in determining compliance with the requirements of this subsections.

"(2) The minimum percentages under this subsection are as follows:

"(A) 15 percent for each of fiscal years 1988, 1989, and 1990.

"(B) 15.5 percent for fiscal year 1991.

"(C) 16 percent for fiscal year 1992 and each fiscal year thereafter.".

Page 43, strike out lines 8 through 19 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(j)(1) Funds made available to carry out this part many not be made available to any United States private not voluntary organization (other than a cooperative development organization) which obtains less than the percentages specified in paragraph (2) of its total annual funding for international activities from sources other than the United States Government. In calculating the amount of Government support received by an organization, there shall be excluded the value of commodities (and related transportation) made available for overseas distribution and the value of contracts for services, grants, and other activities initiated primarily by the agency primarily responsible for administering this part.

"(2) The minimum percentages under this subsection shall be 20 percent for each of the fiscal years 1988 through 1991 and shall be 30 percent for fiscal year 1992 and each fiscal year thereafter.

"(3) The Administrator of the agency primarily responsible for administering this part may, on a case-by-case basis, waive the restriction established by this subsection, after taking into account the effectiveness of the overseas development activities of the organization, its level of volunteer support, its financial viability and stability, and the degree of its dependence for its financial support on the agency primarily responsible for administering this part.".

TITLE IV—OTHER ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

Page 65, after line 18, insert the following:

(d) GAO STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS RECEIVING EARMARKED FUNDS.—The Comptroller General shall conduct a study of the accounting practices, current financial reserves, and general level of efficiency and effectiveness of any international organization or agency which is the recipient of funds earmarked pursuant to subsection (a). The Comptroller General shall submit a report on the results of this study to the Congress not later than six months after the date of enactment of this Act.

TITLE V—INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL

Page 73, strike out line 18 and all that follows through page 86, line 11, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

TITLE V—INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL

SEC. 501. AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.

Section 482(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out paragraphs (1) and (3) and by inserting the following new paragraph (1) after "(a)":

"(1) To carry out the purposes of section 481, there are authorized to be appropriated to the President $98,750,000 for fiscal year 1988 and $98,750,000 for fiscal year 1989.".

SEC. 502. DEVELOPMENT OF HERBICIDES FOR AERIAL COCA ERADICATION.

The Secretary of State shall use not less than $500,000 of the funds made available for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 to carry out chapter 8 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to international narcotics control) to finance research on and the development and testing of safe and effective herbicides for use in the aerial eradication of coca.

SEC. 503. PROCUREMENT OF WEAPONS TO DEFEND AIRCRAFT INVOLVED IN NARCOTICS CONTROL EFFORTS.

(a) EARMARKING OF MAP FUNDS.—Of the funds available to carry out chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to grant military assistance), $900,000 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 shall be made available to arms, for defensive purposes, aircraft used in narcotic control eradication or interdiction efforts. These funds may only be used to arm aircraft already in the inventory of the recipient country, and may not be used for the purpose of new aircraft.

(b) NOTIFICATION TO CONGRESS.—The Committee on Foreigns Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate shall be notified of the use of any such funds for that purpose at least 15 days in advance in accordance with the reprogramming procedures applicable under section 634A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

SEC. 504. PILOT AND AIRCRAFT MAINTENANCE TRAINING FOR NARCOTICS CONTROL ACTIVITIES.

(a) EARMARKING OF FUNDS.—Not less than $2,000,000 of the funds made available for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 to carry out chapter 5 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act (relating to international military education and training) shall be available only for—

(1) education and training in the operation and maintenance of equipment used in narcotics control interdiction and eradication efforts for countries in Latin America and the Caribbean; and

(2) the expenses of deploying, upon the request of the government of a foreign country, Department of Defense mobile training teams in that foreign country to conduct training in military-related individual and collective skills that will enhance that country's ability to conduct tactical operations in narcotics interdiction.

(b) RELATIONSHIP TO INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.—Assistance under this section shall be coordinated with assistance provided under chapter 8 of part I of that Act (relating to international narcotics control).

(c) WAIVER OF SECTION 660.—Assistance may be provided pursuant to this section not withstanding the prohibition contained in section 660 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to police training).

SEC. 505. REALLOCATION OF FUNDS WITHHELD FROM COUNTRIES WHICH FAIL TO TAKE ADEQUATE STEPS TO HALT ILLICIT DRUG PRODUCTION OR TRAFFICKING.

(a) REQUIREMENT TO REALLOCATE.—Chapter 8 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"SEC. 486. REALLOCATION OF FUNDS WITHHELD FROM COUNTRIES WHICH FAIL TO TAKE ADEQUATE STEPS TO HALT ILLICIT DRUG PRODUCTION OR TRAFFICKING.

"(a) ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR COUNTRIES TAKING SIGNIFICANT STEPS.—If any funds authorized to be appropriated for any fiscal year for security assistance are not used for assistance for the country for which those funds were allocated because of the requirements of section 481(h) or any other provision of law requiring the withholding of assistance for countries that have not taken adequate steps to halt illicit drug production or trafficking, the President shall use those funds for additional assistance for those countries which have met their illicit drug eradiction targets or have otherwise taken significant steps to halt illicit drug production or trafficking, as follows:

"(1) INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL ASSISTANCE.—Those funds may be transferred to and consolidated with the funds appropriated to carry out this chapter in order to provide additional narcotics control assistance for those countries. Funds transferred under this paragraph may only be used to provide increased funding for activities previously justified to the Congress. Transfers may be made under this paragraph without regard to the 20-percent increase limitation contained in section 610(a). This paragraph does not apply with respect to funds made available for assistance under the Arms Export Control Act.

(2) SECURITY ASSISTANCE.—Any such funds not used under paragraph (1) shall be reprogrammed within the account for which they were appropriated (subject to the regular reprogramming procedures under section 634(A) in order to provide additional security assistance for those countries.

"(b) DEFINITION OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE.—As used in this section, the term 'security assistance' means assistance under chapter 2 of part II of this Act (relating to the military assistance program), chapter 4 of part II of this Act (relating to the Economic Support Fund), chapter 5 of part II of this Act (relating to international military education and training), or the Arms Export Control Act (relating to foreign military sales credits).".

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) does not apply with respect to funds appropriated prior to the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 506. WAIVER FOR RESTRICTIONS ON UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE FOR CERTAIN MAJOR DRUG-TRANSIT COUNTRIES.

Section 481(h) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shall not apply with respect to a major drug-transit country for the fiscal year 1988 or fiscal year 1989 if the President certifies to the Congress, during that fiscal year, that—

(1) section 481(i)(5)(C) of that Act (relating to money laundering) does not apply to that country;

(2) the country previously was a major illicit drug producing country but, during each of the preceding two years, has effectively eliminated illicit drug production; and

(3) the country is cooperating fully with the United States, or has taken adequate steps on its own, in preventing narcotic and psychotropic drugs and other controlled substances transported through such country from being sold illegally within the jurisdiction of such country to United States Government personnel or their dependents or from being transported, directly or indirectly, into the United States.

SEC. 507. REPORTS AND RESTRICTIONS CONCERNING CERTAIN COUNTRIES.

Section 2013 of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), by striking out "Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of this Act and every 6 months thereafter," and inserting in lieu thereof "As part of each report required by section 481(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961,"; and

(2) in subsection (b), before "unless" insert "during the one year period beginning on the date on which the report in which it was listed was submitted to the Congress".

SEC. 508. UNITED STATES RELIANCE ON LICIT OPIUM GUM FROM FOREIGN SOURCES.

(a) REVIEW.—The president shall conduct a review of United States narcotics raw material policy to determine—

(1) the current and reserve international needs for opium-derived pharmaceutical and chemical products, and the relative capabilities for meeting those needs through the opium gum process and the concentrated poppy straw method of production;

(2) whether the United States should continue to rely on a single foreign country for all its licit opium gum;

(3) whether it should be United States policy to encourage all countries which produce licit opium to use the concentrated poppy straw method of production; and

(4) what options are available, consistent with teaties to which the United States is a party, to reduce United States reliance on licit opium gum from foreign sources.

The results of this review shall be reported to the Congress by October 1, 1988.

(b) SECTION 481(h) CERTIFICATIONS WITH RESPECT TO INDIA.—For fiscal years 1988 and 1989, the President may make a certification with respect to India under section 481(h)(2)(A)(i) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 only if the President determines that the Government of India has taken steps to prevent significant diversion of its licit opium cultivation and production into the illicit market, to reduce its licit opium stockpile, and to eliminate illicit opium cultivation and production. If that certification is made, the President shall include with that certification a detailed report on what steps were taken and an estimate of the amount of licit opium still being diverted to the illicit market.

SEC. 509. ASSISTANCE FOR BOLIVIA.

(a) CONDITIONS ON FISCAL YEAR 1988 ASSISTANCE.—

(1) SECURITY ASSISTANCE.—For fiscal year 1988, assistance may be provided for Bolivia under chapter 2 (relating to grant military assistance), chapter 4 (relating to the economic support fund), and chapter 5 (relating to international military education and training) of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and under chapter 2 of the Arms Export Control Act (relating to foreign military sales financing) only if the President certifies to the Congress that the Government of Bolivia has enacted legislation that will—

(A) establish its legal coca requirements.

(B) provide for the licensing of the number of hectares necessary to produce the legal requirement,

(C) make unlicensed cocoa production illegal, and

(D) make possession and distribution of coca leaf illegal (other than for licit purposes).

(2) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENT FOR ESF.—In addition, funds may be obligated for assistance for Bolivia for fiscal year 1988 under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 only if the Secretary of State has submitted to the Congress a plan for conditioning the expenditure of those funds on the Government of Bolivia meeting specific coca eradication targets.

(3) SECTION 481 CERTIFICATION.—For fiscal year 1988, the President may make a certification with respect to Bolivia under clause (i) of section 481(h)(2)(A) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 only if the Government of Bolivia has entered into the narcotics cooperation agreement with the United States specified in section 611(2)(B) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985.

(4) RELATION TO OTHER REQUIREMENTS.—The requirements of this subsection are in addition to the requirements contained in section 481(h) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and other applicable provisions of law.

(b) CONDITIONS ON FISCAL YEAR 1989 ASSISTANCE.—

(1) SECTION 481 CERTIFICATION.—For fiscal year 1989, the President may make a certification with respect to Bolivia under clause (i) or (ii) of section 481(h)(2)(A) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 only if the Government of Bolivia—

(A) has entered into the narcotics cooperation agreement with the United States specified in section 611(2)(B) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985;

(B) has fully achieved the eradication targets contained in that agreement; and

(C) has begun a program of forced eradication of illicit coca cultivation.

(2) NONWAIVABILITY.—The authorities contained in section 614 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 may not be used to waive the requirements of this subsection, and may not be used to waive the requirements of section 481(h) of that Act for fiscal year 1989 with respect to Bolivia.

(c) DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE.—For fiscal years 1988 and 1989, the project agreement document for any project carried out in Bolivia pursuant to chapter I of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance) shall contain a clause requiring that project activities be suspended if the Government of Bolivia fails to keep project areas free of illicit coca cultivation.

SEC. 510. ASSISTANCE FOR PERU.

(a) DETERMINATIONS REGARDING NARCOTICS CONTROL COOPERATION.—In making determinations with respect to Peru pursuant to section 481(h)(2)(A)(i) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, the President shall give foremost consideration to whether the Government of Peru made substantial progress in meeting its coca eradication targets during the previous year.

(b) UPPER HUALLAGA VALLEY PROJECT.—Funds authorized to be appropriated for fiscal years 1988 and 1989 to carry out chapter 1 of part I of that Act (relating to development assistance) may be made available for the project of the Agency for International Development in the Upper Huallaga Valley of Peru only if, before obligating funds for that fiscal year, the Administrator of that Agency determines, and reports to the Congress, that such project continues to be effective in reducing and eradicating coca leaf production, distribution, and marketing in the Upper Huallaga Valley.

SEC. 511. ASSISTANCE FOR MEXICO.

(a) LIMITATION ON ASSISTANCE.—Of the amounts made available for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 to carry out chapter 8 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to international narcotics control), not more than $15,000,000 may be made available for Mexico.

(b) PROSECUTION OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TORTURE AND MURDER OF DEA AGENTS.—Of the funds allocated for assistance for Mexico for each of those fiscal years under that chapter, $1,000,000 shall be withheld from expenditure until the President reports to the Congress that the Government of Mexico—

(1) has fully investigated the 1985 murders of Drug Enforcement Administration agent Enrique Camarena Salazar and his pilot Alfredo Zavala Avelar;

(2) has fully investigated the 1986 detention and torture of Drug Enforcement Administration agent Victor Cortez, Junior, and

(3) has brought to trial and is effectively prosecuting those responsible for those murders and those responsible for that detention and torture.

SEC. 512. COOPERATIVE NONMAJOR DRUG-TRANSIT COUNTRIES.

(a) GREATER ATTENTION.—The Congress urges the Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics Matters to give greater attention, and provide more narcotics control assistance to those countries which are drug-transit countries but are not major drug-transit countries (as defined in section 481(i)(5) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961) and which are cooperating with the United States in its international narcotics control efforts.

(b) EARMARKING OF ASSISTANCE.—Of the amounts made available for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 to carry out chapter 8 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to international narcotics control), not less than $1,000,000 shall be available only for assistance to countries described in subsection (a).

SEC. 513. INCREASED FUNDING FOR AID DRUG EDUCATION PROGRAMS.

In addition to amounts otherwise authorized to be appropriated, there are authorized to be appropriated to the President $1,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 to carry out chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance), which amount shall be used pursuant to section 126(b)(2) of that Act for additional activities aimed at increasing awareness of the effect of production and trafficking of illicit narcotics on source and transit countries.

SEC. 514. DEVELOPMENT OF MODEL TREATIES AND COMPREHENSIVE ANTIDRUG LAWS.

The Secretary of State and the Attorney General shall jointly develop a model extradition treaty with respect to narcotics-related violations (including extradition of host country nationals), a model mutual legal assistance treaty, and model comprehensive antinarcotics legislation. The Secretary of State shall distribute such treaties and legislation to each United States mission abroad. The Secretary of State shall report to the Congress, not later than six months after the date of enactment of this Act, on actions taken to carry out this section.

SEC. 515. REPORTING ON TRANSFER OF U.S. ASSETS.

Any transfer by the United States Government to a foreign country for narcotics control purposes of any property seized by or otherwise forfeited to the United States Government in connection with narcotics related criminal activity shall be subject to the regular reprogramming procedures applicable under section 634A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. At the end of each fiscal year, the President shall submit a report to the Congress of all such transfers during that fiscal year, including an estimate of the fair market value and physical condition of each item of property transferred.

SEC. 516. ESTABLISHMENT OF A LATIN AMERICAN REGIONAL ANTINARCOTICS POLICE FORCE.

The President shall direct the United States representative to the Organization of

American States to seek the views of other member nations on the feasibility of establishing a regional Latin American anti-narcotics force.

SEC. 517. ESTABLISHMENT OF A REGIONAL ANTI-NARCOTICS TRAINING CENTER IN THE CARIBBEAN.

It is the sense of the Congress that the Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics Matters should seek the establishment of, and should contribute funds or other resources to, a regional anti-narcotics training center in the Caribbean, and should seek such contributions from other countries for such a center.

SEC. 518. IMPORTANCE OF SUPPRESSING INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING.

Section 481(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by redesignating subparagraphs (B) through (D) as subparagraphs (C) through (E), respectively; and

(2) by inserting after subparagraph (A) the following:

"(B) suppression of international narcotics trafficking is among the most important foreign policy objectives of the United States,".

SEC. 519. INFORMATION FROM OTHER AGENCIES IN ANNUAL NARCOTICS CONTROL REPORTS.

Section 481(e)(3) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding after subparagraph (D) the following:

"(E) A section prepared by the Drug Enforcement Administration, a section prepared by the Customs Service, and a section prepared by the Coast Guard, which describes in detail—

"(i) the assistance provided or to be provided (as the case may be) to such country by that agency, and

"(ii) the assistance provided or to be provided (as the case may be) to that agency by such country, with respect to narcotic control efforts during the preceding fiscal year, the current fiscal year, and the next fiscal year.".

SEC. 520. EXPRESSION IN NUMERICAL TERMS OF MAXIMUM ACHIEVABLE REDUCTIONS IN ILLICIT DRUG PRODUCTION.

Section 481(e)(4) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting after the second sentence the following: "Each determination of the President under the preceding sentence shall be expressed in numerical terms, such as the number of acres of illicitly cultivated controlled substances which can be eradicated.".

SEC. 521. REPORTS ON ASSISTANCE DENIED.

Section 481(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(7) Each report pursuant to this subsection shall describe the United States assistance for the preceding fiscal year which was denied, pursuant to subsection (h), to each major illicit drug producing country and each major drug-transit country.".

TITLE VI—EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Page 94, after line 21, insert the following:

(d) FUNDS FOR UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTIONS.—It is the sense of the Congress that a priority use of any funds—

(1) which are made available for fiscal year 1988 or fiscal year 1989 to carry out chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance) or chapter 4 of part II of that Act (relating to the economic support fund), and

(2) which are unobligated at the end of that fiscal year and would otherwise be returned to the Treasury.

should be the furnishing of assistance to Jordan or United States private and voluntary organizations to support the West Bank and Gaza development initiative.

Page 109, after line 8, insert the following:

SEC. 617. SYRIAN SPONSORSHIP AND SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) a terrorist operating on behalf of Syrian intelligence was convicted in London of attempting to bomb a civilian airliner in November 1986, prompting the withdrawal of the United States Ambassador to Syria and the imposition of certain sanctions;

(2) the terrorist group Saiqa is under Syrian direction, receives training from the Syrian army, and is believed to be responsible for a number of bombings in Western Europe, including the 1979 bombing of a synagogue in Vienna;

(3) while the offices of the Abu Nidal terrorist group have been expelled from Damascus, the group continues to maintain training bases in the Syrian-occupied Bekaa valley;

(4) the terrorists responsible for the April 1986 bombing of Americans in West Berlin admit to receiving explosives from the Syrian embassy in West Berlin;

(5) the Abu Moussa faction of the PLO maintains offices in Damascus, trains terrorists in Syria, receives instructions from Syrian intelligence officers, and received Syrian diplomatic support in an attempt to destroy a commercial airliner in Madrid in June 1986;

(6) the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, led by George Habash, maintains terrorist forces in Syria, and has claimed responsibility for numerous attacks on Israeli civilians and assassinations of Arab mayors on the West Bank;

(7) the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine maintains offices in Damascus and training camps in Syria; and

(8) the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) and the Kurdish Worker's Party (PKK) have received support from Syria for attacks against Turkish civilians.

(b) REPORT.—Not later than 120 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit a report on the nature and extent of Syrian financial, political, and training support of terrorist groups. This report shall be unclassified, with a classified annex if necessary.

(c) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United States should not rescind any of the sanctions currently in force against Syria until Syria expels all terrorist groups operating against the United States and its allies and ceases to support or allow terrorist bases on her territory; and

(2) the President should resume his request to United States corporations that, in the national interest, they voluntarily suspend operations in Syria, and United States corporations should resume their voluntary compliance with that request.

(d) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions referred to in paragraph (1) of subsection (c) are those economic and diplomatic measures that were taken with respect to Syria on November 14, 1986, and which were in effect on November 1, 1987, and include the expansion of export controls on all national security controlled items, termination of Export-Import Bank credits, termination of insurance from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, withdrawal of the offered export enhancement program, the prohibition on the sale of Syrian Arab Airline tickets, notice of termination of the International Air Transport Agreement between the United States and Syria, reduction in the staffs of the Syrian embassy in Washington and the United States embassy in Syria, increased restrictions on visas, and restrictions on high level visits.

Page 109, after line 8, insert the following:

SEC. 618. HUMAN RIGHTS IN BULGARIA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is a signatory to the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which calls upon the signatory states to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, and belief;

(2) The Bulgarian constitution provides for certain basic rights, including free speech and press, association and demonstration, and freedom of worship;

(3) in late 1984 and early 1985, over 900,000 members of the Turkish minority were forcibly compelled to change their Turkish names to new Bulgarian names, and Bulgarian authorities imprisoned ethnic Turks for their nonviolent opposition to the name change; and

(4) the continuing repression of the Turkish minority includes the ban on the use of the Turkish language by the Turkish minority in public, the prohibition of Turkish customs, and the circumscribing of Muslim religious practices.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the Bulgarian Government should abide by its commitments under the Fnal Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and

(2) the President, the Secretary of State, and the United States delegation to the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should continue—

(A) to speak out forcefully against violations of human rights in Bulgaria, including the Bulgarian Government's treatment of the Turkish minority, and

(B) to use all diplomatic means to resolve outstanding human rights problems in Bulgaria.

Page 109, after line 8, insert the following:

SEC. 610. HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) emigration rates from Romania to the United States have increased from 1,422 last year to 1,932 as of October 1, 1987;

(2) longstanding prisoner of conscience cases were successfully resolved during the summer of 1987, namely the cases of Ioan Ruta, and Erno Borbely, Laszio Buza, and Bela Pall;

(3) all such improvements in Romania are to be welcomed;

(4) in spite of these improvements, a number of United States-Romanian divided families cases, such as the case of Napoleon Fodor, remain unresolved;

(5) human contacts continue to be hindered by laws and decrees such as decree number 408 which prohibits Romanian citizens from communicating with foreigners; and

(6) among the rights that Romania has failed to respect are the rights of religious groups and ethnic minorities.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the United States should seek improved compliance by the Romanian Government with its human rights obligations

under the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

(2) the United States should express concern for the fate of Romanians who have not yet received permission to emigrate and who may be harassed and persecuted for their attempts to emigrate; and

(3) the Secretary of State and other executive branch officials should take every opportunity to encourage the Romanian Government to live up to its obligations under the Helsinki Final Act and other international instruments, including at the ongoing Vienna review meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Page 109, after line 8, insert the following:

SEC. 620. PLIGHT OF JEWS IN ARAB COUNTRIES.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) many Jews presently living in Israel and the Diaspora are originally from Morocco, Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Libya, Lebanon, and the other countries in the Middle East and North Africa representing the proud heritage of oriental Jewry;

(2) the number of Jews who are still citizens of these countries has dropped drastically, as can be seen when comparing 1948 to 1984; Syria, 45,000 versus 4,500; Morocco, 40,000 versus 17,000; Iraq, 125,000 versus fewer than 300; and Libya, 40,000 versus none;

(3) these numbers demonstrate that thriving Jewish cultures and communities, each unique, each historic, each contributing substantially to the enrichment of their respective countries, have been decimated; and

(4) several incidents, including the execution of the leader of the Lebanese Jewish community, the tightening of the noose by the Syrian government around the necks of its Jewish citizenry, and the shooting and stabbing of a pregnant Jewish woman and her two young children by unknown assailants in the Syrian town of Aleppo, remind us that, with the notable exceptions of Morrocco and Tunisia, those Jews remaining in Arab countries continue to suffer deprivations, degredations, and hardships, and continue to live in peril.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the sense of the Congress that the United States Government should—

(1) call upon the governments of those Arab countries where Jews still maintain a presence to guarantee their Jewish citizens full civil and human rights, including the right to lead full Jewish lives free of fear and to emigrate if they so choose;

(2) specifically urge the Government of Syria to half its intolerable policy of holding its Jewish citizenry hostage through harassment and intimidation and to allow them to emigrate; and

(3) commend countries such as Morocco and Tunisia for their tolerant treatment of their Jewish minorities and for protection they have provided against attack from the Moslem majorities.

On page 107, between lines 14 and 15, insert the following:

"(c) ASSISTANCE IN SUPPORT OF SOLIDARITY.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, of the amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund) for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, not less than $1,000,000 shall be available only for the unconditional support of the independent Polish trade union "Solidarity"."

In lieu of the matter proposed to be added to the bill by the Dornan amendment, insert the following:

(c) SUPPORT FOR SOLIDARITY.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) Solidarity deserves special praise and recognition as the only free and independent trade union in Poland;

(2) Solidarity reflects the Polish people's desire for free and democratic institutions and activities; and

(3) Solidarity is one of the leading democratic representatives of the Polish working people.

(d) ASSISTANCE IN SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY IN POLAND.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, of the amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund) for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, not less than $1,000,000 shall be available only for the unconditional support of democratic institutions and activities in Poland.

TITLE VII—WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Page 121, after line 25, insert the following:

SEC. 713. ECONOMIC GROWTH IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) Central America is a region of great economic potential, which has significant natural resources, favorable location, and people justly celebrated for their intelligence, courage, vitality, generosity, and sense of personal honor;

(2) ultimately genuine democracy can only be rooted in the full economic growth and development of Central America's regional economy;

(3) this economic growth must be the product of Central American initiated economic reforms such as deregulating overly controlled economies, privatizing government owned corporations, offering a legal environment conducive to foreign investment, stabilizing regional currencies and possibly introducing a regional trade currency, and lowering high marginal income tax rates, creating efficient capital markets;

(4) the expansion of trade is essential to the economic success of Central America and this will require a more complete integration of the individual economies in the region;

(5) there is a crucial need within Central America for millions of Central Americans to become economic participants in their national patrimony;

(6) proposals for greater economic expansion must always be supplemented with policies to encourage development at the grassroots;

(7) additional emphasis should be placed on the creation of genuine local self-government, exercised in communities having their own independent revenue base, because free political parties, labor unions, solidarity associations, universities and research institutions, newspapers, fraternal organizations, and churches are essential to a fully functioning democracy; and

(8) no program for advancing the prosperity of the people of Central America can have any real chance of success until the people of the free democratic countries of the region can feel confident that they are secure against invasion and antidemocratic insurrection.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is, therefore, the sense of the Congress that economic growth, development, and prosperity is possible in Central America if appropriate free market reforms are initiated and undertaken by the Central American nations themselves and these reforms are supported by the Western, free market democracies.

Page 121, add the following after line 25:

SEC. 714. RELATIONS WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN EL SALVADOR

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the Congress has, sometimes reluctantly, supported massive flows of assistance to El Salvador in the hope that all elements of Salvadoran society would eventually work together for peace, social justice, and more equitable economic development; and

(2) United States fiscal resources, particularly for foreign assistance, currently are extremely limited and are likely to be restricted in the future to those programs which demonstrate positive returns.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the Government of El Salvador, the business community (including the small business community), the free labor unions, and all other potentially constructive groups should begin a new dialogue for nation building in El Salvador.

(2) none of the these elements can be excluded from the national dialogue; and

(3) the Government of El Salvador and the private sector must abandon the distrust and antagonism that have characterized their relations in the past and must move forward in a cooperative and constructive manner to resolve the problems that threaten to undermine the democratic processes now underway in that country.

Page 123, after line 12, insert the following new section 723 (and redesignate subsequent sections accordingly):

SEC. 723. POLICY REGARDING CHILE.

It is the sense of the Congress that the Government of Chile should end its oppression of trade unions, opposition political parties, and freedom of expression. As the free and open expression of divergent views is essential for a free and open democratic society, the Congress especially condemns the recent actions by the Chilean Government which censor the expression of political views in that country's press. Congress calls upon the Government of Chile to rescind such laws and embark on a program of democratization.

Page 124, line 14, strike out "$16,000,000 for fiscal year 1989" and insert in lieu thereof "$20,000,000 for fiscal year 1989".

Page 145, insert the following after line 18:

SEC. 766. ASSISTANCE TO NICARAGUA BY OTHER COUNTRIES.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) President Arias of Costa Rica proposed, and on August 7, 1987, the Presidents of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua signed, an historic agreement to bring peace to Central America; and

(2) the peace plan in that agreement calls for ceasefires, amnesties, dialogue, democratic processes, and the reduction of military forces.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that unless and until—

(1) the Nicaraguan Government is in full compliance with its obligations under the Central American Peace Agreement signed in Guatemala City on August 7, 1987, and

(2) democratic institutions are established in Nicaragua which result in broad respect for fundamental human rights of all citizens of that country.

the Governments of the countries of Western Europe should not provide any direct as-

sistance to the Government of Nicaragua. Any assistance to the Nicaraguan people should be limited to aid provided through organizations which are not under the direct or indirect control of the Government of Nicaragua.

Page 124, after line 20, insert the following:

(a) POLICY DECLARATIONS WITH REGARD TO HAITI.—

(1) FAILURE OF NATIONAL GOVERNING COUNCIL TO SUPPORT TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY.—The United States condemns the failure of the National Governing Council of Haiti to fulfill its pledge to the Haitian people, to the United States, and to the international community to support a transition to democracy in accordance with the provisions of the constitution overwhelmingly approved by the Haitian people on March 29, 1987.

(2) FAILURE OF NATIONAL GOVERNING COUNCIL TO PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS.—The United States condemns the National Governing Council of Haiti for its failure to provide security and protection for the internationally recognized human rights of the people of Haiti, to abide by international law with respect to human rights, and to provide adequate protection for diplomats as required by international law.

(3) POLICY REGARDING UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE.—It shall be the policy of the United States to suspend all assistance to Haiti (other than the types of assistance described in subsection (c)(3)) unless the democratic process set forth in the Haitian Constitution approved by the Haitian people on March 29, 1987, especially those provisions relating to the Provisional Electoral Council, is being fully and faithfully adhered to by the Government of Haiti.

(b) ACTIONS BY THE UNITED STATES TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY IN HAITI.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The President shall take such steps consistent with otherwise applicable law, as the President deems appropriate—

(A) to encourage full respect for human rights in Haiti;

(B) to promote the Haitian Government's prompt adherence to the commitments it has made to the international community to hold free and fair elections and to respect human rights; and

(C) to assist the people of Haiti in securing a transition to a democratic form of government.

(2) SPECIFIC ACTIONS.—The Congress urges the President to take the following actions, by exercising existing authorities, to achieve the objectives specified in paragraph (1):

(A) Use the vote and influence of the United States to halt or discourage the provision of any assistance to Haiti by international financial institutions, international organizations, and other governments (other assistance of the types described in subsection (c)(3)).

(B) Undertake diplomatic initiatives to secure international cooperation to maximize diplomatic and economic pressure on Haiti.

(C) Immediately suspend Haiti's eligibility for benefits under the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act.

(D) Furnish assistance to the news media in Haiti to assure freedom of speech and freedom of the press for the Haitian people.

(E) Furnish such assistance (including funding) as the President considers appropriate to—

(i) private and voluntary organizations and nongovernmental organizations:

(ii) foreign governments, including an entity recognized as the legitimate government of Haiti in accordance with subparagraph (G); and

(iii) international organizations.

Assistance under this subparagraph could include United States participation in international peacekeeping activities. It is the sense of the Congress that should the United States consider participation in peacekeeping activities in Haiti, the United States should undertake such activities jointly with other countries and only if the United States has clear indications, based on consultations with entities broadly representative of the Haitian people, that such activities would have the support of the Haitian people.

(F) Sever diplomatic relations with the National Governing Council of Haiti.

(G) Recognize an alternative entity, which is committed to a prompt transition to democracy, as the legitimate government of Haiti.

(H) Impose an arms embargo, impose trade and financial sanctions (under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act), and seek international cooperation for the imposition multilaterally of an arms embargo and trade and financial sanctions against the Government of Haiti.

(3) DENIAL OF VISAS.—In addition, in order to achieve the objectives specified in paragraph (1), the President is authorized and urged to deny visas to, and exclude from admission to the United States, aliens—

(A) who have been involved in the denial of human rights in Haiti or in activities designed to impair Haiti's transition to democracy, or

(B) who are the immediate members of the family and the associates of aliens described in subparagraph (A).

(c) RESTRICTIONS ON ASSISTANCE FOR HAITI.—

(1) SUSPENSION OF ASSISTANCE.—Funds made available by any Act or joint resolution may not be obligated or expended to provide assistance to Haiti (other than the assistance described in paragraph (3)) unless the democratic process set forth in the Haitian Constitution approved by the Haitian people on March 29, 1987, especially those provisions relating to the Provisional Electoral Council, is being fully and faithfully adhered to by the Government of Haiti.

(2) ELECTED CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT.—After February 7, 1988, the democratic process set forth in the Haitian Constitution approved by the Haitian people on March 29, 1987, shall not be considered to have been fully and faithfully adhered to by the Government of Haiti for purposes of paragraph (1) unless—

(A) a civilian government is in office pursuant to the provisions for elections set forth in the Haitian Constitution approved on March 29, 1987; and

(B) that government was elected in elections held under the auspices of the Provisional Electoral Council, appointed pursuant to the Haitian Constitution, which was responsible for the organization and administration of the election scheduled for November 29, 1987.

(3) EXCEPTIONS TO BAN ON ASSISTANCE.—Paragraph (1) does not apply with respect to—

(A) assistance, provided through private and voluntary organizations or nongovernmental organizations, to meet humanitarian and developmental needs or to promote respect for human rights and the transition to democracy;

(B) assistance provided in order to enable the continuation of migrant and narcotics interdiction operations; or

(C) assistance authorized by subsection (d).

(d) ASSISTANCE FOR ELECTIONS IN HAITI.—

(1) AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE.—The President is authorized to provide such logistical, technical, and financial assistance through such departments and agencies of the United States Government as the President determines appropriate for purposes related to the organization and holding of elections under the auspices of the Provisional Electoral Council pursuant to the constitution approved by the Haitian people on March 29, 1987.

(2) CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW.—Not less than 15 days before providing any assistance pursuant to paragraph (1), the President shall notify the committees of the Congress specified in section 634A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 in accordance with the procedures applicable to reprogramming notifications under that section. The notification requirement of this subsection is in addition to any otherwise applicable requirements for notification to the Congress with respect to such assistance. The notification requirement of this subsection does not apply to the extent that section 501 of the National Security Act of 1947 applies with respect to the assistance to be provided.

(e) PERIODIC NOTIFICATION TO THE CONGRESS.—The President shall keep the Congress advised, on a regular basis, of actions taken pursuant to subsections (b), (c), and (d) and on progress made toward achieving the objectives specified in subsection (b)(1).

Page 124, line 21, strike out "(a)" and insert in lieu thereof "(f)"; page 126, line 8, before the period insert ", subject to subsection (c)"; and after line 8, insert the following:

(5) TERMINATION OF EARMARKINGS.—The requirements of this subsection that specified amounts of assistance shall be available only for Haiti shall cease to apply on February 7, 1988, unless as of that date the conditions specified in subparagraphs (A) and (B) of subsection (c)(2) have been satisfied. If assistance described in paragraph (1) or (2) of this subsection is provided for Haiti after that date, consistent with subsection (c), that assistance shall be provided subject to paragraph (3) of this subsection and, in the case of assistance under chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, shall be provided in accordance with the last two sentences of paragraph (2) of this subsection.

Page 126, line 9, strike out "(b)" and insert in lieu thereof "(g)"; line 22, after "(j)" insert "is subject to subsection (c) and"; page 127, line 4, strike out "(c)" and insert in lieu thereof "(c)(2)"; and page 129, strike out lines 16 through 22.

Page 118, strike out line 6 and all that follows through line 20 on page 120 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SEC. 710. RESTRICTIONS ON ASSISTANCE TO PANAMA.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Unless the President has certified to the Congress that—

(1) the Goverment of Panama had demonstrated substantial progress in assuring civilian control of the armed forces, and the Panama Defense Forces and its leaders have been removed from non-military activities and institutions;

(2) the Government of Panama is conducting an impartial investigation into allegations of illegal actions by members of the

Panama Defense Forces, including illicit drug-trafficking activities;

(3) freedom of the press and other constitutional guarantees, including due process of law, have been restored to the Panamanian people; and

(4) a satisfactory agreement has been reached between the governing authorities and representatives of the opposition forces on conditions for free and fair elections.

funds authorized to be appropriated by this Act may not be made available for assistance for Panama (other then the assistance described in subsection (e)), the Overseas Private Investment Corporation may not carry out programs for fiscal year 1988 or 1989 in Panama under title IV of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and letters of offer may not be issued to Panama under the Arms Controls Act during fiscal year 1988 or 1989.

(b) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1989.—Unless the President has certified to the Congress that presidential elections were held in Panama as scheduled in 1989 and were free, fair, and honest—

(1) 50 percent of the funds, which are authorized to be appropriated by this Act for each foreign assistance appropriations account for fiscal year 1989 and which are allocated for assistance for Panama (excluding funds for the assistance described in subsection (c)), shall be withheld from obligation:

(2) 50 percent of the amounts allocated by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation for programs in Panama for fiscal year 1989 shall be withheld; and

(3) letters of offer may not be issued to Panama during fiscal year 1989:

The requirements of this subsection are in addition to the requirements of subsection (a).

(c) EXCEPTIONS.—Subsections (a) and (b) do not apply with respect to—

(1) assistance under chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance) which is provided through private and voluntary organizations or other nongovernmental organizations;

(2) assistance for international narcotics control under chapter 8 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

(3) disaster relief assistance, including any assistance under chapter 9 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

(4) assistance for refugees;

(5) assistance under the Inter-American Foundation Act; and

(6) assistance necessary for the continued financing of education for Panamanians in the United States.

(d) CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.—Each certification required by this section shall be submitted in writing to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate at least 30 days before any assistance subject to this subsection is provided or any letter of offer subject to this subsection is issued, shall discuss fully and completely the justification for making the required determination, and shall describe fully the assistance proposed to be provided and the defense articles and defense services proposed to be sold, including the purposes to which the assistance or sale is directed.

(e) NONAPPLICABILITY OF OTHER CONDITIONS.—Section 761 of this Act shall not apply with respect to assistance for Panama.

Page 123, after line 6, insert the following:

SEC. 722. NONLETHAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR URUGUAY.

Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the grant military assistance program), not less than $5,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 shall be available only for use in providing nonlethal defense articles to Uruguay.

And renumber subsequent sections accordingly.

Page 121, after line 25, insert the following:

SEC. 713. JANUARY 22 MOVEMENT OF MOTHERS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN NICARAGUA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the January 22 Movement of Mothers of Political Prisoners in Nicaragua has joined forces to draw attention to the plight of relatives incarcerated for supposed violations of security laws;

(2) over 1,500 mothers of political prisoners in Nicaragua, through their strength and resolve, utilize peaceful means to dramatize human rights violations in Nicaragua, describe the Sandinista prison system as "cruel and unjust", and have sponsored assemblies which have drawn hundreds of people despite government efforts to stop the demonstrations;

(3) the participants in the January 22 Movement of Mothers of Political Prisoners risk reprisals against their families and themselves and have suffered cruel and harsh punishment for their activities, including threats, torture, detainment, and further arrest of their family members to coerce an end to their activism for justice;

(4) the January 22 Movement of Mothers of Political Prisoners demand the abolition of the highly political Anti-Somocists Tribunals (TPSs) which operate outside of the existing legal system, enjoy absolute discretion concerning the admissibility of evidence, and fail to recognize basic rights of due process;

(5) the Nicaraguan Constitution, which purports to guarantee basic individual, civil, and political rights, was suspended hours after it was promulgated and a state of emergency, which suspends basic civil rights, was implemented and is still in place; and

(6) the regional peace agreement signed by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega in Guatemala on August 7, 1987, which requires the Sandinista government to undertake immediate reforms to democratize Nicaraguan society and end the state of emergency, is consistent with the demands of the January 22 Movement of Mothers of Political Prisoners.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the January 22 Movement of Mothers of Political Prisoners should be commended for calling attention to the Sandinistas' deplorable human rights record and for demonstrating inspiring courage in working peacefully for the improvement of human rights in Nicaragua;

(2) the January 22 Movement of Mothers of Political Prisoners demonstrates the need for respect for internationally recognized human rights, including respect for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, due process of law, the restoration of individual, political, and civil rights, and the lifting of the suspension of constitutional guarantees in Nicaragua, which are required by the Guatemala regional peace agreement;

(3) the Sandinista government should comply with the demands of the January 22 Movement of Mothers of Political Prisoners and issue a decree of amnesty to all political prisoners and undertake efforts to bring about a general improvement in what has been a contemptible record in their treatment of Nicaraguan citizens;

(4) the Sandinista government should issue a total political amnesty, conduct negotiations directly with the resistance, guarantee the freedom and safety of all Nicaraguans from harassment and persecution, and grant full freedom of the press and other internationally recognized rights, which heretofore have been held in disdain by Sandinista authorities; and

(5) the Sandinista government should, in general, undertake all efforts to meet the requirements of the Guatemala regional peace agreement faithfully and completely,

TITLE VIII—AFRICA

Page 201, after line 8, insert the following:

SEC. 830. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.

(a) EARMARKING.—Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund), not less than $85,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 shall be available only for assistance for sub-Saharan Africa.

(b) AUTHORIZATION.—In order that the earmaking of funds for sub-Saharan Africa contained in subsection (a) not reduce the amount of funds authorized for other regions of the world, there is authorized to be appropriated for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989 $85,000,000 to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

SEC. 841. POLICY REGARDING TUNISIA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) friendship and mutual interests bind the United States and Tunisia, which has a long tradition of political stability, relative political openness, and economic and social progress.

(2) there was a decline in the human rights situation in Tunisia during 1986 and 1987, including government repression of opposition parties, unions, student organizations, and Islamic groups, and these developments threaten future political stability and economic and social progress; and

(3) the recent announcement by the new government of Tunisia that the Tunisian people "deserve an institutionalized and sophisticated political life based on multipartyism and diversity of grassroots organizations" is a significant and promising development, as is the new government's pledge to introduce legislation clarifying the role of political parties and the status of the press.

(b) UNITED STATES POLICY.—The United States reaffirms its strong commitment to the territorial integrity of Tunisia. It is the policy of the United States to base security assistance to Tunisia for fiscal years 1988 and 1989 on the expectation that the Government of Tunisia will take steps, in accordance with its own political tradition of openness to advance both political stability and economic and social programs.

(c) ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND.—Of the amounts made available to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, not less than $16,200,000 for fiscal year 1988 and not less than $16,200,000 for fiscal year 1989 shall be available only for Tunisia.

Page 207, strike out line 20 and all that follows through line 2 on page 208.

Page 210, after line 3, insert the following new subsection (c), and redesignate existing subsection (c) as subsection (d):

(c) HOUSE LOT PROGRAM.—

(1) AUTHORITY TO USE FUNDS; CHARACTERISTICS OF PROGRAM.—Subject to paragraph (3), not more than $13,000,000 for fiscal year 1988, and not more than $12,000,000 for fiscal year 1989, of the amounts made available for assistance for the Philippines under chapter 4 of part II of that Act may be used to assist in the implementation of a productive house lot program for the rural landless in the Philippines which has the following characteristics:

(A) The program will involve the establishment of village centers consisting of a cluster of individual house lots. These lots will normally consist of not less than 1,000 square meters. These lots will be used for a dwelling and for agricultural cultivation by an individual or family, who will have title to the lot and control over it and the production of agricultural commodities on it.

(B) Not less than half of the resources for the program will come from other resources available to the Government of the Philippines.

(C) The program will not use funds made available pursuant to this subsection for housing or electricity, water, or roadways, but will use other funds for these purposes.

(D) The funds provided pursuant to this subsection will be used to cover the cost of purchasing land for the program, for technical assistance (particularly in high value crop production), for agro-processing centers, and for related purposes in order to assist and encourage farmers in introducing high value crops in the village centers.

(2) PRIVATE VOLUNTARY GROUPS.—It is the intent of the Congress that private voluntary groups should be encouraged to become involved with the administration of any house lot program supported under this subsection.

(3) CONDITIONALLY.—Funds may be used pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection for such a productive house lot program only if, not later than the end of the 9th month of fiscal year 1988, the Government of the Philippines requests those funds for such a program and proposes an effective productive house lot program having the characteristics specified in this subsection.

Page 210, line 23, strike out "Not" and all that follows through the end of line 2 on page 211.

Page 214, after line 18, insert the following:

SEC. 911. SECURITY ASSISTANCE AND ARMS EXPORT CONTROL PREFERENCES FOR NEW ZEALAND.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the people of the United States enjoy a longstanding friendship and close association with the people of New Zealand, and not only share common democratic values, heritage, and national interests but have fought side-by-side in the two World Wars of this century as well as the Korean conflict and the Vietnam conflict, and have participated jointly in numerous multilateral peacekeeping efforts under United Nations and similar auspices;

(2) visits to New Zealand ports by United States naval vessels are a part of this historical, overall framework of military cooperation and coordination which includes many other functions of benefit to all parties to the ANZUS Treaty;

(3) the recent codification of New Zealand Government policy to deny port access to United States ships which might be nuclear powered or nuclear armed is incompatible with the "neither confirm nor deny policy" of the United States, has raised serious operational difficulties for United States naval forces in defending the national security interests of the United States and its allies, and impairs the objective of maximum military cooperation between the United States and New Zealand under the ANZUS Treaty;

(4) the President has taken appropriate action in response to New Zealand's diminished defense cooperation with the United States by suspending United States obligations to New Zealand under the ANZUS Treaty, as announced in August 1986; and

(5) important aims of United States policy, in reaction to the port policies and law of New Zealand, must be to maintain the ANZUS Treaty alliance structure during the absence of New Zealand, to look forward to New Zealand's early return to a normal trilateral defense relationship, and to deny the Soviet Union any potential benefit it might otherwise derive from this temporary discord in the ANZUS Treaty alliance.

(b) NEW ZEALAND SHOULD RECONSIDER ITS POLICY.—The United States urges the Government of New Zealand—

(1) to reconsider its decision and law denying port access to certain United States ships, and

(2) to resume its fulfillment of its obligations under the ANZUS Treaty.

(c) SUSPENSION OF PREFERENCES.—Section 515(a)(6) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and sections 3(d)(2)(B), 21(e)(2), 21(g) 36(b)(1), 36(b)(2), 36(c)(2)(B), and 63(a)(2) of the Arms Export Control Act shall apply with respect to New Zealand only if the President determines, and reports to the Congress, that New Zealand is complying fully with its obligations under the ANZUS Treaty.

(d) ANZUS TREATY.—As used in this section, the term "ANZUS Treaty" means the Security Treaty Between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.

(e) ASSIGNMENT OF UNITED STATES MILITARY PERSONNEL TO MANAGE DEFENSE COOPERATION MEASURES.—Section 515(a)(6) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand".

(f) CHARGES FOR CERTAIN ARMS SALES COSTS.—Section 21(e)(2) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand".

(g) COOPERATIVE MILITARY TRAINING AGREEMENTS.—Section 21(g) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand".

(h) CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW OF ARMS TRANSFERS.—The Arms Export Control Act is amended—

(1) in section 3(d)(2)(B), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand";

(2) in section 36(b)(1), by inserting "(If the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand" in the second sentence following subparagraph (P);

(3) in section 36(b)(2), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand";

(4) in section 36(c)(2)(B), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" "New Zealand"; and

(5) in section 63(a)(2), by inserting "(if the President has made the determination described in section 911(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987)" after "New Zealand".

Page 214, after line 18, insert the following:

SEC. 912. HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

(c) CONDEMNING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.—The Congress—

(1) strongly condemns the continued violations of human rights by the Government of the People's Republic of China, including—

(A) the one-child-per-family policy adopted in 1979 that relies on coercion, economic penalties, and forced abortions (often late in pregnancy) as a means of enforcing compliance;

(B) the continued use of a repressive "birth quota" system that empowers the authorities to dictate to couples if and when they may have a child; and

(C) the use of forced abortions and involuntary sterilizations of Tibetans by Chinese authorities in Tibet; and

(2) affirms internationally recognized basic human rights, such as—

(A) the conclusion made by the 1981 United Nations symposium on Population and Human Rights that compulsory abortion is a violation of human rights; and

(B) the declaration made at the Nuremberg War Crimes trials that forced abortion be regarded as a "crime against humanity".

(b) INSTRUCTING THE PRESIDENT AND THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—The Congress asks that the President and the Department of State—

(1) raise the concerns expressed in this section with the Government of the People's Republic of China, and

(2) call upon that Government to cease immediately this repressive policy.

Page 214, at the end of line 18, insert the following:

The executive branch shall inform the appropriate oversight committees of the Congress of all progress made in POW/MIA cases in Laos and shall notify the appropriate committees of the Congress of any United States expenditures approved for projects associated with POW/MIA cases in Laos.

Page 226, after line 10, insert the following:

SEC. 932. HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE SIKHS IN THE PUNJAB OF INDIA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) Amnesty International found in its 1987 report that India has failed to adequately protect the human rights of the Sikhs living in the Punjab;

(2) there is evidence that the Indian authorities are currently suspending basic freedoms in the Punjab and that increasingly harsh police tactics are only aggravating the situation;

(3) due to the breakdown of law and order in the Punjab, India's central government has dismissed the elected state government and has introduced large numbers of police and paramilitary units;

(4) these paramilitary units temporarily sealed off the Golden Temple, the most sacred religious shrine of the Sikh people, and for the first time in centuries, devotees could not offer prayers or bathe in the historic holy tank build around the Golden Temple; and

(5) historically, Sikhs have been a peaceful people, and most Sikhs still want a peaceful solution in the Punjab.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the sense of the Congress that the Government of India should continue to allow Sikhs to have full access to the Golden Temple for the purpose of religious worship and should remove all military presence from the shrine as soon as possible. While the Congress condemns the use of terrorist tactics in the region, the Government of India should use restraint in resolving its dispute with the Sikh people in the Punjab. The Congress supports the territorial integrity of India and respectfully urges Prime Minister Ghandi, and all responsible leaders of the Sikh community, to renew their efforts to achieve a political solution that will permit the settlement of accumulated grievances, the restoration of law and order, and the return to home rule in the Punjab, while guaranteeing religious freedom and respect for the human rights of all the people of India.

Page 214, after line 18, insert the following:

SEC. 911. TRANSFERS OF SILKWORM MISSILES TO IRAN BY THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) on October 16, 1987, the American-flagged tanker Sea Isle City was struck by a Chinese-produced Silkworm missile;

(2) at least 18 persons aboard the Sea Isle City were injured, among them 2 Americans;

(3) on October 15, 1987, the American-owned tanker Sungari was struck by a Chinese-produced Silkworm missile;

(4) the People's Republic of China has continued to supply Silkworm missiles to Iran despite repeated official protests by the United States;

(5) the People's Republic of China has so far not unreservedly declared its willingness to support an arms embargo of Iran if Iran refuses to accept United Nations Security Council Resolution 598 of July 20, 1987; and

(6) the United States is engaged in significant transfers of military-related technology and weapons to the People's Republic of China.

(b) DECLARATION OF POLICY.—it is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the United States should review all transfers of United States military-related technology, all sales under the Arms Export Control Act, and all deliveries pursuant to previous sales under the Arms Export Control Act, to the People's Republic of China until the Government of the People's Republic of China indicates its willingness to support an arms embargo in the event that Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar's negotiations with Iran and Iraq fail to gain Iran's acceptance of Security Council Resolution 598;

(2) the administration should make a strong representation to the Government of the People's Republic of China that the continued transfer of Silkworm missiles to Iran may seriously jeopardize relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China; and

(3) the administration should report to the Congress within 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act whether such a representation has been made, and if so, what response has been received.

Page 226, after line 10, add the following:

SEC. 930. ADMINISTRATION POLICY ON AFGHANISTAN.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) each of the substantive sanctions imposed on the Soviet Union by the United States to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan have been lifted;

(2) although the administration's policy on Afghanistan states that only "steadily increasing pressure on all fronts—military, political, diplomatic—will induce the Soviets to make the political decision to negotiate the withdrawal of their forces," political and diplomatic pressures on the Soviet Union have decreased rather than increased;

(3) in the absence of a coordinated and aggressive policy by the administration regarding the war in Afghanistan, the Congress has been forced to unilaterally implement numerous programs to bring "steadily increasing pressure" to bear on the Soviet Union; and

(4) despite the failure of Soviet troops to withdraw from Afghanistan, and the serious deterioration with regard to the situation of human rights in Afghanistan, the administration is planning to lift further sanctions and initiate increasing areas of cooperation with the Soviet Union.

(b) REPORT TO CONGRESS.—(1) Not later than sixty days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall provide the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee with a report listing each sanction imposed against the Soviet Union by the United States since the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a detailed explanation for the lifting of each sanction, and a detailed analysis of the benefit to the Soviet Union incurred by the lifting of each sanction.

(2) Not later than sixty days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall provide the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee a comprehensive list of all areas of ongoing cooperation that could be withheld from the Soviet Union.

(3) Not later than sixty days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall provide the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee with a detailed and comprehensive report in a suitable classified form, and in an unclassified form, containing the disposition of Soviet military forces in the Afghanistan region and an account of any troop withdrawals and any new troop deployments.

Page 247, after line 16, insert the following new section:

SEC. 1116. PROHIBITION ON ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES RECEIVING SUPERSONIC FIGHTER AIRCRAFT FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

(a) PROHIBITION.—For fiscal years 1988 and 1989, foreign assistance may not be provided to any country which has an agreement with the Soviet Union pursuant to which that country will obtain supersonic fighter aircraft from the Soviet Union.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—As used in this section—

(1) the term "agreement" includes a coproduction agreement; and

(2) the term "foreign assistance" means any assistance under the Arms Export Control Act, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (excluding assistance under chapter 9 of part I, relating to disaster assistance), or the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (excluding emergency food assistance under title II).

Page 247, after line 16, insert the following:

SEC. 1116. ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES RECEIVING SUPERSONIC FIGHTER AIRCRAFT FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

(a) CRITERIA IN ASSISTANCE DECISIONS.—In determining whether to provide foreign assistance to a country for fiscal years 1988 and 1989 and the amount of assistance to be provided, the President shall take into account whether that country has an agreement with the Soviet Union pursuant to which that country will obtain supersonic fighter aircraft from the Soviet Union.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—As used in this section—

(1) the term "agreement" includes a coproduction agreement; and

(2) the term "foreign assistance" means any assistance under the Arms Export Control Act, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (excluding assistance under chapter 9 of part I, relating to disaster assistance), or the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (excluding emergency food assistance under title II).

Page 249, after line 15, add the following:

TITLE XIII—ASSISTANCE TO POLAND

SEC. 1301. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the "American Aid to Poland Act of 1987".

SEC. 1302. FUNDING FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AGREEMENT.

(a) FUNDING.—For purposes of implementing the 1987 Unitd States-Polish science and technology agreement, there are authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of State for fiscal year 1988, $1,000,000.

(b) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Amounts appropriated under subsection (a) are authorized to remain available until expanded.

(c) DEFINITION.—For purposes of this section, the term "1987 United States-Polish science and technology agreement" refers to the draft agreement concluded in 1987 by the United States and Poland, entitled "Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Polish People's Republic on Cooperation in Science and Technology and Its Funding", together with annexes relating thereto.

SEC. 1303. AGRICULTURAL ASSISTANCE FOR POLAND.

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, $10,000,000 of funds made available to carry out section 103 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance for agriculture, rural development, and nutrition) for fiscal year 1988 shall be available until August 15, 1988, only for agricultural activities in Poland. Any funds made available under the preceding sentence which have not been obligated or expended by such date may be obligated for other purposes in accordance with section 103 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 if the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, the Committee on Appropriations of each House of Congress are notified at least 15 days in advance of such obligation. Such notification shall be considered in accordance with the procedures applicable under section 634A of that Act.

SEC. 1304. DONATION OF SURPLUS AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES.

(a) AUTHORITY TO DONATE.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of Agriculture shall donate, under the applicable provisions of section 416(b) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, for each of the fiscal years 1988 through 1992, 8,000 metric tons of uncommitted stocks of eligible commodities of the Commodity Credit Corporation under an agreement with the Government of Poland that the Government of Poland will sell such commodities and that all the proceeds from such sales will be used by nongovernmental agencies for eligible activities in Poland described in section 416(b)(7)(D)(ii) of that Act (as amended by section 1306 of this Act) that have been approved, upon application, by the United States chief of diplomatic mission in Poland, and by the joint commission described in section 1307.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

(1) the term "eligible commodities" has the same meaning as is given such term in section 416(b)(2) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 and, in addition, includes feed grains; and

(2) the term "nongovernmental agencies" includes nonprofit voluntary agencies, cooperatives, intergovernmental agencies such as the World Food Program, and other multilateral organizations.

SEC. 1305. USE OF POLISH CURRENCIES.

(a) USE OF POLISH CURRENCIES.—Subject to subsection (b), nonconvertible Polish currencies (zlotys) held by the United States on the date of enactment of this Act pursuant to an agreement with the Government of Poland under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 which are not assets of the Commodity Credit Corporation shall be made available, to the extent and in such amounts as are provided in advance in appropriation Acts, for eligible activities in Poland described in section 416(b)(7)(D)(ii) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 (as amended by section 1306 of this Act) and approved, upon application, by the joint commission described in section 1307 and by the United States chief of diplomatic mission in Poland.

(b) AVAILABILITY OF CURRENCIES.—Currencies available under subsection (a) are currencies available after satisfaction of existing commitments to use such currencies for other purposes specified by law.

SEC. 1306. ELIGIBLE ACTIVITIES.

Section 416(b)(7)(D)(ii) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 is amended by adding at the end the following: "In addition, foreign currency proceeds generated in Poland may also be used by such agencies or cooperatives for eligible activities approved by the joint commission established pursuant to section 1307 of the American Aid to Poland Act of 1987 and by the United States chief of diplomatic mission in Poland that would improve the quality of life of the Polish people and would strengthen and support the activities of private, nongovernmental independent institutions in Poland. Activities eligible under the preceding sentence include—

"(I) any project undertaken in Poland under the auspices of the Charitable Commission of the Polish Catholic Episcopate for the benefit of handicapped or orphaned children;

"(II) any project for the reconstruction, renovation, or maintenance of the Research Center on Jewish History and Culture of the Jagiellonian University of Krakow, Poland, established for the study of events related to the Holocaust in Poland; and

"(III) any other project or activity which strengthens and supports private and independent sectors of the Polish economy, especially independent farming and agriculture.".

SEC. 1307. JOINT COMMISSION.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—The joint commission referred to in section 1304 and in section 416(b)(7)(D)(ii) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 (as amended by section 1306 of this Act) shall be established under an agreement between the United States Government, the Government of Poland, and nongovernmental agencies (as defined in section 1304) operating in Poland.

(b) MEMBERSHIP.—The joint commission shall be composed of—

(1) appropriate representatives of the Government of Poland;

(2) appropriate representatives of nongovernmental agencies which are parties to the agreement described in subsection (a); and

(3) representatives from the United States diplomatic mission in Poland, which may include a representative of the Foreign Agricultural Service.

SEC. 1308. PROVISION OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND HOSPITAL EQUIPMENT TO POLAND.

In addition to amounts authorized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund) for fiscal years 1988 and 1989, there are authorized to be appropriated to carry out that chapter for each such fiscal year $2,000,000, which shall be available only for providing medical supplies and hospital equipment to Poland through private and voluntary organizations, including for the expenses of purchasing, transporting, and distributing such supplies and equipment.

Page 249, after line 15, add the following new title:

TITLE XIV—CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS NONPROLIFERATION

SEC. 1401. FINDING AND POLICY.

(a) FINDING.—The Congress finds and declares that the spread of chemical weapons and the capability to manufacture or otherwise acquire such weapons pose a grave threat to the security interest of the United States and to continued international progress toward world peace and development. Therefore, efforts should be undertaken to stop proliferation of chemical and biological weapons in an attempt to contribute to a complete ban of these weapons.

(b) POLICY.—It is the policy of the United States to—

(1) assure that the policy of the United States regarding all security assistance, including all military assistance and education and training programs, is consistent with this policy;

(2) obtain international agreement to abolish chemical and biological weapons and prohibit their manufacture, possession, or use in the spirit of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972;

(3) assure that exports from the United States of materials, equipment, or technology having significance for production of chemicals are consistent with efforts to prevent proliferation of chemical and biological weapons;

(4) obtain assurances that exports from the United States of materials, equipment, or technology having direct significance for the production of chemical and biological weapons are used for peaceful purposes;

(5) cooperate with other nations to prevent the spread of materials, equipment, and technology with properties useful for the production of chemical biological weapons;

(6) examine allegations that other countries are developing and proliferating chemical or biological weapons or materials, equipment, and technology for the production of such weapons;

(7) protect the health and safety of the public against threats from chemical or biological weapons due to accident, terrorism, or war; and

(8) coordinate the policies, programs, and other activities of all departments and agencies of the United States Government to implement this policy fully.

SEC. 1402. PROLIFERATION-RISK ASSESSMENT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State shall assess the risk of the proliferation of chemical or biological weapons, and shall recommend to the Congress legislation to control such proliferation. The assessment shall give particular attention to the technology of chemical or biological weapons and to the materials, equipment, and technology that have direct significance for the production and use of chemical or biological weapons.

(b) PARTICULAR MATTERS TO BE CONSIDERED.—The assessment shall consider the following:

(1) Any recommendation for legislation required to implement fully the policy of this title.

(2) Existing technologies for the production of chemical or biological weapons.

(3) Actual and potential suppliers of materials, equipment, and technology having significance for the production of chemical weapons.

(4) The effectiveness of present United States regulatory and other authority for control of exports of such materials, equipment, and technology.

(5) The projected effect of export controls on industry in the United States, considering the likelihood of obtaining the cooperation of foreign governments in limiting exports of materials, equipment, and technology with properties useful for the production of chemical and biological weapons.

(6) Any other matter the President determines to be relevant in carrying out the policy of this title.

(c) CONSULTATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES.—The assessment shall be carried out in consultation with the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, and the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

(d) REPORT TO CONGRESS.—Not later than six months after the date of the enactment of this title, the Secretary of State shall transmit to Congress a report setting forth the results of the assessment under this section.

SEC. 1403. ANNUAL REPORT ON PROLIFERATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State shall transmit to Congress a biannual report describing the status of—

(1) control of the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons;

(2) efforts to prevent the spread of such weapons; and

(3) programs to control the export of materials, equipment, and technology having direct significance for the production of chemical and biological weapons.

(b) RECOMMENDATIONS.—Each such report shall include any recommendation that the

Secretary considers appropriate regarding additional authority needed to carry out the policy of this title.

(c) TIME FOR FIRST REPORT.—The first such report shall be submitted two years after the date of the enactment of this title.

SEC. 1404. CHEMICAL INDUSTRY ADVISORY GROUP.

The Secretary of State shall establish a Chemical Industry Advisory Group to provide advice to the Secretary with respect to sections 1402 and 1403. Members of the Group shall be appointed from business firms in the chemical industry.

SEC. 1405. CONSULTATION WITH CONGRESS.

The Secretary of State shall keep the appropriate committees of Congress fully and currently informed of all developments of significance to the proliferation and control of chemical and biological weapons.

Page 249, after line 15, insert the following:

TITLE XV—OTHER PROVISIONS

SEC. 1501. HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CUBA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the United Nations was established in 1945 for, among other purposes, the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all;

(2) the United Nations Human Rights Commission was established by the Economic and Social Council in 1946 to investigate and make recommendations concerning the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

(3) the Government of Cuba has engaged in systematic and flagrant abuses of basic human rights and freedoms so offensive that they demand universal condemnation, including—

(A) the arbitrary arrest and prolonged imprisonment of individuals accused of political opposition to the Government of Cuba for engaging in such activities as the open or private expression of political opinions or religious beliefs, the attempt to form independent labor unions, the possession, reproduction, or intended distribution of religious or political literature, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or even the professional representation by legal counsel of those so accused;

(B) the murder of political prisoners while in custody or the execution of individuals sentenced to death for political offenses;

(C) the reported systematic use of physical and psychological torture and the degrading and abusive treatment of political prisoners, especially the "plantados"—those who refuse out of conscience to participate in so-called political rehabilitation programs;

(D) the institutionalized use of a network of neighborhood informants organized by political "block committees", or so-called "Committees for the Defense of the Revolution", to repress the exercise of any freedom of expression and otherwise control the behavior of citizens through intimidation;

(E) the repression of the independent Committee for Human Rights in Cuba for its attempt to register as a legal organization under the laws of the state, and the reported arrest, disappearance, or death of members of the Committee, and the continuing persecution of its president who has had to seek the safety of a foreign embassy out of fear for his life and continues to be deprived of the right to leave Cuba to be reunited with his family; and

(F) the expulsion from Cuba of foreign journalists for having attempted to interview Cuban citizens and report objectively on the human rights situation in that country; and

(4) the United Nations has consistently failed to address the violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms in Cuba.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United Nations and the United Nations Human Rights Commission have acted selectively and inconsistently in addressing violations of basic human rights in various countries;

(2) the United Nations General Assembly and the United Nations Human Rights Commission have failed to responsibly address the deplorable human rights situation in Cuba despite overwhelming evidence of the continuing disregard and systematic abuse of the most basic human rights by the Government of Cuba;

(3) The President, the Secretary of State, and the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations are to be commended for their efforts to place Cuba on the human rights agenda of the United Nations and are strongly encouraged to continue in their efforts to bring this issue to the attention of the United Nations;

(4) the following countries are to be commended for voting in favor of considering human rights violations in Cuba, particularly in light of the thinly veiled threats of the Cuban delegation: Austria, Australia, Belgium, Costa Rica, France, Gambia, Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Lesoto, Liberia, Norway, Philippines, Somolia, Togo, and the United Kingdom;

(5) the United States should strongly urge the member countries of United Nations Human Rights Commission which are interested in democracy in the region, particularly Mexico, Spain, Peru, Venezuela, Argentina, and Colombia, to support the United States resolution on Cuban human rights at the next session of the Commission;

(6) the United States should take into account this vote in determining United States bilateral and other assistance to all member countries of the Commission;

(7) the United States should continue to emphasize how other countries vote on fundamental issues such as human rights when determining financial support for the United Nations, which includes the contribution to the Human Rights Commission; and

(8) the United Nations Human Rights Commission (which will hold its forty-fourth session in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1988) should include among the highest priorities of its human rights agenda consideration of human rights violations in Cuba.

Page 249, after line 15, add the following:

SEC. 1503. REPORT ON PROCESS OF INTERAGENCY REVIEW OF CERTAIN AGREEMENTS WITH CONTROLLED COUNTRIES.

(a) EVALUATION OF INTERAGENCY REVIEW PROCESS.—The Comptroller General shall evaluate and, not later than 1 year after the date of the enactment of this Act, shall submit to the Congress a report on the methods and procedures used in, and the effectiveness of, the current interagency arrangements to review agreements between controlled countries and United States Federal agencies which involve the exchange or transfer of militarily critical scientific or technological information.

(b) FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED.—In carrying out subsection (a), the Comptroller General shall—

(1) evaluate the adequacy of, and the need to enhance, the current interagency review process, particularly with respect to timeliness, mechanisms to ensure appropriate consultation among interested parties, and procedures to assure consistency with current United States laws, policies, and procedures;

(2) review the adequacy of resources available to the Committee on Exchanges of the Technology Transfer Intelligence Committee and other interagency groups to conduct appropriate and timely technical assessments of proposed agreements;

(3) evaluate the policy implications of linking foreign access to United States facilities or individuals to reciprocal access to renowned foreign scientists identified by the United States, including those subject to discrimination on account of their political or religious beliefs;

(4) evaluate the need for, and the feasibility and usefulness of, a requirement that persons who visit controlled countries for purposes of scientific or technological exchanges provide upon their return from such countries, in cases where the visits are supported with Federal funds or other resources of the Federal Government, briefings and reports to interested United States Government agencies on their activities in those countries; and

(5) make any other recommendations that would enhance the benefits to the United States of scientific and technological arrangements with controlled countries.

(c) OTHER REVIEWS.—Before submitting to the Congress the report described in subsection (a), the Comptroller General shall submit the report to the Departments of State, Defense, and Commerce and the National Academy of Sciences for their respective reviews of the report. When the Comptroller General submits the report to the Congress, the Comptroller General shall include with the report any comments on the report which are transmitted to the Comptroller General pursuant to such reviews.

(d) DEFINITION.—For purposes of this section—

(1) the term "controlled country" means any controlled country within the meaning of the Export Administration Act of 1979; and

(2) the term "militarily critical scientific or technological information" means any technology on which export controls are in effect under section 5 of the Export Administration Act of 1979.

Page 249, after line 15, insert the following:

SEC. 1505. REPORT ON SOVIET HARD CURRENCY SOURCES AND USES.

Not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to the Congress a report (which shall be unclassified, with a classified annex if necessary) which provides the following information with respect to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, and Poland:

(1) That country's hard currency income and borrowings from each of the following sources:

(A) Loans by Western governments.

(B) Commercial loans from banks in Western countries, including from branches and subsidiaries of such banks.

(C) Interbank deposits by Western banks and their branches and subsidiaries in banks owned by that country, including those banks owned by that country located in Western countries.

(D) The export earnings of that country divided into the following sectors: oil, gas, gold, arms sales (by country), and other export sources.

(2) That country's hard currency outlays toward each of the following purposes:

(A) Support for allies and client regimes (by country), including forgone hard currency income through subsidization of exports or military assistance.

(B) Support for insurgencies and terrorist groups (by group).

(C) KGB and GRU activities, including disinformation and high technology acquisition.

(D) Debt service.

(E) Imports from Western countries.

SEC. 1506. SOVIET POLICY ON JEWISH EMIGATION.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) Many Jewish individuals and their families have been prevented from emigrating from the Soviet Union because they were once employed in what the Soviet Government calls "secret work";

(2) General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has publicly stated that possession of "State secrets" could not be grounds for refusal to allow individuals to emigrate after 5 years or 10 years at most;

(3) whereas a Soviet review board has been convened by the order of the Politburo to reconsider emigration cases which have been rejected or delayed for many years on the grounds of knowledge of "State secrets";

(4) the Soviet Union has agreed to meet formally with the United States at the highest levels to discuss matters relating to arms control, human rights, and bilateral relations; and

(5) many individuals and their families continue to wait patiently for approval of their applications to emigrate.

(b) SENSE OF THE CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that, in the course of his negotiations and dealings with the leadership of the Soviet Union, the President should express—

(1) the strong opposition of the United States to the Soviet Union's refusal to permit Yuli Kosharovsky, Aleksandr Lerner, Yakhov Rakhlenko, Valery Soifer, Yulian Khasin, and Gennady and Natsha Khasin, their families, and other families in similar positions, to emigrate from the Soviet Union; and

(2) the desire of the United States that the Government of the Soviet Union comply with its obligations under the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and permit these individuals, their families, and others to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

SEC. 1507. SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND THE SUMMIT.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev are meeting in Washington from December 6 to 10, 1987;

(2) among the issues on the agenda are human rights;

(3) despite such welcome developments as the release of political prisoners, the resolution of longstanding divided family and refusenik cases, and the increase in emigration rates, the Soviet Union continues to violate the internationally recognized human rights of its citizens, including freedom of emigration, religion, thought, and expression; and

(4) continued Soviet violations of human rights are a serious impediment to improved bilateral relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

(b) SENSE OF THE CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the President should be commended for his efforts to press the Soviet Union to abide by its commitments to respect internationally recognized human rights and should protest forcefully to General Secretary Gorbachev continued Soviet human rights violations; and

(2) the Soviet Union should abide by its obligations under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of emigration, religion, thought, and expression.

Page 249, after line 15, insert the following:

SEC. 1508. COMPREHENSIVE FOREIGN DEBT INFORMATION.

(a) REQUIREMENT FOR COMPREHENSIVE INFORMATION.—The President shall take steps to insure that the various reports submitted to the Congress provide full and compatible information on the status of all loans, credits, loan guarantees, and all other repayable financial assistance provided to foreign governments by the United States Government. As appropriate, information detailing the current status of foreign debt obligations owed the United States Government may be classified.

(b) PROGRAMS COVERED BY COMPREHENSIVE INFORMATION REQUIREMENT.—Programs covered by this section should include (but not be limited to) programs under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the Commodity Credit Charter Act, the Arms Export Control Act, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, and the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945.

(c) INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED—Reports subject to this section shall detail, where appropriate, the following:

(1) The amounts of foreign assistance loan authorization, disbursements, accumulated outstanding rescheduled debt, repayments, and outstanding balances, by program and country.

(2) The applicability of provisions of law providing for termination of assistance to countries in default on repayments to the United States Government and the collectibility of non-current loans, by country.

(3) The reasons for any significant shortfalls in repayments of billed principal and interest for the preceding year.

(4) A listing of loan rescheduling, restructuring, and other debt relief, by country, including a statement as to why debt relief is necessary and in the United States interest, how the completed debt rescheduling will affect United States financial interests, how much and how many times debts owed to the United States have been restructured, and what are the prospects for collecting rescheduled receivables, by country.

(5) A listing of how many foreign loans have been written off and for what reason, by program and country.

(6) A list of all contingent liabilities from loan guarantees, credits, and other assistance programs, by program and country.

(7) A best estimate of the current value of the portfolio of outstanding loans and other obligations by program, through the creation of a loan loss reserve account which shall be estimated to reflect the decline from face value of all outstanding loans and other obligations. This loan loss reserve estimate shall reflect the decline in value that may result from factors such as interest concessions and reduced likelihood that loans and other obligations will be repaid in full in a timely manner in accordance with loan terms.

(8) A list of countries still being given new loan assistance, although those countries have had outstanding obligations rescheduled or restructured.

Page 249, after line 15, add the following:

SEC. 1509. REPORT ON UNITED NATIONS-BASED ESPIONAGE.

Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of this Act and annually thereafter, the President shall provide to the appropriate committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate a comprehensive report on espionage undertaken by foreign nationals within the United Nations Secretariat and member delegations to the United Nations. This report shall be unclassified, with a classified appendix if necessary.

Page 249, after line 15, add the following:

SEC. 1510. REVIEW OF UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) the United Nations was founded for the primary purpose of maintaining international peace and security by encouraging peaceful resolution of disputes and the development of friendly relations among nations;

(2) the United States, as the host nation of the United Nations, a founding member of the United Nations, and the largest contributor to the United Nations, became and remains a member of the United Nations in order to contribute to collective efforts among the nations of the world to realize the ends of international peace and security.

(3) the United States is committed to upholding and strengthening the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter upon which the United Nations was founded;

(4) in recent years, the United Nations as a body, and many of its member nations, have strayed from the original purposes established by the United Nations Charter;

(5) the United States has been called upon to shoulder increasing financial costs associated with the United Nations and its affiliated agencies at a time of increasing budget constraints within the United States;

(6) the presence of the United Nations within the United States has come to present major national security concerns as a result of espionage by foreign nationals within the United Nations Secretariat and member delegations to the United Nations;

(7) according to a report from the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate on "Soviet Presence in the United Nations Secretariat" (Senate Print 99-52, May 1985), approximately one-fourth of the Soviets in the United Nations Secretariat are intelligence officers, many more are co-opted by the Soviet intelligence agencies, and all Soviets in the United Nations Secretariat must respond to KGB requests for assistance; and

(8) other United States intelligence authorities estimate that as many as one-half of the Soviet and Soviet-bloc nationals in the United Nations Secretariat are officers of the KGB or the GRU.

(b) PRESIDENTIAL REVIEW AND REPORTS TO CONGRESS.—

(1) Review.—The President shall comprehensively review United States participation in the United Nations.

(2) REPORT.—Not later than six months after the date of enactment of this Act and annually thereafter, the President shall provide a written report to the Congress containing the President's findings and recommendations based on the review required by paragraph (1). Each such report shall contain, at a minimum, a thorough analysis of the following issues:

(A) The extent and levels of United States financial contributions to the United Nations.

(B) The importance of the United Nations, as presently constituted, to fulfilling the national security and foreign policy objectives of the United States.

(C) The benefits and detriments derived by the United States from its participation in the United Nations.

(D) The danger to the United States from espionage associated with the United Nations, and the financial costs to the United Nations, and the financial costs to the United States of detecting, monitoring, and preventing such espionage.

(E) The advantages and disadvantages of having the United Nations located outside the United States.

SEC. . HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TIBET BY THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) on October 1, 1987, Chinese police in Lhasa fired upon several thousand unarmed Tibetan demonstrators, which included hundreds of women, children, and Tibetan Buddhist monks, killing at least six and wounding many others;

(2) on September 27, 1987, a peaceful demonstration in Lhasa calling for Tibetan independence and the restoration of human rights in Tibet, which was led by hundreds of Tibetan monks, was violently broken up by Chinese authorities and 27 Tibetan Buddhist monks were arrested;

(3) in the wake of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's five point peace plan, which was presented to Members of the United States Congress during his visit to Washington in September 1987, Chinese authorities in Tibet staged, on September 24, 1987, a mass political rally at which three Tibetans were given death sentences, two of whom were executed immediately;

(4) beginning October 7, 1950, the Chinese Communist army invaded and occupied Tibet;

(5) since that time, the Chinese Government has exercised dominion over the Tibetan people, who had always considered themselves as independent, through the presence of a large occupation force;

(6) over 1,000,000 Tibetans perished in 1959 to 1979 as a direct result of the political instability, executions, imprisonment, and widescale famine engendered by the policies of the People's Republic of China in Tibet;

(7) after 1950, particularly during the ravages of China's Cultural Revolution, over 6,000 monasteries, the repositories of 1,300 years of Tibet's ancient civilization, were destroyed and their irreplaceable national legacy of art and literature either destroyed, stolen, or removed from Tibet;

(8) the exploitation of Tibet's vast mineral, forest, and animal reserves has occurred with limited benefit to the Tibetan people;

(9) Tibet's economy and education, health, and human services remain far below those of the People's Republic of China as a whole;

(10) the People's Republic of China has encouraged a large influx of Han-Chinese into Tibet, thereby undermining the political and cultural traditions of the Tibetan people;

(11) there are credible reports of many Tibetans being incarcerated in labor camps and prisons and killed for the nonviolent expression of their religious and political beliefs;

(12) His Holiness the Dalai Lama, spiritual and temporal leader of the Tibetan people, in conjunction with the 100,000 refugees forced into exile with him, has worked tirelessly for almost 30 years to secure peace and religious freedom in Tibet, as well as the preservation of the Tibetan culture;

(13) in 1959, 1961, and 1965, the United Nations General Assembly called upon the People's Republic of China to end the violations of Tibetans' human rights;

(14) on July 24, 1985, 91 Members of the Congress signed a letter to President Li Xiannian of the People's Republic of China expressing support for direct talks between Beijing and representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetans in exile, and urging the Government of the People's Republic of China "to grant the very reasonable and justified aspirations of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his people every consideration";

(15) on September 27, 1987, the chairman and ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the chairman and ranking minority member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and the Co-Chairman of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus signed a letter to his Excellency Zhao Ziyang, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, expressing their "grave concern with the present situation in Tibet and welcome(d) His Holiness the Dalai Lama's (five point) proposal as a historic step toward resolving the important question of Tibet and alleviating the suffering of the Tibetan people . . . (and) express(ing) their full support for his proposal."; and

(16) there has been no positive response by the Government of the People's Republic of China to either of these communications.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICIES.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United States should express sympathy for those Tibetans who have suffered and died as a result of fighting, persecution, or famine over the past four decades;

(2) the United States should make the treatment of the Tibetan people an important factor in its conduct of relations with the People's Republic of China;

(3) the Government of the People's Republic of China should respect internationally recognized human rights and end human rights violations against Tibetans;

(4) the United States should urge the Government of the People's Republic of China to actively reciprocate the Dalai Lama's efforts to establish a constructive dialogue on the future of Tibet;

(5) Tibetan culture and religion should be preserved and the Dalai Lama should be commended for his efforts in this regard;

(6) the United States, through the Secretary of State, should address and call attention to the rights of the Tibetan people, as well as other non-Han-Chinese within the People's Republic of China such as the Uighurs of Eastern Turkestan (Sinkiang), and the Mongolians of Inner Mongolia;

(7) the President should instruct United States officials, including the United States Ambassadors to the People's Republic of China and India, to pay greater attention to the concerns of the Tibetan people and to work closely with all concerned about human rights violations in Tibet in order to find areas in which the United States Government and people can be helpful; and

(8) the United States should urge the People's Republic of China to release all political prisoners in Tibet.

(c) TRANSFER OF DEFENSE ARTICLES.—With respect to any sale, licensed export, or other transfer of any defense articles or defense services to the People's Republic of China, the United States Government shall, consistent with United States law, take into account the extent to which the Government of the People's Republic of China is acting in good faith and in a timely manner to resolve human rights issues in Tibet.

(d) MIGRATION AND REFUGEE ASSISTANCE.—Within 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall determine whether the needs of displaced Tibetans are similar to those of displaced persons and refugees in other parts of the world and shall report that determination to the Congress. If the Secretary makes a positive determination, of the amounts authorized to be appropriated for the Department of State for "Migration and Refugee Assistance" for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, such sums as are necessary shall be made available for assistance for displaced Tibetans. The Secretary of State shall determine the best means for providing such assistance.

(e) SCHOLARSHIPS.—For each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, the Director of the United States Information Agency shall make available to Tibetan students and professionals who are outside Tibet not less than 15 scholarships for study at institutions of higher education in the United States.

Page 247, after line 16 insert the following new Section:

SEC. 1116. PAYMENT OF IMPORT DUTIES AND OTHER FEES CONCERNING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

Section 491 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2292) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) Whenever the humanitarian disaster relief assistance that is being provided under the authority in this chapter or any other provision of law is subject to import duties, loading charges, or other fees levied by the authorities in the recipient country, the President shall promptly report this fact to Congress. Whenever the recipient country in question is a communist country (as defined in Section 620(f) of this Act), the policy of the United States shall be to withhold payment of such fees. This restriction may not be waived pursuant to any authority in this Act unless the President certifies to Congress that payment of such fees is: (A) in the vital national interest of the United States; and (B) in an amount not exceeding the fees levied by authorities in the recipient country on all forms of assistance from the Soviet Union or any other communist country (as defined in Section 620(f) of this Act)."

Page 247, after line 16 insert the following new Section:

SEC. 1116. REPORTS ON COMMUNIST COUNTRIES RECEIVING UNITED STATES HUMANITARIAN DISASTER RELIEF ASSISTANCE.

Section 491 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2292) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) Whenever the United States is providing humanitarian disaster relief assistance under this chapter or any other provision of law to a communist country (as defined in section 620(f) of this Act), the President shall report to the Congress every 3 months on the steps being taken by the government of that country to alleviate the conditions that make such assistance necessary.".

Mr. BROOMFIELD (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments en bloc to the amendment in the nature of a substitute be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, there are a number of amendments here that we have added as the result of approval and as a result of consideration of legislation on the floor in the last few days. I think it would be appropriate for Members, if they wish, to come over to either the minority or the majority table and we will be glad to go over them.

I will highlight some of them by saying that they include those from the Fascell en bloc amendment to title I, the Smith amendment on F-15's and the Smith/Levine amendment on sales of Stinger missiles;

The Swindall amendment to title I, on United Nation voting record, as amended by the Smith amendment;

From the Fascell en bloc amendment to title III, the Hall amendment on vitamin A deficiency, the Bereuter amendment on basic education, the Gilman amendment on microenterprises, and the Schneider amendment on biological diversity:

The Richardson amendment to title III, on minority set-asides:

The Solomon amendment to title IV, as amended by Mr. WOLPE, on PVO privateness;

The Burton amendment to title IV, on AIDS education:

The Solomon amendment to title IV, on GAO study of certain international organizations;

The Smith substitute for title V an international narcotics control;

From the Hamilton en bloc amendment to title VI, the Levine amendment a West Bank/Gaza development; the Burton amendment on Syria, the Richardson amendments on Bulgaria and Romania; and the Levine amendment on Jews in Arab countries;

The Dornan amendment to title VI on solidarity, as modified by the Solarz amendment;

From the Fascell en bloc amendment to title VIII, the Lagomarsino amendments on Central American economic growth and private sector in El Salvador, the Miller amendments on Chile and Haiti, the Fascell amendment on the Inter-American Foundation, the Leach amendment on assistance to Nicaragua, the Bereuter amendment on Uruguay, the Richardson amendment on Panama, and the DeWine amendment on the January 23 movement in Nicaragua;

From the Fascell en bloc amendment to title VIII, the Fascell amendment on economic support funds, and the Solomon amendment on Tunisia;

From the Fascell en bloc amendment to title IX, the Dornan amendment on Vietnam, the Miller amendment on a house-lot program in the Philippines, the Lagomarsino amendment on South Pacific scholarships, the Broomfield amendment on New Zealand, the Smith amendment on human rights in China, the Richardson amendment on POW/MIA's, and the Burton amendment on Sikhs;

The Solomon amendment to title IX on Chinese sale of Silkworm missiles to Iran, as modified by the Solarz amendment;

The Solomon amendment to title IX, on Afghanistan;

The Burton amendment to title XI, on assistance to countries with Soviet fighter aircraft, United States modified by the amendment of Mr. SOLARZ;

From the Fascell en bloc amendment to title XIII, the following amendments:

From the Fascell en bloc amendment to title XIII, the modified Solarz amendment on Poland; the Porter amendment on CBW nonproliferation, the Shumway amendment on human rights in Cuba, the modified Solomon amendment on exchange of information with certain countries, the Burton amendment on Soviet hard currency, the Smith amendment on Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union, the Richardson amendment on human rights and the summit, the modified Kasich amendment on foreign debt, and the Swindall amendments on espionage at the United Nations and review of United States participation in the United Nations;

The modified amendment to title XIII on Tibet;

The Solomon amendment to title XI on import duties and humanitarian assistance;

The Solomon amendment to title XI on Communist countries receiving United States assistance.

The Leach amendment to title VI on a United Nations peacekeeping force in the Persian Gulf; and

A Solarz amendment earmarking $50 million for Agarian reform.

□ 1645

I would say in summary the key provision was the Pakistan provision. A lot of these were adopted. But I think the Pakistan amendment is the key amendment that we accepted that was developed here on the floor by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] and worked out by the minority. We kept the language in H.R. 3100.

So I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL], the chairman, if he wishes to make some comments.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Michigan for yielding. I will not take the full allotted time if there is any full allotted time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wants to make it clear that the gentleman does have 30 minutes of his own time and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] has 12 minutes remaining on his time.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] yielded to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL].

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to use up the gentleman's time, in all fairness, although I do not think he wants to extend this any longer. So I will use my own time.

Let me thank the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] anyway for his generosity. He has displayed just now on this matter the same kind of courtesy that he has exhibited throughout the consideration of this bill, both in the committee and on the floor of the House, and I want to thank him and the minority for the good-faith effort that has been made with respect to this legislation, and also express my appreciation to the subcommittee chairman as well as the ranking members and the staff who worked very, very hard over a long period of time to get to the point where we are right now.

I also want to compliment the gentleman from Michigan because I want to say I have never seen a minority member working under such atrocious restrictions, inhibitions, conditions, limitations of record and off the record and on the record. I do not think the administration supports anything, frankly. But if they were going to support anything, which I do not think they do, they would want to support the gentleman from Michigan, which they do not. But he has tried his best to protect his administration and to represent his party, and to protect his members on the House floor. I will give him credit for that, I have been perfectly willing for them to get that kind of a shot with everything but the kitchen sink, and maybe that too, I do not know. I have not had a chance to find out for sure.

But nevertheless, let me say this in sincerity, that I am delighted to have had that kind of working arrangement. It has made it possible for us to get through a very important public-policy debate on very important issues and to arrive at this point.

But I cannot support this substitute, that is no surprise to anybody, any more than I could support a motion to recommit with instructions, and so I would have to strongly oppose it, Mr.

Chairman. The House has worked its will. We have bipartisan amendments throughout the entire bill, and as I said originally, this authorization is below the 1987 authorization, it is below the appropriation, it is below the President's request. We are $1.133 billion below the President's request. We are $574 million below the 1987 freeze. We are nearly $2 billion below the 1987 authorization levels, and we are totally consistent with the cap that has been placed on foreign affairs spending in the summit conference that took place on the agreement between the President and the joint leadership in the Congress. So my colleagues on either side need not have any concern with respect to that.

What we have done in the base bill, basically, and I am sure it has been adopted in the substitute also, is to provide additional funding for base-rights countries, and some other humanitarian concerns, and make sure that where we have earmarked funds it does not squeeze out the rest of the world.

There is a major difference I would want to point out in addition to some others with respect to allocations of funds, and that is simply that in the principal bill we allocate more money on the economic side. That is the only difference that I can see with respect to the allocation of funds. Otherwise, we are relatively close.

So with all due deference to my distinguished ranking Republican member, who has worked harder than anybody I know to try to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the administration, and has had precious little help, except from his colleagues on his side who have rallied to his side, I will say that for him, and I think they should have, but nevertheless we have worked hard, we have a good bill, and I would suggest that we vote down the substitute and vote on the bill.

We still have to go to conference. We have a long way to go. There will be a lot of opportunity for more bipartisan input.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, in conclusion I again want to thank the chairman for his very generous remarks. I think he has assessed the situation very well. We have worked very hard on this side to develop a substitute bill that would have a chance to get approval by the administration.

I have to say in all truthfulness they are not 100 percent for this bill, but I think they lean obviously more for it than they do the committee bill.

But I do want to thank the chairman of the committee and also want to thank the chairman of the Rules Committee and all of the members of the Rules Committee for their consideration. I think the rule that was granted on this particular bill is most unusual to give the minority this kind of an opportunity to single out the best amendments that were passed and to develop their own substitute, and for that I am appreciative.

I do not know what is going to happen, but again I think we have tried very hard to have a responsible bill. It is well-balanced, it is one again I think that has a chance for passage, and again my thanks to the chairman and the minority members over there for their cooperation.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, today I am introducing an amendment to the foreign aid authorizations bill in response to Japan's policy of refusing to join the United States in its trade embargo against Iran. My amendment calls on Japan to join the United States trade embargo against Iran in an effort to restore the peace in the Persian Gulf.

The Government of Iran has refused to accept a cease-fire proposed by the United Nations Security Council. Iran continues to threaten the peace in the Persian Gulf and has engaged in agressive military action against United States Naval forces. This includes the use of sea mines and silkworm missiles. Iran's ability to purchase such military hardware is enhanced by trade revenues received from Iranian oil and other products through the Persian Gulf. Japan's announced policy of refusing to engage in a United States instigated trade embargo against Iran will continue to provide the Government of Iran with the hard currencies necessary to finance its war effort.

Few industrial democracies are more dependent on the free flow of oil out of the Persian Gulf than Japan. Japan purchases about 20 percent of Iran's total oil export, an average of between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 barrels a day. However, continued hostilities in the gulf threaten the free flow of oil out of the Persian Gulf. Japan's participation in Western efforts to restore peace to the gulf region have been disappointing. My amendment expresses the sense of Congress that, by failing to make substantive contributions to restoring peace in the gulf region, Japan has been negligent in its responsibility as a member of the Western alliance and as a member of the community of nations. I urge the support of my colleagues.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, each year we participate in the foreign aid debate, we struggle to provide enough funds to conduct our foreign policy. That debate is usually useful and one that the American people have the right to hear. We must make the case for a set of programs that send a portion of our resources overseas. Over the years, there has developed a bipartisan consensus on the need to fund programs that advance our own security, open markets for the United States, and respond to the needs of the world's poor.

What we have before us is a substitute bill that essentially ignores the entire year's work of debate and study, counter-proposals and compromises. It ignores the work of each committee that held hearings, debated, and passed a bill that fulfills the goals that we all share.

The Broomfield substitute strikes out portions of the bill that ensure we know how our money is spent. It deletes language that ensures that our foreign aid program does not go to uses that subsidize foreign competition against American products. It weakens the language on microenterprises that makes sure that a portion of our development assistance reaches the poorest of the poor and helps to make them self-sufficient.

These changes may seem technical in nature, but I assure you that in each case the substitute will eliminate carefully crafted language that has been developed with the minority and with the administration to make sure that these programs are run according to laws passed by this Congress.

If we pass this amendment, we don't just give the administration carte blanche for the next 2 years. We say to any administration that congressional concerns just do not matter—they do not matter on how the money is spent, they do not matter when it comes to fighting the battle against narcotics, and congressional concerns do not matter when it comes to wrestling with the problems in Central America, the Eastern Mediterranean, and Africa. When it comes down to it, we'll just hand over the money and have done with it.

I cannot see how such an abdication of responsibility serves to implement a policy whose goals we all share. I urge my colleagues to vote against the Broomfield substitute and for final passage of the bill.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, today I am offering an amendment to the foreign aid authorizations bill calling on the President to speak out forcefully against human rights violations in the Soviet Union during the summit meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev.

The goal of the summit is to reduce the nuclear threat and to enhance security in Europe. The degree of security and trust between our nations is dependent upon compliance with international commitments. The Soviet Union is obligated under the universal declaration of human rights and the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Despite prisoner releases earlier this year, hundreds of Soviet political prisoners remain in prisons or in psychiatric institutions for attempting to exercise basic rights and freedoms. Although emigration rates have increased, over 12,000 Soviet citizens were allowed to emigrate this year, Soviet authorities continue to deny the right to emigrate as a basic human right. The Soviet's continue to restrict the free flow of information, freedom of religion, thought, and expression. Continued Soviet violations of human rights are a serious impediment to improved bilateral relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

My amendment urges the President to protest forcefully the violation of human rights to Secretary Gorbachev during the summit meetings. It calls on the Soviet Union to abide by and cease all actions which violate its obligations under the universal declaration of human rights and the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. I urge the support of my colleagues.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments en bloc offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] to the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD].

The amendments en bloc to the amendment in the nature of a substitute were agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD], as amended.

The question was taken; and the Chair announced that the noes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 173, noes 234, not voting 26, as follows:

[Roll No. 474]

AYES—173

Applegate
Archer
Armey
Baker
Ballenger
Bartlett
Barton
Bateman
Bentley
Bereuter
Bevill
Bilirakis
Bliley
Boulter
Broomfield
Brown (CO)
Buechner
Bunning
Burton
Callahan
Chandler
Cheney
Clinger
Coats
Coble
Coleman (MO)
Combest
Coughlin
Courter
Crane
Daniel
Dannemeyer
Daub
Davis (IL)
Davis (MI)
DeLay
DeWine
Dickinson
DioGuardi
Dornan (CA)
Dreier
Duncan
Edwards (OK)
Emerson
Erdreich
Fawell
Fields
Fish
Flippo
Gallegly
Gallo
Gekas
Gilman
Gingrich
Goodling
Gradison
Grandy
Gregg
Gunderson
Hall (TX)
Hansen
Harris
Hastert
Hefley
Herger
Hiler
Holloway
Hopkins
Houghton
Hunter
Hutto
Hyde
Inhofe
Ireland
Johnson (CT)
Kasich
Kastenmeier
Kolbe
Konnyu
Kyl
Lagomarsino
Latta
Leach (IA)
Lent
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (FL)
Lipinski
Livingston
Lloyd
Lott
Lowery (CA)
Lujan
Lukens, Donald
Lungren
Madigan
Marlenee
Martin (IL)
Martin (NY)
McCandless
McCollum
McDade
McGrath
McMillan (NC)
Meyers
Michel
Miller (OH)
Miller (WA)
Molinari
Moorhead
Morrison (WA)
Myers
Oxley
Packard
Parris
Pashayan
Petri
Porter
Pursell
Quillen
Ravenel
Regula
Rhodes
Rinaldo
Ritter
Roberts
Robinson
Rogers
Roth
Roukema
Rowland (CT)
Saiki
Saxton
Schaefer
Schneider
Schuette
Schulze
Sensenbrenner
Shaw
Shumway
Shuster
Skeen
Slaughter (VA)
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith, Denny (OR)
Smith, Robert (NH)
Smith, Robert (OR)
Snowe
Solomon
Spence
Stallings
Stangeland
Stenholm
Stump
Sundquist
Swindall
Tallon
Tauke
Tauzin
Taylor
Thomas (CA)
Upton
Vander Jagt
Vucanovich
Walker
Weber
Weldon
Whittaker
Wolf
Wortley
Wylie
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOES—234

Ackerman
Alexander
Anderson
Andrews
Annunzio
Anthony
Aspin
Atkins
AuCoin
Bates
Beilenson
Bennett
Berman
Bilbray
Boehlert
Boggs
Boland
Bonior
Bonker
Borski
Bosco
Boucher
Boxer
Brennan
Brooks
Brown (CA)
Bruce
Bryant
Bustamante
Byron
Campbell
Cardin
Carper
Carr
Chapman
Chappell
Clarke
Clay
Coelho
Coleman (TX)
Collins
Conte
Conyers
Cooper
Coyne
Crockett
Darden
de la Garza
DeFazio
Dellums
Derrick
Dicks
Dingell
Donnelly
Dorgan (ND)
Downey
Durbin
Dwyer
Dymally
Dyson
Early
Eckart
Edwards (CA)
English
Espy
Evans
Fascell
Fazio
Feighan
Flake
Florio
Foglietta
Foley
Ford (MI)
Ford (TN)
Frank
Frost
Garcia
Gaydos
Gejdenson
Gibbons
Glickman
Gonzalez
Gordon
Grant
Gray (IL)
Gray (PA)
Green
Guarini
Hamilton
Hammerschmidt
Hatcher
Hawkins
Hayes (IL)
Hayes (LA)
Hefner
Henry
Hertel
Hochbrueckner
Horton
Howard
Hoyer
Hubbard
Huckaby
Hughes
Jacobs
Jeffords
Johnson (SD)
Jones (NC)
Jones (TN)
Jontz
Kanjorski
Kennedy
Kennelly
Kildee
Kleczka
Kostmayer
LaFalce
Lancaster
Lantos
Leath (TX)
Lehman (CA)
Lehman (FL)
Leland
Levin (MI)
Levine (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lightfoot
Lowry (WA)
MacKay
Manton
Markey
Martinez
Matsui
Mavroules
Mazzoli
McCloskey
McCurdy
McHugh
McMillen (MD)
Mfume
Mica
Miller (CA)
Mineta
Moakley
Mollohan
Montgomery
Morella
Morrison (CT)
Mrazek
Murphy
Murtha
Nagle
Natcher
Neal
Nelson
Nowak
Oakar
Oberstar
Obey
Olin
Ortiz
Owens (NY)
Owens (UT)
Panetta
Patterson
Pease
Pelosi
Penny
Pepper
Perkins
Pickett
Pickle
Price (IL)
Price (NC)
Rahall
Rangel
Ray
Richardson
Ridge
Rodino
Roe
Rose
Rostenkowski
Rowland (GA)
Roybal
Russo
Sabo
Savage
Sawyer
Scheuer
Schroeder
Schumer
Sharp
Shays
Sikorski
Sisisky
Skaggs
Skelton
Slattery
Slaughter (NY)
Smith (IA)
Solarz
Spratt
St Germain
Staggers
Stokes
Studds
Swift
Synar
Thomas (GA)
Torres
Torricelli
Towns
Traficant
Traxler
Udall
Valentine
Vento
Visclosky
Volkmer
Walgren
Watkins
Waxman
Weiss
Wheat
Whitten
Williams
Wilson
Wise
Wolpe
Wyden
Yates
Yatron

NOT VOTING—26

Akaka
Badham
Barnard
Biaggi
Craig
Dixon
Dowdy
Frenzel
Gephardt
Hall (OH)
Jenkins
Kaptur
Kemp
Kolter
Luken, Thomas
Mack
McEwen
Moody
Nichols
Nielson
Roemer
Smith (FL)
Smith (TX)
Stark
Stratton
Sweeney

□ 1700

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Nichols for, with Mr. Akaka against.

Mr. Craig for, with Mr. Moody against.

Mr. Mack for, with Mr. Smith of Florida against.

Mr. MAVROULES changed his vote from "aye" to "no."

Messrs. BEVILL, GOODLING, and DAVIS of Illinois changed their votes from "no" to "aye."

So the amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended, was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. COELHO] having assumed the chair, Mr. AUCOIN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3100) to authorize international security and development assistance programs and Peace Corps programs for fiscal years 1988 and 1989, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 293, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

Mr. KYL. Mr. Chairman, today we are going to vote on passage of H.R. 3100, the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1987. I intend to vote against passage of this legislation and I want to take this opportunity to explain why.

My opposition is reluctant, because this could have been a good bill; and I want to state at the outset that I support a U.S. foreign aid program that is consistent with and advances our foreign policy interests and objectives.

Another reason I would prefer to vote for this bill is because I strongly support aid to Israel. We share a common heritage, the values of freedoi and domocracy and a common purpose in resisting communism and tyranny. Further, our strategic relationship puts Israel in a unique position to assist the United States in the conduct of our foreign policy. I fully support the amount of aid that will be provided to Israel under the continuing resolution that we will soon adopt as the funding mechanism for the next year.

The bill we are about to vote on, after 5 days of debate and amendments, and the vote itself, should not, however, be used by anyone as a test on support for foreign aid generally or any specific component within the bill—such as aid to Israel. As we all know, as an omnibus bill, the vote on passage does not allow Members the option to object with their vote to bad aspects of the bill. Rather, Members must either accept all or nothing.

Further, H.R. 3100 is irrelevant to the process of providing foreign aid to other countries. The Senate is not even expected to consider its version of H.R. 3100. The bill will never be sent to the President. It is an absolute irrelevancy insofar as appropriating aid is concerned! Funding for foreign aid will be provided for in the continuing resolution. As a result, all H.R. 3100 represents is an opportunity for everyone to fight out their foreign policy battles. There were numerous provisions and amendments that sought to establish specific operational limitations on our foreign aid policy. Because House passage of H.R. 3100 would increase the chances that they would find their way into the continuing resolution, they had to be supported or opposed. Ultimately, my vote is based on the fact that numerous specifics of this bill—which will be part of the CR—are bad, and I can make that point without jeopardizing the provision of aid because it will be included in the CR.

As H.R. 3100 has developed, it has many problems. One problem involves H.R. 3100's treatment of security assistance. Security assistance to allies and friends is the No. 1 priority of U.S. foreign aid. Yet, H.R. 3100 inadequately provides for this high priority foreign aid program. Of $605.6 million cut from the President's request for foreign aid, H.R. 3100 cuts over half a billion dollars—that's five-sixths of the total cut—from security assistance. That is bad public policy. Further, during consideration of H.R. 3100, two amendments have been agreed to that will further cut security assistance. I have opposed them both, to no avail.

One amendment would reduce the military assistance program authorization by $83.7 million. The other amendment provides that $532 million in foreign military sales funds can be used for the Guaranty Reserve Fund, a loan guarantee program intended to cover defaults in countries' repayment of foreign military sales [FMS] loans. Nearly 90 percent of FMS funding in H.R. 3100 is earmarked for specific countries. By providing for the use of $532 million in FMS money to replenish the GRF, it could necessitate reducing the earmarked FMS funds for the other countries. It is unnecessary and harmful to allow any further cut in FMS funds.

In fact, security assistance has been taking it on the chin for several years. This is evidenced, for example, by the estimated $1.5 billion the United States owes to base rights countries as part of our agreements with these countries to have access to military facilities. In other words, security assistance funding levels in recent years have not even allowed the United States to meet its base rights commitments! Ostensibly because of budgetary constraints, we have been cutting the heart out of our security assistance program—just as we have with defense spending. That represents a false savings. The real need is to prioritize spending consistent with fiscal reality and our national interests.

Another objectionable aspect of H.R. 3100 is its numerous earmarks, limitations, and restrictions which severely constrain the administration's ability to administer foreign assistance programs. This bill would remove the flexibility needed to respond effectively to world events. Over 60 percent of all funding in H.R. 3100 is earmarked, with nearly 90 percent of foreign military sales credits and 73 percent of economic support funds earmarked for specific purposes. Add to this numerous ceilings and limitations and the result is congressional micromanagement of our foreign assistance program.

Examples of this micromanagement include, first, utilization of foreign aid as a trade subsidy programmed for United States exports, resulting in the American taxpayer footing the bill for certain United States exports; second, cargo preference provisions which will undercut the efficiency of the Food for Peace Program (Public Law 480), by increasing the programs transportation costs in an effort to subsidize the merchant marine industry; third, high assistance levels for many African countries which oppose United States policies, are not high foreign policy priorities, or have strong relations with the Soviet Union; and fourth, provisions which encourage African countries to continue to avoid paying their foreign aid debts to the United States.

This kind of micromanagement is not only bad as a general policy, but many of the specific provisions represent narrow special interests and are themselves bad public policy.

Another serious problem I have with H.R. 3100 is the provision in the bill which expanded a current-law proscription against providing foreign aid to another country conditioned on that country then turning around and providing aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. This current proscription will now be expanded to prohibit the United States from "making any agreement, or entering into any understanding, either formal or informal, under which a recipient of United States economic or military assistance or a purchaser of United States military equipment shall provide assistance of any kind to persons or groups engaging in an insurgency or other act of rebellion against the Government of Nicaragua." As my colleague, Congressman HENRY HYDE stated during debate on this matter, it is "outrageously unenforceable and outrageously and conspicuously unconstitutional. You cannot tell the President that he cannot engage in an understanding with another head of state." Like the Boland amendments, this provision will render it impossible for a member of the executive branch to know whether he is violating a Federal law merely by talking to other countries about their aid policies. If for no other reason, I would have to oppose this bill because of this treacherous provision.

There comes a time when the real operational provisions (which will become policy in the continuing resolution, though not law under H.R. 3100) are more important than the general philosophical support for aid which would be represented by an "aye" vote. We don't have to prove our philosophical commitment to aid by casting a vote that is meaningless on the dollar issue, but has real negative consequences in terms of aid management policy. Moreover, this is the only place we can object to the deep cuts in key parts of our foreign assistance program. Let me illustrate the point another way.

There is no one in the Congress who is a stronger supporter of defense than I am. Yet, I opposed passage of the Defense authorization bill, because, among other reasons, it provided insufficient funding to provide for the national security needs of this Nation and because it contained onerous arms control language. I am a strong supporter of the freedom fighters in Nicaragua and have invested a lot of time in trying to make the peace process work. I strongly believe that keeping the Contras a viable force is key to making the Guatemala accords work. Yet, I voted against continuing resolutions which contained funding for the Contras because of my fundamental opposition to omnibus funding through the expedient of continuing resolutions. I campaigned against the federally-mandated 55 m.p.h. speed limit. Yet, I voted to sustain the President's veto of the highway bill which raised the speed limit because the bill contained billions in pork barrel spending.

Why did I vote against my postion in each of these cases? Because, as everyone here knows, votes are frequently set up in such a way that we have to take a whole lot of bad in order to get the good. And, sometimes that's just unacceptable, either as a matter of public policy or procedural principle. (This situation should make evident the need to provide the President with line-item veto authority.) If we give in to this blackmail system, we give up our last shred of philosophical dignity and the moral basis for our positions.

The long-term continuing resolution will be voted on in less than 2 weeks. It will provide funding for military pay, and other important defense programs, EPA, health and education programs, Medicare, foreign aid and every other program of the Federal Government. I may well oppose passage of this legislation. Am I against any of these things? Of course not! But, as I have said, because of the process we have fallen into here, I have no way of expressing my opposition to what I consider bad policy and bad government in these types of omnibus bills, except to vote "no" on the entire bill. That is why, I must reluctantly vote "no" on this bill. While I support its underlying purpose, while I support specific provisions such as aid to Israel and Egypt, I will not cast an "aye" vote thereby supporting the host of provisions detrimental to the very purpose of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 286, noes 122, not voting 25, as follows:

[Roll No. 475]

AYES—286

Ackerman	Anthony	Ballenger
Alexander	Aspin	Bateman
Anderson	Atkins	Bates
Andrews	AuCoin	Beilenson
Annunzio	Baker	Bentley

Bereuter
Berman
Bilbray
Bliley
Boehlert
Boggs
Boland
Bonior
Bonker
Borski
Bosco
Boucher
Boulter
Boxer
Brennan
Broomfield
Brown (CA)
Bruce
Bryant
Buechner
Bunning
Bustamante
Byron
Callahan
Campbell
Cardin
Carper
Carr
Chandler
Chapman
Clarke
Clay
Coble
Coelho
Coleman (TX)
Collins
Conte
Conyers
Cooper
Coughlin
Courter
Coyne
Crockett
Darden
Daub
Davis (IL)
de la Garza
DeFazio
Dellums
Derrick
Dicks
Dingell
DioGuardi
Donnelly
Dorgan (ND)
Dornan (CA)
Downey
Durbin
Dwyer
Dymally
Eckart
Edwards (CA)
Edwards (OK)
Erdreich
Espy
Evans
Fascell
Fazio
Feighan
Fish
Flake
Flippo
Florio
Foglietta
Foley
Ford (MI)
Ford (TN)
Frost
Gallo
Garcia
Gejdenson
Gibbons
Gilman
Gingrich
Glickman
Gonzalez
Gordon
Grandy
Grant
Gray (IL)
Gray (PA)
Green
Guarini
Gunderson
Hall (TX)
Hamilton
Harris
Hastert
Hatcher
Hawkins
Hayes (IL)
Hayes (LA)
Hefley
Hertel
Hochbrueckner
Holloway
Horton
Houghton
Howard
Hoyer
Huckaby
Hughes
Inhofe
Jeffords
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (SD)
Jontz
Kanjorski
Kasich
Kennedy
Kennelly
Kildee
Kleczka
Konnyu
Kostmayer
LaFalce
Lancaster
Lantos
Leach (IA)
Leath (TX)
Lehman (CA)
Lehman (FL)
Leland
Lent
Levin (MI)
Levine (CA)
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (FL)
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Lott
Lowery (CA)
Lowry (WA)
MacKay
Manton
Markey
Martin (NY)
Martinez
Matsui
Mavroules
Mazzoli
McCloskey
McCollum
McCurdy
McDade
McGrath
McHugh
McMillan (NC)
McMillen (MD)
Meyers
Mfume
Mica
Miller (CA)
Miller (WA)
Mineta
Moakley
Molinari
Morella
Morrison (CT)
Morrison (WA)
Mrazek
Murtha
Nagle
Natcher
Nelson
Nowak
Oakar
Oberstar
Obey
Ortiz
Owens (NY)
Owens (UT)
Panetta
Pashayan
Pelosi
Penny
Pepper
Pickett
Pickle
Porter
Price (IL)
Price (NC)
Pursell
Rangel
Ravenel
Rhodes
Richardson
Rinaldo
Ritter
Rodino
Roe
Rose
Rostenkowski
Roukema
Rowland (CT)
Rowland (GA)
Roybal
Sabo
Saiki
Savage
Sawyer
Saxton
Scheuer
Schneider
Schroeder
Schuette
Schumer
Sharp
Shaw
Shays
Sikorski
Sisisky
Skaggs
Skelton
Slattery
Slaughter (NY)
Smith (IA)
Smith (NJ)
Snowe
Solarz
Spratt
St Germain
Stallings
Stenholm
Stokes
Stratton
Studds
Sundquist
Swift
Synar
Tallon
Tauke
Tauzin
Thomas (CA)
Thomas (GA)
Torres
Torricelli
Towns
Traxler
Udall
Upton
Vander Jagt
Vento
Visclosky
Vucanovich
Walgren
Waxman
Weber
Weiss
Weldon
Wheat
Williams
Wilson
Wise
Wolf
Wolpe
Wortley
Wyden
Yates
Yatron
Young (AK)

NOES—122

Applegate
Archer
Armey
Bartlett
Barton
Bennett
Bevill
Bilirakis
Brooks
Brown (CO)
Burton
Chappell
Cheney
Clinger
Coats
Coleman (MO)
Combest
Crane
Daniel
Dannemeyer
Davis (MI)
DeLay
DeWine
Dickinson
Dreier
Duncan
Dyson
Early
Emerson
English
Fawell
Fields
Gallegly
Gaydos
Gekas
Goodling
Gradison
Gregg
Hammerschmidt
Hansen
Hefner
Henry
Herger
Hiler
Hopkins
Hubbard
Hunter
Hutto
Hyde
Ireland
Jacobs
Jones (NC)
Jones (TN)
Kastenmeier
Kolbe
Kyl
Lagomarsino
Latta
Lightfoot
Livingston
Lloyd
Lujan
Lukens, Donald
Lungren
Madigan
Marlenee
Martin (IL)
McCandless
Michel
Miller (OH)
Mollohan
Montgomery
Moorhead
Murphy
Myers
Neal
Nielson
Olin
Oxley
Packard
Parris
Patterson
Pease
Perkins
Petri
Quillen
Rahall
Ray
Regula
Ridge
Roberts
Robinson
Rogers
Roth
Russo
Schaefer
Schulze
Sensenbrenner
Shumway
Shuster
Skeen
Slaughter (VA)
Smith (NE)
Smith, Denny (OR)
Smith, Robert (NH)
Smith, Robert (OR)
Solomon
Spence
Staggers
Stangeland
Stump
Swindall
Taylor
Traficant
Valentine
Volkmer
Walker
Watkins
Whittaker
Whitten
Wylie
Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—25

Akaka
Badham
Barnard
Biaggi
Craig
Dixon
Dowdy
Frank
Frenzel
Gephardt
Hall (OH)
Jenkins
Kaptur
Kemp
Kolter
Luken, Thomas
Mack
McEwen
Moody
Nichols
Roemer
Smith (FL)
Smith (TX)
Stark
Sweeney

□ 1715

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Akaka for, with Mr. Craig against.

Mr. Smith of Texas for, with Mr. Mack against.

Messrs. HALL of Texas, STENHOLM, BOULTER, EDWARDS of Oklahoma, and SAVAGE changed their votes from "no" to "aye."

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

□ 1730

AUTHORIZING CLERK TO MAKE CORRECTIONS IN ENGROSSMENT OF H.R. 3100, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1987

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that, in the engrossment of the bill just passed H.R. 3100, the Clerk be authorized to correct section numbers, cross references, punctuation, and grammatical and spelling errors, to correct the table of contents to reflect the provisions of the bill, and to make such other technical and conforming changes as may be necessary to reflect the actions of the House in amending the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 2700, ENERGY AND WATER DEVELOPMENT APPROPRIATION, 1988

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 2700) making appropriations for Energy and Water Development Appropriation for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1988, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Mr. BEVILL, Mrs. BOGGS, and Messrs. CHAPPELL, FAZIO, WATKINS, THOMAS of Georgia, WHITTEN, and MYERS of Indiana, Mrs. SMITH of Nebraska, Mr. PURSELL, and Mr. CONTE.

HAROLD WASHINGTON SOCIAL SECURITY CENTER

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 3700) to designate the Federal building located at 600 West Madison, Chicago, IL, as the "Harold Washington Social Security Center".

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, under my reservation of objection I yield to the chief sponsor of H.R. 3700, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SAVAGE] for an explanation of this legislation offered by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HOWARD].

Mr. SAVAGE. Mr. Speaker, this is a straightforward resolution. As my colleagues know, Chicago and this Nation lost a great mayor with the death of Harold Washington, who had brought unity in a divided city, and opened up a closed government. He was formerly a colleague of ours here and was highly regarded for how hard he worked and the experience and intelligence and commitment that he brought to that task.

This bill simply renames a Federal building in Chicago the "Harold Washington Social Security Center."

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from

New Jersey [Mr. HOWARD], the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Public Works and Transportation.

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Public Works and Transportation unanimously reported today legislation and honoring the late mayor of Chicago and our former colleague, the Honorable Harold Washington.

The bill H.R. 3700, designates the Federal building located at 600 West Madison, Chicago, IL, as the "Harold Washington Social Security Center."

It is fitting and proper that a building which is an essential part of that every day life of that great city be named in honor of this man. Harold Washington represented his city at its best—both as a Member of Congress and as a mayor of that great city. He served for 5 years as arbitrator for the Illinois Industrial Commission, then was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives and served in that capacity until he was elected to the State senate. A son of that great city he became a son of that great State. He contributed his understanding and knowledge of public affairs for the help of all during his great service in the U.S. House of Representatives. It was climaxed by his election as mayor a little over 4 years ago and his recent reelection by an overwhelming mandate.

The city of Chicago appreciated and respected this man. We, as his colleagues, join with that city in expressing our sorrow at his departure but our happiness that he was able to contribute much to the development of that city during his career.

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I want to express my support for H.R. 3700, which would name a Federal building in Chicago, IL, the "Harold Washington Social Security Center" in honor of our former colleague and mayor of Chicago.

Before his sudden and untimely death last month, Harold Washington lived a life of service to his city of Chicago. His public career began in 1954 when he was appointed assistant prosecutor for the city of Chicago and continued 2 years later when he served as arbitrator for the Illinois Industrial Commission.

In 1965, Harold Washington's first of many elections brought him to the Illinois House of Representatives where he served until his election to the Illinois Senate in 1977. Finally, in 1980 he was elected to this body.

Harold Washington took on a major challenge when he decided to give up his seat in Congress to take on the campaign for mayor of Chicago in 1983. After a long, hard battle when it seemed the odds were against him, he was elected and went on to be reelected in April of this year. He truly cared about the city and people of Chicago.

Mr. Speaker, it is therefore appropriate that we recognize the contributions of Harold Washington to his city and country by naming this building in his honor.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on H.R. 3700.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TORRES). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

H.R. 3700

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. DESIGNATION.

The Federal building known as the "Great Lakes Program Service Center" and located at 600 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois, shall be known and designated as the "Harold Washington Social Security Center".

SEC. 2. LEGAL REFERENCES.

Any reference in a law, map, regulation, document, record, or other paper of the United States to the Federal building referred to in section 1 shall be deemed to be a reference to the "Harold Washington Social Security Center".

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1720, FAMILY WELFARE REFORM ACT OF 1987

Mr. PEPPER, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 100-472) on the resolution (H. Res. 331 providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 1720) to replace the existing AFDC program with a new Family Support Program which emphasizes work, child support, and need-based family support supplements, to amend title IV of the Social Security Act to encourage and assist needy children and parents under the new program to obtain the education, training, and employment needed to avoid long-term welfare dependence, and to make other necessary improvements to assure that the new program will be more effective in achieving its objectives, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COVERT ARMS TRANSACTIONS WITH IRAN

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 330) relating to the termination of the affairs of the Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran, sponsored and supported by the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. CHENEY] and myself, and I ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 330

Resolved, That notwithstanding House Resolution 12 and House concurrent Resolution 195 of the One Hundredth Congress—

(1) the Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions With Iran, established by House Resolution 12, shall terminate March 1, 1988,

(2) between the date of the adoption of this resolution and the date of the Select Committee's termination, the Select Committee shall not undertake any activity unrelated to the closing of its affairs, except that the Select Committee may receive materials in response to requests made before the date of the adoption of this resolution, and

(3) upon the termination of the Select Committee, its records shall be transmitted to the Clerk of the House of Representatives for storage in the National Archives.

Any Member of the Select Committee may, upon request, have access to the records of the Select Committee which are in the National Archives. Any other Member of the House of Representatives and any member of the staff of any committee or select committee of the House of Representatives, of any joint committee of the Congress, or of any Member of the House of Representatives may have access to such records only upon approval by the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence in accordance with its rules and the Rules of the House of Representatives.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I offer this resolution on behalf of myself and the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. CHENEY], and I want to say at the outset that I appreciate very much the cooperation that I have had from the gentleman from Wyoming throughout the period of the work of the Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran, and especially that I have appreciated his willingness to work with me and the leadership to resolve the problems that arose in connection with this resolution.

The resolution balances three needs, first, is the need to complete the work of the committee in an orderly manner; second, the need to protect

sensitive information; and third, the need to ensure access to the committee records for legitimate legislative purposes.

The resolution allows the Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran sufficient time to properly organize its records for storage, and I hope this extension to March 1, 1988, will alleviate some of the problems that have resulted from the failure to permit other select committees adequate time to close their affairs.

The resolution should help ensure that sensitive information is not inadvertently disclosed in committee publications.

It is my understanding that the White House has committed itself to complete a review of the committee's records by January 31, 1988. It is my expectation that this review will be conducted according to standards that protect national security while taking into account the desire of the committee to make public as much of its records as possible.

The resolution will also insure the committee's records for legitimate access to the records of the committee for legitimate legislative purposes.

I am aware of at least one request for access to these records at this time. There may be others.

Until March 1, 1988, the Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran will continue to grant access to its records according to the rules of the committee.

That procedure has worked reasonably well during the past year, and I expect to continue to work with the gentleman from Wyoming and the other members of the committee to respond to legitimate requests.

Upon the expiration of this committee, all committee records will be transmitted to the Clerk for storage in an appropriate secure fashion at the National Archives.

The Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence will determine requests for access to that committee's records pursuant to its rules and the rules of the House.

I believe this resolution offers a workable and reasonable method for disposing of and providing access to the records of the committee and I, of course, urge Members to support its adoption.

Mr. CHENEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. CHENEY].

Mr. CHENEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Indiana for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, this is an important piece of legislation because we hope it is the last time we will have to come to the Congress for the purpose of taking time of the House to discuss the subject of the Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transaction with Iran.

Let me echo the sentiments expressed by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] and thank him for the privilege of having served with him on the committee. It has been a very difficult task. He has had the most difficult task of all, to preside over a sometimes contentious and confusing process, but I think the committee has in fact produced a product that the House can be proud of and now we are in the process of closing out our responsibilities.

I would confirm what the gentleman from Indiana has indicated. In conversations today with senior officials at the White House, we have a commitment that as of January 31, 1988, they will have completed their declassification of those materials that the committee has voted to release. I have given my word to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] and also to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. FOLEY] that if the White House fails to meet that deadline, I will join with the gentleman from Indiana in coming back to the floor at the appropriate time to seek a further extension of the life of the Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran.

I do not expect that that will be necessary.

To my colleagues on this side of the aisle, the important thing is that as of the adoption of this resolution the investigation is essentially complete, the committee will continue in business until March 1, 1988 to wind down its affairs with a very limited staff. As of March 1, 1988, the documents will be transferred to the Archives under appropriate security procedures, and after that date, except for the members of the Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran, all other requests for access to the materials will require a majority vote of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

□ 1745

Mr. Speaker, I think it is a good package, I think it is one that deserves the support of the House. I think it satisfies the concerns that many of us on this side of the aisle have expressed in recent days, and I am delighted that we were in fact able to work out this accommodation.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would ask the chairman to join with me in a colloquy with respect to explaining specifically what is intended in that paragraph in the resolution, paragraph No. 2, that deals with the committee closing out its affairs.

Mr. Speaker, our resolution provides only for one exception to the provision that the committee will have no further investigative power. That exception allows the select committee to receive materials in response to requests made prior to the date of the adoption of this resolution.

Would the gentleman please explain for the benefit of the House what precisely is covered by this exception?

Mr. HAMILTON. There are, as I have previously discussed with the gentleman from Wyoming, two pending requests for information of which I am aware. I am not aware of any other requests.

Mr. CHENEY. I thank the gentleman and appreciate the clarification.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAMILTON. I yield to the gentleman from Florida, the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 330 which provides for the disposition of the records of the Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran. Under the Rules of the House of Representatives, the authority to establish select committees lies within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Rules.

As Members are aware the Committee on Rules met in emergency session the night of December 9 at the request of Chairman HAMILTON to report a rule for the consideration of House Resolution 327, a resolution to provide for the disposition of the records of the select committee. The authority of the select committee is to expire on December 13, 1987, unless further action is taken.

In the absence of an agreement between the chairman and ranking minority member of the select committee as to the text of the resolution, the Rules Committee reported House Resolution 329, a rule which provides for consideration of House Resolution 327. The rule contains the text of an amendment to be offered by Representative CHENEY of Wyoming as a substitute to the text of House Resolution 327. The rule allows the House the opportunity to decide which of two alternate proposals would best accommodate the will of the House. However, earlier today the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] and the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. CHENEY] reached an agreement which is contained in the text of House Resolution 330, and therefore, it will not be necessary to call up the rule.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend both gentleman for coming to an agreement which will allow the select committee to complete its business in an orderly fashion and within reasonable time constraints.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAMILTON. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio, the distinguished

chairman of the Intelligence Committee.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished chairman for yielding.

The resolution before us speaks of restricting the activities of the select committee until March 1 to: "the closing of its affairs, except that the select committee may receive materials in response to requests made before the date of the adoption of this resolution."

Lest there be any misunderstanding concerning the status of outstanding requests of the select committee to executive branch agencies for information or material or concerning the status of new information that may respond to a previous request or subpoena of the select committee, is it the intent of this resolution to permit the committee to continue to receive and review any new information or material that responds to previous requests or subpoenas, if such information or material becomes available during the remainder of the life of the committee?

Mr. HAMILTON. That is indeed the intent of the resolution and that would be its effect. I am aware of only two such requests.

Mr. STOKES. And is it also the intention of the resolution that the committee may refer any new information acquired before March 1, to appropriate committees of jurisdiction?

Mr. HAMILTON. The rules of the select committee authorize it to make referrals to other committees of jurisdiction.

Mr. STOKES. And finally, is it the understanding of the gentleman that, after March 1, other committees of the House are free to inquire into matters within their jurisdiction that may touch upon any such new information or material?

Mr. HAMILTON. That is my understanding.

Mr. STOKES. I thank the gentleman for yielding and I support the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON], the chairman of the committee, for the outstanding job he has done, along with the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. CHENEY], for the outstanding job he has done.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar resolution (H. Res. 329) was laid on the table.

PERMISSION TO HAVE UNTIL MIDNIGHT FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1987, TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 2310, AIRPORT AND AIRWAY IMPROVEMENT AMENDMENTS OF 1987

Mr. GRAY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the managers may have until midnight, Friday, December 11, 1987, to file a conference report on H.R. 2310, the Airport and Airway Improvement Amendments of 1987.

I would state further, Mr. Speaker, this matter has been cleared by the minority.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TORRES). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS AND TRANSPORTATION TO HAVE UNTIL MIDNIGHT FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1987, TO FILE REPORT ON H.R. 2790, PUBLIC BUILDING AMENDMENTS

Mr. GRAY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Public Works and Transportation may have until midnight Friday, December 11, 1987, to file a report on H.R. 2790, the public buildings amendments.

I would state further, Mr. Speaker, this matter also has been cleared by the minority.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I regret that I was absent for three rollcall votes on title VII to the Foreign Assistance Act, having been detained at the White House for Secretary Gorbachev's departure ceremony.

Had I been present, I would have voted "aye" on rollcall 470, "no" on rollcall 471, and "no" on rollcall 472.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my explanation for each vote appear in the permanent RECORD immediately following each vote.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

GRANTING FEDERAL CHARTER TO CHALLENGER CENTER FOR SPACE SCIENCE EDUCATION

(Mr. BROOKS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased today to introduce legislation to grant a Federal charter to the Challenger Center for Space Science Education. A similar measure is being introduced concurrently in the Senate.

Following the tragic accident of last year, the families of the *Challenger* crew jointly and exclusively came together to conceive the National Challenger Center, a science education center intended to offer to both children and teachers activities and information derived from American space research. This center is designed to be the living expression of our Nation's commemoration of the crew and their common dream of expanding the educational horizons for young people and for educators.

My colleagues will recall that earlier this session Congress adopted, and the President so proclaimed, that January 28, 1987, be designated "National Challenger Center Day." A similar bill is awaiting action again for next year, but passage of the measure I am introducing today will go even further in recognizing the importance of the sacrifices made by the *Challenger* crew and their families. In creating this lasting, working tribute to the ideals and efforts of the brave men and women lost in the *Challenger* accident, we can—at the same time—add another important facet to our Nation's commitment to excellence in space science and its related fields.

I encourage my colleagues to support the bill, and I look forward to its successful passage in this Congress.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. SENSENBRENNER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to find out what we are going to be doing tomorrow.

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from California, the majority whip, if he can give us an answer.

Mr. COELHO. Mr. Speaker, what we are doing tomorrow is we will come in at 10 o'clock, and on the schedule will be the endangered species legislation.

We will be waiting for the Senate. They are anticipated tonight to complete reconciliation, and then they will send over the papers to us tomorrow, and as soon as those papers get in we will then move to go into conference. It will depend upon whether or not anybody moves to instruct, but at that point we would have the instructions, and that would be the business for the day.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Reclaiming my time, what would happen if the Senate is unable to complete consideration of the reconciliation bill, or they are not able to put the papers in proper order to send to us for our consideration?

Mr. COELHO. If the gentleman will yield, we cannot operate depending on that. We are operating on the fact that the Senate will complete the papers tonight. Senator DOLE and Sen-

ator BYRD both say they will. They have eliminated 6 hours of debate. I do not anticipate any problems.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, before the gentleman leaves I would just like to know is there any time certain tomorrow that we are going to make a decision on whether or not we will adjourn, or are we just going to wait until we hear from the Senate if it takes until 6 o'clock tomorrow night?

Mr. COELHO. If the gentleman will yield further, we intend to go to conference on the reconciliation bill tomorrow, and we will wait for the Senate's action, and we will determine that sometime tomorrow.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. If the gentleman will yield further, regardless of how late we go, even if they do not get the papers until 6 o'clock?

Mr. COELHO. If the gentleman will yield further, as he knows we are trying to complete the session for this year. So we will try to take the action that is appropriate. We are not going to give the gentleman a time certain, because it would be inappropriate to do so at this time. We are trying to complete the action, and if we have to be in session all day tomorrow, we will be. But we are going to try to complete action because we want to try to get out of here next week. That is the intent of the leadership.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Speaker, I have a further question of the gentleman from California. Is it the majority leadership's intention to complete action on the endangered species bill regardless of when the papers on reconciliation come over, or will we quit after the papers on reconciliation come over and are acted upon?

Mr. COELHO. The latter is the case.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. We will quit once reconciliation is acted upon?

Mr. COELHO. Once we move to go to conference, the gentleman is correct.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. I thank the gentleman.

PRESIDENT OSCAR ARIAS-SANCHEZ RECEIVES THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. ALEXANDER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, man is at his best when engaged in a grand undertaking. The ultimate achievement of a civilized society is peace. Today, our friend and neighbor, President Oscar Arias-Sanchez received the Nobel Prize for Peace for his efforts to bring about a political solution to the hostilities in Central America. I offer my sincere congratulations and personal admiration to President Arias for his vision, courage, and leadership toward the cause of peace. His is an example for all political leaders to follow in best serving the cause of mankind in the grand undertaking of peace.

During a news conference following his acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize, President Arias called for a cessation of all U.S. support for the Contras. Arias asserted that the Contras are the problem, not the solution, explaining that communism has failed Nicaragua, one of the poorest nations on Earth; and that communism has made conditions worse in Nicaragua, not better. He continued by saying that the Sandinistas are blaming United States intervention via the Contras, for their failure to improve conditions for the beleaguered Nicaraguan people. Arias reasons that by removing the Contras, the excuse of failure is eliminated thus enhancing the prospects of a political solution.

Last week during a meeting with Arias in Coasta Rica, he elaborated to me on this proposition further explaining that by removing the excuse for failure, challenges the Sandinistas to govern by their own merits which would set the stage for a more moderate government in Nicaragua. Arias also said that the basic problem in Central America is rooted in economics, not ideology, and that U.S. support for economic development and trade would nourish democratic governments which is more persuasive and more powerful than American military force. "Votes are more persuasive than bullets," he said.

I submit the text of President Arias' remarks for the consideration of my colleagues: Mr. Arias has thus explained that the power of democracy is the best ideological weapon to use in the fight against the threat of communism.

In reflecting upon President Arias' ideas I am reminded of a quote of Gen. Napoleon Bonaparte who said in the autumn of his career: "There are only two powers in the world, the spirit and the sword. In the end the spirit always wins out over the sword."

TEXT OF SPEECH BY ARIAS ON ACCEPTING NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

When you decided to honor me with this prize, you decided to honor a country of peace, you decided to honor Costa Rica. When in this year, 1987, you carried out the will of Alfred E. Nobel to encourage peace efforts in the world, you decided to encourage the efforts to secure peace in Central America. I am grateful for the recognition of our search for peace. We are all grateful in Central America.

Nobody knows better than the honorable members of this Committee, that this prize is a sign to let the world know that you want to foster the Central American peace initiative. With your decision you are enhancing the possibilities of success. You are declaring how well you know the search for peace can never end, and how it is a permanent cause, always in need of true support from real friends, from people with courage to promote change in favour of peace, even against all odds.

Peace is not a matter of prizes or trophies. It is not the product of a victory or command. It has no finishing line, no final deadline, no fixed definition of achievement.

Peace is a neverending process, the work of many decisions by many people in many countries. It is an attitude, a way of life, a way of solving problems and resolving conflicts. It cannot be forced on the smallest nation or enforced by the largest. It cannot ignore our differences or overlook our common interests. It requires us to work and live together.

Peace is not only a matter of noble words and Nobel lectures. We have ample words, glorious words, inscribed in the charters of the United Nations, the World Court, the Organization of American States and a network of international treaties and laws. We need deeds that will respect those words, honor those commitments, abide by those laws. We need to strengthen our institutions of peace like the United Nations, making certain they are fully used by the weak as well as the strong.

I pay no attention to those doubters and detractors unwilling to believe that lasting peace can be genuinely embraced by those who march under a different ideological banner or those who are more accustomed to cannons of war than to councils of peace.

We seek in Central America not peace alone, not peace to be followed some day by political progress, but peace and democracy, together, indivisible, an end to the shedding of human blood, which is inseparable from an end to the supression of human rights. We do not judge, much less condemn, any other nation's political or ideological system, freely chosen and never exported. We cannot require sovereign states to conform to patterns of government not of their own choosing. But we can and do insist that every government respect those universal rights of man that have meaning beyond national boundaries and ideological labels. We believe that justice and peace can only thrive together, never apart. A nation that mistreats its own citizens is more likely to mistreat its neighbours.

To receive this Nobel Prize on the 10th of December is for me a marvelous coincidence. My son Oscar Felipe, here present, is 8 years old today. I say to him, and through him to all the children of my country, that we shall never resort to violence, we shall never support military solutions to the problems of Central America. It is for the new generation that we must understand more than ever that peace can only be achieved through its own instruments: dialogue and understanding; tolerance and forgiveness; freedom and democracy.

I know well you share what we say to all members of the international community, and particularly to those both in the East and the West, with far greater power and resources than my small nation could ever hope to possess. I say to them, with the utmost urgency: let Central Americans decide the future of Central America. Leave the interpretation and implementation of our peace plan to us. Support the efforts for peace instead of the forces of war in our region. Send our people ploughshares instead of swords, pruning hooks instead of spears. If they, for their own purposes, cannot refrain from amassing the weapons

of war, then, in the name of God, at least they should leave us in peace.

I say here to His Majesty and to the honorable members of the Nobel Peace Committee, to the wonderful people of Norway, that I accept this prize because I know how passionately you share our quest for peace, our eagerness for success. If, in the years to come peace prevails, and violence and war are thus avoided; a large part of that peace will be due to the faith of the people of Norway, and will be theirs forever.

□ 1800

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas, who, I would observe, is a proponent of peace in Central America and has had visions of this occurrence for a number of years going way back, I believe, to 1983.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I merely want to congratulate the gentleman and thank him for his leadership with respect to this very pervasive issue. The gentleman from Arkansas has been in the forefront of this issue from the very beginning. In fact, he has inspired some of us to speak out, and I think his leadership should be recognized, because I have been impressed by his insight and his perception and his knowledge of this part of the world, which, unfortunately, too often escapes the attention of the leadership of our Nation, both inside the Congress and in the executive branch. I merely wanted to congratulate the gentleman for his continued efforts and thank him for the time he has devoted to meeting such individuals as this great President, President Arias of Costa Rica.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] for sharing his knowledge and information and for providing leadership to me and others in the House of Representatives.

DO YOU KNOW ABOUT THE CONGRESSIONAL AWARD?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. STRATTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I have been a Member of the House of Representatives for almost 30 years, and yet I discovered in the past weekend in my congressional district a program sponsored by the Congress of the United States which I had never heard about.

This is the Congressional Award Program which has been sponsored over a number of years by individuals such as Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Senator MALCOLM WALLOP, Senator PAUL SIMON, Representative TOM LANTOS, Shirley Chisholm of Holyoke College, and Cathy Lee Crosby.

The Congressional Award Program is designed to encourage young people to contribute to the betterment of their communities through voluntary public service, personal development, and physical fitness. In a small sense, the Congressional Award Program takes up where the award of Eagle Scout leaves off and carries on without any attachment to the Boy Scout programs but encourages in them the same kind of community service which Scouting sponsors and recognizes in its goals.

If there are other Members of the House who have not been aware of this program, I would like to bring to their attention the young man whose achievements were brought to my attention over this past weekend: Alexander Koff of Delmar, NY. Mr. Koff, a 17-year-old senior at Bethlehem Central High School in the county of Albany, was recently the recipient of the silver Congressional Award in recognition of his superior community service and personal achievements. Alexander has been a member of the National Honor Society, a reporter for his school newspaper. He volunteers his time at the Good Samaritan Home. He plays the French horn and has received recognition for his performance in statewide competition. He is a member of the Boy Scouts of America and earned scouting's highest honor, the Eagle Scout Award. He participates on the varsity swimming and track teams in his high school. He is listed as having provided 348 hours of voluntary community services in his area at the Good Samaritan Home and in connection with the school community advisory team. He has also undertaken 1,332 hours of activity of an athletic nature, including soccer, swimming, track, and camping.

I want to express my congratulations to Penny M. Miller, the National Director of the Congressional Award, for the splendid service that they are carrying out in terms of community service at a time when young people are beginning to think of college rather than high school activities. I believe my colleagues will be interested in Alex's activites in the past year.

Not only did he earn his Eagle Scout Award at the age of 16, but he also attended Convention II in Washington, DC where participants submitted their own draft amendments to the Constitution and argued the merits of them on the floor of the House of Representatives. Alexander Koff served as a senior class representative with the student Senate.

We in the House can certainly be proud of the achievements of these young people who have carried out the Program of the Congressional Award, and we should be aware that in our areas are young men and women who are carrying out the program to make the Congressional Award Program work. It makes it clear that in all of our districts young people are looking forward to the opportunity to help to promote the activities of our country in the House and the Senate of the United States. Judging from what I have seen and heard, I can attest that we should all be looking over our shoulders.

LEAVE THE PLO OFFICES OPEN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CROCKETT] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CROCKETT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to a grave error that I believe this body is about to make. On Tuesday, House conferees voted by a narrow margin to retain Senator GRASSLEY'S amendment to the State Department authorization bill. That amendment would force the closing of the Palestine Liberation Organization's Observer Mission to the United Nations and the Palestine Information Office in Washington.

I oppose the Grassley amendment for three reasons. First, closing the PLO Observer Mission is in violation of our treaty obligations to the United Nations. The Headquarters Agreement of June 26, 1947, between the United States and the United Nations, obliges the United States as the host country to permit U.N. delegations to enter and remain in the United States to carry out their official functions at the United Nations. That would, of course, include the PLO Mission, which was established at the express invitation of the General Assembly in Resolution 3237 of November 22, 1974.

Second, closing the PLO offices violates the first amendment rights of U.S. citizens. No one has ever alleged any criminal activity by these offices of the PLO. Even the Justice Department has taken the position that the PLO offices have broken no laws. To require that the PLO staff, who are American citizens and permanent residents of the United States, cease their informational and U.N. activities would deny them their first amendment right to engage in lawful political activity and their right to political association. To deny any American access to such lawful information and association is a clear violation of the first amendment as well.

Finally, I believe that closing the PLO offices creates but another obstacle to a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict. There can be no Middle East peace without the participation of the Palestinian people. I am convinced that the only way a comprehensive peace settlement will be achieved is through an international conference, involving all parties, including the PLO.

I strongly oppose the Grassley amendment, and I will vote "No" on the State Department authorization bill.

NATIONAL CHALLENGER CENTER DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BROOKS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to designate January 28, 1988, as "National Challenger Center Day."

On January 28, 1986, Our Nation lost seven brave Americans on an ill-fated mission of science and education. The National Challenger Center was conceived by the families of the *Challenger* crew as a living expression of our Nation's commemoration of the crew. The Center, which will be privately funded through contributions, will serve as an education center intended to offer children and teachers activities and information derived from American space research.

By acting on this legislation, the House will not only recognize the efforts of these families to establish this memorial to the brave men and women lost in the *Challenger* accident, but will also help in the creation of a lasting, working tribute to their ideals and sacrifices. I encourage my colleagues to support the resolution.

CHAIRMAN PAUL KIRK'S NGA SPEECH A MAJOR PARTY-BUILDING STATEMENT

THE SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. UDALL] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Paul G. Kirk, Jr., has demonstrated time and, time again his willingness to take on some of the old and shopworn notions that have burdened the Democratic Party in recent national elections. And, at the recent meeting of the Democratic Governor's Association, Chairman Kirk did it again. He proposed that the Democratic Party do away with the cumbersome and divisive traditional platform in favor of a streamlined, less controversial message to the American people from the Democratic Party.

In the Washington Post of December 9, David Broder wrote:

Now Kirk is challenging the activists of the Democratic left to weigh the relative importance of winning back the White House or writing their favorite planks into the platform.

Mr. Speaker, I agree with Chairman Kirk's reasoning that we must avoid burdening our Democratic candidates, from city halls to the White House, with a 100-page document that reflects the wishes and desires, worthy and unworthy, of every special interest under the broad Democratic umbrella.

Our party is broad and it is responsive. But sometimes we talk too much and write too much for our own good.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Chairman Kirk for his courage and foresight. I ask that his excellent speech before the Democratic Governor's Association be inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that all my colleagues on both sides of the aisle can see that the Democrats mean business in 1988.

Chairman Kirk's speech follows:

REMARKS OF CHAIRMAN PAUL G. KIRK, JR.

Personal Acknowledgments:

My thanks to the Democratic Governors' Association for the invitation to address this luncheon meeting. Your guests, the officers of the Democratic Party, its Executive Committee, our Congressional leadership, elected and party leaders from all levels of government and from every region of the country indicate the importance of this gathering.

I salute your Chairman, Governor Jim Blanchard, for the early and active interest DGA is taking in the Democratic Party's strategic planning for a successful General Election in 1988.

November of 1988 can be the time for a National Democratic victory not least because, in December of 1987, we took the time to talk practical Democratic politics. That's what today is about.

Certain facts could lead some to conclude that fortune alone will favor the Democrats in 1988. In the last 20 years for example, there have been only 2 contests in which an incumbent President has not sought re-election. Both times, 1960 and 1968, the incumbent party nominated its Vice President to head its ticket, and both times the "out" party prevailed. So, some may be tempted to believe that, if the GOP will only nominate its Vice President in 1988, victory will be ours for the taking. Well, it won't be that simple even if the Republicans do nominate George Bush. First of all, in 1960 and 1968, both elections were extremely close. And secondly, when it comes to Presidential elections since 1968, let's be honest—the Republican Party has enjoyed a huge electoral vote advantage.

Not only has the GOP won 4 of the last 5 Presidential elections; in all 5 elections, they have consistently carried 23 states whose electoral college votes total 202—just 68 short of the total of 270 needed to win.

By comparison, Democrats in all 5 elections carried only 1 jurisdiction consistently. Its contribution toward the 270 total needed to win has been—3 electoral votes—267 short of the winning margin and 199 votes short of the comparative base from which the GOP has started.

After 8 years of a Republican establishment, ruling by policies of debt and deficits, with a contest for an open seat, and with America's future virtually "up for grabs"—the Presidential election of 1988 is, I believe, the most important election in modern political history. The Democratic Presidential nomination may be worth more in 1988 than it has been worth in years. But, as the electoral vote tally reflects, we can take nothing for granted.

I have said many times that the Democratic opportunity in November 1988 is equalled only by our obligations. The only way I know to fulfill my obligation as Party Chairman is to talk straight and offer my best political judgment of where we are and what we must do to seize that opportunity.

Some critics will argue that I have taken a line from the actor's script, that I have become the "just say no" Chairman. It's true that I have said "no" to the proliferation of caucuses; "no" to organizational endorsements prior to the nominating process; "no" to protracted public fights over party rules; "no" to an expensive mid-term conference; "no" to artificial straw polls; and "no" to negative campaigning.

Those decisions, tough as they seemed to some, changed some perceptions about the National Democratic Party. We demonstrated that we could say "no" when "no" was believed to be the right answer. But I also take pride in saying "yes" to major investments in modernized, competitive, professional campaign services, organization and machinery. They received less attention, but they helped to bring about significant victories for Democrats in November of 1985, November of 1986 and November of a month ago. And I take pride in having increased significantly the number of party and elected officials who will serve as automatic delegates to our nominating convention.

In preparing for that event and for the general election, we meet today as Party leaders to discuss the final and most important chapter in the story of the Democratic comeback from 1984 through 1988.

There is an opportunity and, I would argue, an obligation which is ours—to construct a positive, political asset which could mean the margin of victory for our Party in what, I predict, will be a very close election. I am speaking of the Democratic Platform of 1988.

Losing 4 of the last 5 Presidential elections while winning a majority at every other level of government, the Democratic Party can fairly be called the master of "split-level" politics.

If we are to earn our way back to the top floor of American government in 1989, and if we are to expand our majorities at all levels of government, it is our obligation to construct a Democratic Platform around which every Democratic candidate at every level in every region of the country can rally with pride!

For my part, gone are the days when our own state and local Democrats feel compelled to run away from—or even against—the Party's national platform, and thus its Presidential nominee, in order to win as a Democrat back home. That's voodoo politics". That's not common sense politics. That's not strategic planning, and that's not the way to unite a party facing a close and critical national election.

Voters are looking and waiting to see whether the Democrats will do what is smart and what is right and what is necessary to win in 1988 and, yes, to lead and to govern in 1989 and beyond.

A long list of legislative initiatives or specific 10 point programs makes an excellent Budget Message or State of the Union address, but it does not necessarily make a winning national party platform.

A litany of social, cultural, or ideological, litmus-test buzzwords may be a source of comfort to narrow-issue pressure groups, but it is not necessarily a winning national party platform.

A document which Republicans quote to attack Democratic candidates more frequently than Democratic candidates do to promote themselves—is neither a unifying nor a winning national party platform.

Veins on the leaves of trees are a captivating study but, as National Democrats, our first obligation is to demonstrate to a national audience that we can see the forest and can lead them through it.

It's one thing for me to give an opinion on what does not constitute a winning Democratic Platform. My purpose today is to suggest a positive alternative and to ask for your help.

If I am right, the 1988 election will be one in which the American people will be looking for a fresh start—but they will be looking for strength and security as well. While they may be looking for change—they will also be looking for a renewed spirit which combines national teamwork with hope and confidence and optimism.

All the hours and dollars we invest in strategic political planning could be for naught if we do not respond by putting forth a clear strategic, national vision and challenge for a national audience to follow—a vision and challenge which is right and necessary and which, politically, will energize our traditional Democratic base but will also attract the ticket-splitters, the swing voters, the independents and, yes, even some enlightened Republicans.

It is in that spirit that I ask you, as Democratic leaders, to join me in a charge and a challenge to the Democratic Party of 1988, its candidates, its campaigns, its constituencies, its Platform Committee and its National Convention. It is a charge and a challenge to write and adopt as its 1988 Platform a brief and readable equivalent of an "open

letter" to the individuals and families of America.

Let's make it our purpose in 1988 to reunite with those millions of middle and working class American families who are struggling to make ends meet and with those millions of others whose only hope for an improved standard of living and a more secure future lies with the Democratic Party. Let's tell them the truth about the differences between the two parties in language they want to hear. For the truth remains that their hopes are our hopes; their story is our story. And that story must be told in a way that will make them listen and have hope again.

Unlike our opposition, the Democratic Party believes in the politics of inclusion. But the Democrats in 1988, the "politics of inclusion" must not be confused with the politics of including a line here or a word there in an attempt to satisfy every disparate group in our diverse society. When united as a national team, the diversity of the Democratic Party like that of America itself, is its greatest strength. Our 1988 platform should reflect the timeless truths and unifying principles which make us proud of our political heritage and on which we base our assumptions and our aspirations for the future.

The problems are not easy. With the legacy of debt left behind by the incumbent Republican establishment, borrowing selfishly from the future so it could live comfortably in the past, there will be no quick fixes. The people we seek to serve know it better than we do. So let's not write to them of narrow political promises. Let's write of our larger national challenges and of the critical need for what I call "national teamwork".

Elections are about change. So, let's tell America up front that, under the Democrats, there will be change. Let's tell the country the truth—that, under the Democrats, selfishness and "survival of the fittest" are out—and a spirit of national teamwork is in.

The President alone is elected by the nation as a whole. But the challenges facing this nation, at home and around the globe, will not be solved by the next President alone. What is needed is a Democratic President, backed first by a united Democratic Party, with the leadership and the vision to challenge the noble, the decent and the patriotic instincts of the nation as a whole.

Let's make realism and pragmatism the touchstone of this natic al campaign, but let's always remember that optimism and patriotism are the hallmarks of our national character.

The next Democratic Presidential nominee will run with each of you, and I predict that you and he will win bigger and govern better by running on a platform which is a compelling and unifying challenge to our collective national will and purpose.

Much work has already been accomplished in laying the foundation for that Democratic Platform. The Democratic Governors' Association, the National League of Cities' Election '88, the Democratic Conference of Mayors, and our own Democratic Policy Commission's "New Choices in a Changing America", all provide real working examples of successful and creative initiatives, of public incentives and private investments, of partnership and teamwork between government and the private sector with shared, practical and positive responsibilities for investing in the people and the future of America.

Looking to those and other works and to the expertise of the Democratic Congress, our letter to the American people can be bold enough and, yes, brief enough so that every American will want to read it and say—that's the American future in which I want my children to live and that's the political party in which I place my trust.

Now, let me tell you briefly why I believe a Democratic challenge of national teamwork is vital if a new era of national purpose and real national strength is to begin on Inauguration Day 1989.

America will be stronger and our freedoms more secure in an America in which the words that begin the Constitution, "We the people", mean all the people; and where all Americans are challenged toward excellence and feel they are part of a team again;

America will be stronger and our freedom more secure because Domocrats commit this country, first and foremost, to a balanced and diversified economy of real strength and real growth; an economy that will unite America, not divide it; that will expand opportunities without deeper debt and will increase the standard of living for all without increased inflation;

Americans want to live in a future where Democrats, whose belief in freedom is second to none, will commit this country to a defense and a security for America that is second to none, but where that strength and that security will be measured in real and balanced readiness and not by wasted dollars and false rhetoric;

Where foreign policies of deceit, disinformation and deniability are replaced with policies of cooperation, coherence and credibility;

Where a fresh take-charge, Democratic leadership and teamwork displayed at home will set an example of cooperation for our allies who then will be compelled to play by the rules and assume their fair share of responsibilities on trade, and defense and energy in an interdependent global economy;

Where, working together to expand our economy, we also exercise the prudence and the discipline to live within our means.

Our families will be stronger and our futures more secure in an America;

Where, all our children, from the grange to the ghetto, are well read and well fed and well prepared for productive jobs and productive lives and for their contribution to a productive and competitive nation;

Where, public and private partnerships are forged to assure an environment that is healthy and clean and that housing and health care are available and affordable;

Where, old age is a reward and not a risk;

Where, economic equity is a guarantee for working men and working women;

Where, it won't be left to vulnerable school children to "just say no" to drugs on the street corner, but where the most powerful office in the world will "just say no" to drugs crossing our borders;

Where, despair and hopelessness in rural America and hunger and homelessness in urban America will never again be ignored with callousness by the highest office in America.

These challenges can be met and a stronger and more secure America will be attained when true patriotism and a sense of community and national teamwork are restored as national values, and when greed and selfishness are discarded as national policies;

When, though partisan in our campaigns, we Democrats can show again what bi-partisan cooperation can mean to our governance;

When we practice the politics of values and restore respect for the value of politics, and for the rule of law and for the role of government and for public life and public institutions;

When individual rights will be respected and protected, but where shared sacrifice and shared responsibilities will be called for and expected;

When there is a renewed bond of cooperation and a positive, pragmatic partnership between the public and the private sectors, between management and labor, between government at every level, and between the races, the regions, the economic sectors and the individuals of America; and

When a Democratic President can again remind us that we are, in the end and always, dependent on each other.

The challenge we face as a national Party is the very challenge we face as a country. Can we call our many diverse elements together to work as a team to achieve a higher purpose? If we can meet that challenge of teamwork as a party, we not only can win an important election but we can set an example for leading the country.

A letter to the American people, setting forth that challenge could be a practical and positive political platform on which every Democratic candidate and campaign at every level in every region of this country could run with pride and confidence.

You may ask: Why issue this challenge at this time? Why not wait until the delegate selection process begins or until the Platform Committee is convened?

First, it falls to a Party Chairman and Party leaders to shape events, not to stand by and bemoan them when it is too late.

Second, in the pre-nomination process of 1987 and 1988, there will have been more substantive debates and joint appearances by the Democratic candidates than in any previous Presidential campaign. Our candidates are experienced and pragmatic problem solvers. They will have been asked every question on every conceivable issue. They will have been as specific and substantive as the voters and their opponents demand them to be. And while they go about the important business of debating specific proposals and issues, it is our collective responsibility to shape the larger events, to set an early tone, to send an early message for our Party and to our Party, and to the all important national audience, that—even before we choose our Presidential nominee, Democrats have a clear, strategic, unifying and overarching vision which sets us apart from our opposition and which calls all Americans to a higher order.

Third, I want it known that support for that kind of a platform will be a key criterion when, next month, I select the Platform Chair and make my appointment of 25 members to the 1988 Platform Committee.

Fourth, now is also the time to urge the Democratic State Chairmen, to apply this same criterion in selecting temporary appointees to the Platform Committees, and to select as temporary members those most likely to be elected as permanent members.

In closing, let's keep in mind that our convention in Atlanta takes place prior to the Republican Convention in New Orleans. If we adopt a platform in Atlanta that speaks in positive, and pragmatic and patriotic terms to a broad national audience, it can not be used as a target of opportunity of the Republican Party. They will be left to defend their sorry record of debt, deficit and division and the vision of the future to which they gaze longingly through a twist-

ed rear view mirror. We will have maintained the momentum from our Convention; we will maintain control of the dialogue, and we will have preserved our opportunity and, yes, our obligation, to seize our vision of the future.

But before we can win and govern America effectively and well in 1989 and beyond, and before we can issue a unifying challenge and call to the nation as a whole, I need your help in joining me in this challenge and call to our Party.

If you should be asked, did the Chairman give any reasons to support him in his call? You can say—"Yes. He said: it's the same 2 reasons we should invest in the feeding and education of our children; it's the same 2 reasons he wants the American electorate to give when they support the National Democratic Party in 1988:

"It's the smart thing to do. It's the right thing to do * * *."

CR MADNESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. Speaker, a foreign visitor in the House gallery last Thursday would have been very confused by all this talk of a CR. But, I'm sure that after listening to the full debate on the rule and the CR he would have concluded that the initials must either stand for "continuing ridiculousness," "certifiable rubbish," or "clobber Republicans."

Of course, our visitor could have gone to the document room and asked for a copy of the CR (H.J. Res. 395), and the accompanying report (H. Rept. 100-415). But, even if our visitor had a firm grasp of the English language, those documents would have been only minimally enlightening, and probably even more confusing in many respects.

Oh, he would learn that the CR makes "further continuing appropriations" for "the several departments, agencies, corporations and other organizational units of the Government for the fiscal year 1988, and for other purposes;" and he would probably conclude that CR must stand for continuing resolution. But he would be baffled if he tried to determine from the joint resolution or the report just how much money was being appropriated. The report does explain that $768.5 billion of the $1.1 trillion outlay budget is uncontrollable, leaving only $271.3 billion to annual discretionary action. And it does explain just how much is being saved from various baselines and budget allocations. The report even informs us that the committee heard 4,188 witnesses and produced 94,220 pages of hearing record. But, nowhere in the report or resolution can there be found the total amount being appropriated, let alone a comparison of budget authority and outlays for the various subcommittee bills which are merely referenced in subsections 101 (a)-(m). Such cost estimates are only required by House rules to be included in the reports on general appropriations bills and not in the reports on CR's. One must look elsewhere, in unofficial publications and summaries, to find such figures, variously reported as being between $587 billion and $598 billion. But then, what's $11 billion among friends.

Even the three appropriations bills which have not been considered by the House—defense, foreign operations, and agriculture—are merely referenced by bill number. Members will have to look elsewhere to find out what those measures contain. And yet, these three bills alone reportedly total some $330 billion in budget authority, roughly 55 percent of the $598 billion total BA in the CR. The House is nevertheless being asked to swallow these whole, without amendment, despite reports that the bills are laced with pork and major foreign policy provisions objectionable to the administration.

Moreover, nowhere can there be found the total amount being appropriated for some 25 programs under 10 acts which have not been authorized or included in the 13 appropriations bills already reported or passed in the House. While all these programs are being carried forward at fiscal 1987 levels, the report fails to include the funding levels for 4 of the 25 programs. Again, a check elsewhere reveals that the total funding for these four programs alone is roughly $166 million. The 25 programs are all bunched together in subsection 101(n), and reportedly add up to around $3 billion.

Then we have a hodgepodge of miscellaneous provisions in subsections 108-132, euphemistically referred to by some as "Members' goodies," some of which are costed out, others of which aren't; some of which are appropriations matters, others of which are blatant authorizing and legislative provisions which would be subject to points of order if included in general appropriations bills. But again, no such points of order lie against such provisions in a CR, mainly because it was never anticipated that continuing resolutions would be used to fund the entire Government for the entire year.

FLYING BLIND

Mr. Speaker, our foreign visitor must come away from reading the CR and its report with a great admiration for American efficiency. Here are documents which cover the entire gamut of the Federal Government for a full year, and yet the resolution runs only 25 pages, and the report another 24. What could be more cost efficient than a bill that manages to appropriate, on average, $25 billion per page? Or, when you consider that all 13 of the regular appropriations bills, totaling $595 billion in BA are covered in just three pages, we have managed to appropriate an average of $198 billion per page.

Of course, Mr. Speaker, when this tiny bill is returned from conference, and the actual bill language is inserted where mere references to bills now exist, the number of pages will likely balloon from 25 pages to around 1,000. Last year's omnibus CR, the first of its kind in history, went from 67 pages on initial consideration to 690 pages in the finally enrolled version. And, even then, 4 of the 13 bills were merely referenced by their individual conference report numbers: HUD, Labor-HHS-Education, legislative branch, and Transportation. Those wishing to find the actual legislative language enacted for those four areas would have to look elsewhere.

The point remains that when Members initially consider these continuing resolution, they have very little idea what it is they are being asked to vote for, both because there is little legislative language in the resolutions, and little explanatory information in the accompanying reports. When the final CR emerges from conference, with more, if not totally complete, text, it is usually in the waning hours of a session when Members don't have the time or inclination to examine the contents. Thus, we're flying blind on takeoff and on landing.

And yet, this is the most critical stage of the process, not only because this is the version that becomes law, but because all manner of new provisions could have been added by the Senate or have been produced from whole cloth in conference. Since the rule on such conference reports waives all points of order, there is no real way to determine how much of the conference report is either nongermane to the House-passed bill or goes beyond the scope of matters committed to conference by the House and Senate combined. Such conference reports are open invitations to committing bloody murder undetected—at least until Members are well out of town and safely reelected.

THE CR RULE

Mr. Speaker, the rule on this year's CR was not unlike previous CR rules. Put bluntly, it was a very restrictive rule in terms of amendments. Last year's rule permitted one amendment, to strike a provision in the CR. This year's rule provided for the automatic adoption of three amendments upon adoption of the rule: instructing conferees to implement the budget summit agreement; blocking an FAA regulation relating to airplane repair stations; and denying top-level Government officials the 3 percent pay increase provided for in section 132. These so-called self-executing rules are a dangerous new development, both because they shield substantive and controversial provisions from separate debate and votes, and because they sanction Rules Committee usurpation of other committees' jurisdiction. Procedure becomes substance with the vote on a rule.

The rule went on to make in order separate votes on seven amendments: extending the Clean Air Act attainment deadline—two alternatives, permitting transfers of CCC appropriations, codifying the fairness doctrine, prohibiting aid to Haiti, blocking Federal Government contacts with Japanese construction firms, and reallocating job partnership training funds.

Of these 10 amendments, 9 would have been ruled out of order if offered on a general appropriations bill as being either unauthorized or legislative provisions in violation of clause 2 of rule XXI. But, this House rule does not apply to CR's. As a result, Members think it is proper to petition the Rules Committee to attach such legislative riders to a CR, and, sometimes, they are rewarded. Even so, the Rules Committee waived all points of order against all amendments made in order to the CR, presumably because some still posed potential problems with respect to other House rules still in effect.

Mr. Speaker, not only did the Rules Committee further pollute an already tainted CR with additional extraneous matters, but it also prevented amendments to strike any of the extraneous or otherwise objectionable provi-

sions already in the bill. No opportunity was afforded to strike or amend any of the 25 unauthorized programs in subsection 101(n); any of the miscellaneous provisions in sections 108–131; or any of the provisions in the three major appropriations bills not previously considered by the House.

The Rules Committee took testimony from some 55 House Members and heard requests for over 20 amendments to be made in order. Some of those amendments would have added even more legislative language; but other proposed amendments, such as one to strike an expanded amnesty provision for illegal aliens, would have pruned the bill of much of its excess foliage.

In conclusion on this point, Mr. Speaker, the Rules Committee could have exercised its jurisdiction responsibly by ensuring that the continuing appropriations resolution did just that, continuing the funding of the Government, and nothing more. Instead, the Rules Committee not only gave its blessing to the many "other purposes" to which the CR is being increasingly put, but further compounded that practice by making in order additional nonappropriations amendments. If such omnibus CR's are a madness to begin with, the Rules Committee only managed to escalate their level of absurdity and insanity.

HOW DID WE GET HERE

Mr. Speaker, a historical analysis of continuing appropriations resolutions contained in a recent report by the General Accounting Office [1] reveals that CR's are by no means a recent innovation. Indeed, the analysis found that Congress was passing temporary or partial appropriations as early as 1798. However, up until this decade, CR's were quite limited in duration and scope, serving as temporary, stopgap funding measures until the regular appropriations bills were enacted.

The GAO analysis focuses primarily on the 26-year period from fiscal 1960 to 1985. It reveals that, for the years 1960 through 1979, CR's averaged from one to three pages in length. However, in the 1980's some CR's were 20 or more pages in length, and the fiscal 1985 resolution was some 363 pages. The reason for this increase in the size of CR's is obvious: They are covering more bills for longer periods, using diverse funding formulas, more actual text as opposed to references, and were including more extraneous, legislative matters.

The main reason for the growth in size of CR's is the change in their basic function, from short-term, stopgap measures, to full-year, full-funding measures, covering up to all the departments and agencies of Government. The GAO analysis concludes on this point:

> These resolutions have been used in place of regular appropriations bills and are so broad in scope as to resemble omnibus appropriations bills.

Since that analysis was published, that's exactly what the final CR has become both for last year and this: An omnibus appropriations bill covering all departments and agencies of the Government for the entire fiscal year, with no real pretense or intention of separately enacting any general appropriations measures.

Ironically, one of claims made by the authors of the 1974 Budget Act was that it would "substantially reduce(s) the likelihood of continuing resolutions because of the failure to complete action on the appropriations bills before the start of the fiscal year." [2] The need for CR's would be obviated by Budget Act provisions changing the start of the fiscal year from July 1 to October 1, and requiring that all authorizations be reported no later than May 15 to permit the appropriations process to move forward earlier—a deadline that was unfortunately repealed in the 1985 Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act.

A Congressional Research Service study, which I am inserting with my remarks as table 1, reveals that in each of the 7 fiscal years preceding the full implementation of the Budget Act in fiscal year 1978, not one appropriations bill was enacted prior to the start of the fiscal year. In fiscal 1977, all 13 were enacted on time. But that accomplishment was short lived. In succeeding fiscal years, the number of on-time enactments declined from nine in fiscal 1978 to zero for the past 3 fiscal years, 1986–88.

TABLE 1.—NUMBER OF REGULAR AND CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS ACTS ENACTED OR VETOED: FISCAL YEARS 1960–87 [1]

Fiscal year	Initial Congress/session	Number of regular appropriations acts				Number of continuing appropriations acts	
		Enacted on or before start of the fiscal year	Enacted after start of the fiscal year	Enacted	Vetoed	Enacted	Vetoed
1960	86–1	2	10	12	2	3	0
1961	86–2	5	7	12	0	1	0
1962	87–1	0	12	12	0	2	0
1963	87–2	0	12	12	0	4	0
1964	88–1	1	11	12	0	4	0
1965	88–2	0	12	12	0	2	0
1966	89–1	2	10	12	0	5	0
1967	89–2	2	10	12	0	3	0
1968	90–1	1	12	13	0	6	0
1969	90–2	1	12	13	0	4	0
1970	91–1	0	13	13	1	6	0
1971	91–2	0	12	12	1	5	0
1972	92–1	0	13	13	0	5	0
1973	92–2	0	11	11	2	5	0
1974	93–1	0	13	13	0	3	0
1975	93–2	0	13	13	1	4	2
1976	94–1	0	13	13	1	3	0
1977	94–2	13	0	13	1	2	0
1978	95–1	9	3	12	0	3	0
1979	95–2	5	7	12	1	1	0
1980	96–1	3	7	10	0	2	0
1981	96–2	1	7	8	0	3	0
1982	97–1	0	9	9	0	4	1
1983	97–2	1	5	6	0	2	0
1984	98–1	4	6	10	0	2	0
1985	98–2	4	1	5	0	5	0
1986	99–1	0	6	6	1	5	0
1987	99–2	0	0	0	0	5	1

[1] Most legislative action for a fiscal year occurred during the session in which the fiscal year started (referred to in this table as the "initial" session); however, in some cases legislation was not enacted or vetoed until the following session.

The Federal Government used a July 1 to June 30 fiscal year cycle from the mid-1800's through fiscal year 1976. Beginning with fiscal year 1977, the cycle was changed to October 1 to September 30. Measures enacted on October 1 (or on July 1, under the earlier definition of the fiscal year) are considered to have been enacted by the start of the fiscal year.

Over the 28-year period covered by the table, the number of regular appropriations acts considered each year by Congress has varied. This table provides historical information on the 13 regular appropriations acts presently considered by Congress (the title and coverage of some of these acts have changed over the years; the Department of Transportation Appropriation Act originated in fiscal year 1968 and therefore is not reflected in the first 8 years covered by the table). From time to time during the 28-year period, Congress considered other measures that could be regarded as regular appropriations acts, but they are not covered in this table.

In instances where the President vetoed two different versions of the same appropriations act for a fiscal year, both vetoes are counted.

In recent years, Congress has incorporated the full text of certain regular appropriations acts into full-year continuing appropriations acts.

For fiscal year 1968, the District of Columbia Appropriation Act provided continuing appropriations for certain agencies and therefore is counted both as a regular and continuing appropriations act (see section 18 of Public Law 90–134).

Sources: Final Edition of the Calendars of the U.S. House of Representatives (79th–99th Congresses); U.S. Congress. Senate. Office of the Secretary of the Senate. Presidential Vetoes, 1789–1976 (1978) and Presidential Vetoes, 1977–1984 (1985); and U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. Government Division. Presidential Vetoes and Ronald Reagan's Use of the Process in His Second Term [by] Gary L. Galemore. Issue Brief 85093. Nov. 28, 1986.

Table prepared by Robert Keith, Congressional Research Service, Apr. 22, 1987.

Moreover, a more disturbing trend was occurring simultaneously. Fewer and fewer appropriations bills were ever being separately enacted in recent years, meaning they were being funded for an entire year through the CR mechanism. In all but 2 of the fiscal years in the pre-Budget Act fiscal years of 1960–75, all general appropriations bills were eventually enacted separately. The exceptions were fiscal years 1971 and 1973 when one and two bills, respectively, were funded for the full year in a CR.

However, in fiscal years 1977–87 when the Budget Act has been in force, on average only 7 of the 13 regular appropriations bills have been separately enacted. And last year was the historic first time in which no regular appropriations bills were separately enacted. This year will apparently follow that precedent of a truly omnibus appropriations bill—replete with extraneous and miscellaneous legislative provisions.

To conclude on this point, Mr. Speaker, we are witnessing the defacto evolution of a whole new animal in this Congress. Our school of 13 regular appropriations fish have been swallowed by a monster whale with barnacles on it.

HANGING IN THE BALANCE

When we attempted during this year's negotiations over Gramm-Rudman II to reverse this trend by providing for severability of the omnibus CR into 13 separate appropriations bills before being sent to the President, we were informed by the House majority leader that this was unacceptable because it would tilt the balance of power in favor of the Executive branch by making it easier for the President to veto the individual appropriations bills.

This attitude struck me as particularly curious in this bicentennial year of our Constitution with nearly 200 years of precedent supporting the separate passage of individual appropriations bills, and the right of the President to exercise his veto power over those measures. If the veto power given to the President by the Framers caused any kind of a tilt, it was a tilt against a runaway Congress, and toward a balance between the branches.

To now suggest that the only way to maintain a balance between the branches is to present the President with omnibus, and nearly veto-proof bills, is a perverse new way of looking at our delicate system of checks and balances. It virtually turns the Constitution on its head, and leaves hanging in the balance any possibility of a long-term solution to the deficit problem by the two branches.

[1] "Appropriations: Continuing Resolutions and an Assessment of Automatic Funding Approaches," report to the chairman, Committee on Rules, House of Representatives, by the General Accounting Office, January 1986 (GAO/AFMD-86-16).

[2] From the report of the House Committee on Rules on the "Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1973," H.R. 7130, H. Rept. 93-658, p. 16.

While it is important to have an overview of our budgetary situation, that is the purpose of the Presidential and congressional budgets. An omnibus CR, on the other hand, obscures the forest and the trees with an ominous, dark cloud that portends stormy confrontations rather than a clear view of our fiscal horizon.

While an omnibus CR theoretically gives Congress an upper hand over the Executive, it is actually deleterious to the interests of representative democracy and sound, rational lawmaking—the very heart of our article I responsibilities. Not only are the people's freely elected Representatives shut out of CR's by a restrictive amendment process, but the very timing and packaging of these omnibus bills virtually ensure that Members will have little idea as to what is even in the final version. This is especially true given the shenanigans that occur in the House-Senate CR conference during the waning hours of a session.

It's little wonder that these massive CR's are now euphemistically being referred to as BOMB's, or bloated, omnibus money bills. They're the type of thing that will explode in our faces unless we defuse them soon. But, whether they are referred to as BOMB's, potential embarrassments, abominations, or worse, the fact is they make a travesty of our constitutional role. While the Constitution may say that Congress shall "make all laws," the Framers certainly did not intend that all laws should be made in a single bill each year. And yet, that's about what we are coming to if we continue this CR madness.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

Mr. Speaker, ideally, we should outright "ban the BOMB," that bloated, omnibus money bill. It's bad process that leads to bad law in too many cases. But, since a total ban seems politically unattainable given the way we operate around here, we should at least discourage omnibus CR's through penalties or restrictions on their use, or lessen their throwweight by separately enacting more individual appropriations bills, whether on time or late.

I have proposed legislation to reform the CR process by differentiating between short-term CR's, effective 30 days or less, and long-term CR's. The former would be subject to a set funding formula, as with the traditional CR's over the years. The long-term CR's, on the other hand, will be treated more like regular appropriations bills: full texts and cost estimates would be required, and the prohibitions against legislative and unauthorized provisions and amendments would apply. I would also permit amendments to those bills and provisions in a CR not previously considered by the House. A supermajority vote would be required to waive points of order against provisions not previously considered or to block amendments thereto.

Moreover, I have proposed that, if a long-term CR, covering more than one regular appropriations bill, is sent to the President, he should have enhanced rescission authority over any part of that bill, subject to congressional disapproval by joint resolution rather than approval as required of other rescissions.

I think these reforms would go a long way toward discouraging omnibus CR's in the first place. But, if they still are resorted to, at least they would be handled in a more rational and fair manner. Members might actually have some involvement in and understanding of the process and substance of a CR.

Mr. Speaker, I have no corner on the market when it comes to ideas or commitment to reform the CR process. As the legislative summary I will attach to my remarks indicates, numerous proposals have been introduced, many enjoying widespread and bipartisan cosponsorship. This is not a partisan issue. It is an institutional issue that affects us all individually as Representatives as well as the ability of our system of government to function as intended.

While it's true that CR's are widely decried by Members across the political and ideological spectrum, it is also true that they are widely exploited by many of these same Members as the last train to leave the station. Everybody wants to get on board with their pet legislative project or slab of pork. Nevertheless, I think most of these Members would agree that it's a sloppy and disgusting process, and they would be just as willing to forego their riders so long as others were forced to do the same.

It is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that after 2 years' experience with these adulterated, omnibus CR's, the Rules Committee will hold some serious hearings and deliberations on this whole process and consider some of the worthy proposals that have been introduced. At this point in the RECORD I include a brief summary of these proposals. The summary follows:

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF MEASURES INTRODUCED IN THE HOUSE RELATING TO CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS RESOLUTIONS

The following measures have been introduced in the House of Representatives in response to the increasing reliance on continuing appropriations measures, particularly long-term, omnibus CRs:

1. HON. TRENT LOTT

H. Res. 48, Appropriations Process Reform Amendments (introduced on Jan. 21, 1987, no cosponsors)—

Short-term appropriations resolutions, effective for 30-days or less, would be required to contain only the lower funding levels and stricter requirements of House or Senate measures or previous year's provisions.

For long-term CRs, effective for more than 30-days, the full texts of the language proposed to be enacted (as opposed to references) must be printed in the CR;

Long-term CRs and amendments would be subject to the provisions of clause 2, Rule XXI, prohibiting unauthorized and legislative provisions;

Committee reports on long-term CRs would be required to include cost estimates and list of all unauthorized provisions;

A two-thirds vote would be required to waive rule relating to contents of short-term CR, or against any provisions in a long-term CR which are in violation of clause 2, Rule XXI, which have not been previously considered and agreed to by House.

H.R. 2232, Budget Process Reform Amendments of 1987 (Introduced on April 30, 1987, 62 cosponsors)—Secs. 103-104 identical to H. Res. 48 above. Sec. 204 establishes a special rescission authority for President over long-term CRs subject to disapproval by enactment of a joint resolution.

2. HON. MICKEY EDWARDS

H.R. 3103 (Aug. 5, 1987)—requiring that any omnibus CR be sent to the President as a series of separate resolutions reflecting the general appropriations bills.

H.R. 3104 (Aug. 5, 1987)—requiring that a 60 percent vote of both Houses be required to pass any continuing resolution for a fiscal year.

H.R. 3199 (Aug. 7, 1987, 114 cosponsors)—requiring enrollment of any omnibus CR into separate bills before being sent to President.

H.R. 3201 (Aug. 7, 1987, 93 cosponsors)—requiring a 60 percent vote of both Houses to pass any continuing resolution.

3. HON. DAVID DREIER

H. Res. 210 (June 24, 1987, 55 cosponsors)—House rules would be amended to—prohibit CRs from being effective for more than 90-days; confine CRs to lower of House or Senate passed bills or previous year's levels; subject CRs to points of order prohibiting unauthorized or legislative provisions in bills or amendments; prohibit limitation amendments unless motion to rise is rejected after consideration of other amendments; prohibit waiving above rules except by two-thirds vote;

The above rules changes would become effective for fiscal 1989 and thereafter.

4. HON. MICHAEL BILIRAKIS

H. Res. 73 (Feb. 5, 1987)—House rules would be amended to prohibit consideration of the Legislative Branch appropriations bill in the House until all other appropriations bills have been agreed to by the House and Senate.

5. HON. ROD CHANDLER

H.R. 2363 (May 11, 1987)—Require that, during a two-year period, each item of a joint resolution making continuing appropriations that is agreed to by both Houses be enrolled as a separate joint resolution for presentation to the President.

H.R. 3683 (Dec. 2, 1987)—Same as H.R. 2363 except it would require that each title of a CR be separately enrolled before being sent to President.

6. HON. DAN SCHAEFER

H. Res. 229 (July 22, 1987)—Amend House Rule XXI to prohibit unauthorized or legislative provisions or amendments in continuing appropriations measures; to restrict CRs to not more than 90-days; to limit them to not more than 90 percent of current law appropriations; and to require a two-thirds vote to waive any of these requirements.

7. HON. AMO HOUGHTON

H. Res. 271 (Sept. 22, 1987, 116 cosponsors)—House Rule XXI would be amended to provide that no appropriations bill under the jurisdiction of more than one subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, and which applies to periods after November 30 of a fiscal year, could be considered in the House unless this rule is waived or suspended by a vote of 60 percent of the House.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HASTERT) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. LOTT, for 60 minutes, today.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana, for 60 minutes, today.
Mr. DORNAN of California, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. SCHUETTE, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. WOLF, for 60 minutes, on December 11.
Mr. SWINDALL, for 60 minutes, today.
Mr. WALKER, for 5 minutes, today.
(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GONZALEZ) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)
Mr. ALEXANDER, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. ANNUNZIO, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. STRATTON, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. CROCKETT, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. BROOKS, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. UDALL, for 30 minutes, today.
Mr. SOLARZ, for 60 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:
(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HASTERT) and to include extraneous matter:)
Mr. KOLBE.
Mr. MACK.
Mr. BARTON of Texas.
Mr. KONNYU.
Mr. HUNTER.
Mr. PORTER.
Mr. DORNAN of California.
Mr. GILMAN in two instances.
Mr. DIOGUARDI.
Mr. FISH.
Mr. PURSELL.
Mr. DREIER of California.
Mr. BLAZ.
Mr. GEKAS.
(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GONZALEZ) and to include extraneous matter:)
Mr. CARR.
Mr. LEHMAN of Florida.
Ms. KAPTUR.
Mr. BROOKS.
Mr. GUARINI.
Mr. RODINO.
Mr. ORTIZ.
Mr. WAXMAN.
Mr. PEPPER in two instances.
Mr. RANGEL.
Mr. MILLER of California.
Mr. ERDREICH.
Mr. MCMILLEN of Maryland.
Mr. LANTOS.
Mr. BERMAN.
Mr. BRYANT.
Mr. CONYERS.
Mr. SHARP.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. ANNUNZIO, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 3319. An act for the relief of Susan A. Sampeck.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 649. An act to amend the Reclamation Authorization Act of 1976 (90 Stat. 1324, 1327).

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. ANNUNZIO, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on December 9, 1987, present to the President, for his approval, bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 2672. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to modify the amount of the Veterans' Administration home loan guaranty and to make other improvements in the loan guaranty program, and for other purposes;

H.R. 3483. An act to amend title 18, United States Code, to improve certain provisions relating to imposition and collection of criminal fines, and for other purposes;

H.J. Res. 199. Joint resolution designating April 1988 as "Actors' Fund of America Appreciation Month"; and

H.J. Res. 412. Joint resolution to congratulate King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand on his 60th birthday on December 5, 1987.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 3 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, December 11, 1987, at 10 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2542. A letter from the Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting a report on the study to evaluate the impact on ground-water from municipal wastewater treatment lagoons, pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 6939(c); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2543. A letter from the Director, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting a report on Public Lands Cleanup Day activities for 1987, pursuant to 36 U.S.C. 169i-1(c)(1); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

2544. A letter from the Associate Administrator for Congressional Affairs, General Services Administration, transmitting copy of a proposed lease prospectus in Dallas, TX, pursuant to 40 U.S.C. 606(a); to the Committee on Public Works and Transportation.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. HOWARD: Committee on Public Works and Transportation. H.R. 3700. A bill to designate the Federal building located at 600 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois, as the "Harold Washington Social Security Center," (Rept. 100-471). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. FROST: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 331. Resolution providing for the consideration of HR. 1720, a bill to replace the existing AFDC program with a new Family Support Program which emphasizes work, child support, and need-based family support supplements, to amend title IV of the Social Security Act to encourage and assist needy children and parents under the new program to obtain the education, training, and employment needed to avoid long-term welfare dependence, and to make other necessary improvements to assure that the new program will be more effective in achieving its objectives (Rept. 100-472). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. DINGELL: Committee on Energy and Commerce. H.R. 3459. A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to revise the provisions respecting orphan drugs and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. 100-473). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 5 of rule X and clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDERSON (for himself, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT, and Mr. SHUSTER):

H.R. 3734. A bill to recognize the significance of the administration of the Federal-aid highway system and to express appreciation to Ray A. Barnhart for his dedicated efforts in improving the Federal-aid highway system; to the Committee on Public Works and Transportation.

By Mr. STENHOLM (for himself, Mr. DE LA GARZA, Mr. MADIGAN, Mr. COELHO, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. EMERSON, Mr. ESPY, Mr. GLICKMAN, Mr. GUNDERSON, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. HATCHER, Mr. HERGER, Mr. HOLLOWAY, Mr. HUCKABY, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Mr. JONES of Tennessee, Mr. JONTZ, Mr. MARLENEE, Mr. OLIN, Mr. PANETTA, Mr. SCHUETTE, Mr. ROBERT F. SMITH, Mr. STAGGERS, Mr. STALLINGS, and Mr. TALLON):

H.R. 3735. A bill to provide for a research program to examine and enhance agricultural production and food processing systems, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ATKINS:

H.R. 3736. A bill to create a national fund to finance Federal, State, and local efforts to preserve open space; jointly, to the Committees on Ways and Means and Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BROOKS:

H.R. 3737. A bill to grant a Federal charter to the Challenger Center, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DEFAZIO (for himself and Mr. AUCOIN):

H.R. 3738. A bill to amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act by designating a segment of the Klamath River in Oregon and California as a component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. DONNELLY:

H.R. 3739. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to the treatment of amounts received by tax-exempt organizations from sales; rentals, or other dispositions of lists of members, customers, or contributors; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FAUNTROY:

H.R. 3740. A bill to provide for further participation by the United States in certain multilateral development banks, to improve multilateral development bank environmental performance, and to increase the role of nongovernmental organizations, women, indigenous peoples, and the poor in multilateral development bank activities; to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. FISH:

H.R. 3741. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to eliminate the two-tier system for calculating the amount of an annuity paid under the survivor benefit plan for the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Ms. KAPTUR (for herself, Ms. OAKAR, Mr. MONTGOMERY, Mr. APPLEGATE, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. BRYANT, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. DORNAN of California, Mr. DOWDY of Mississippi, Mr. EVANS, Mr. KANJORSKI, Mr. MCEWEN, Mr. RIDGE, Mr. HYDE, Mr. RAVENEL, Mr. ROE, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. DWYER of New Jersey, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. TRAXLER, Mr. WAXMAN, Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas, Mr. OBERSTAR, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. DAUB, Mr. BUSTAMANTE, Mr. EMERSON, Mr. OWENS of Utah, Mr. SOLARZ, Mr. WOLPE, Mrs. COLLINS, Mr. LAGOMARSINO, Mr. MILLER of Washington, Mrs. BENTLEY, Mr. DANIEL, Mr. FAZIO, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. STUMP, Mr. BRENNAN, Mr. SMITH of Florida, Mr. WORTLEY, Mr. ORTIZ, Mr. KOLTER, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mrs. SCHROEDER, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. MCCLOSKEY, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. LUNGREN, Mr. LANCASTER, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. FAUNTROY, Mr. BUECHNER, Mr. HAYES of Illinois, Mr. SPRATT, Mrs. PATTERSON, Mr. OWENS of New York, Mr. BIAGGI, Mr. SKELTON, Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. BEVILL, Mr. REGULA, and Mr. BADHAM):

H.R. 3742. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to authorize erection of a memorial and museum on Federal land in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor members of the Armed Forces who served in World War II and to commemorate U.S. participation in that conflict; jointly, to the Committees on Veterans' Affairs and House Administration.

By Mr. THOMAS A. LUKEN (for himself, Mr. WHITTAKER, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. LENT, Mr. FLORIO, Mr. TAUKE, Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. SCHAEFER, Mr. SLATTERY, Mr. CALLAHAN, Mr. SIKORSKI, Mr. BATES, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. COOPER, Mr. WALGREN, Mrs. COLLINS, and Ms. SLAUGHTER of New York):

H.R. 3743. A bill to improve the safety of rail transportation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. TAUZIN:

H.R. 3744. A bill to amend the Panama Canal Act of 1979 to establish a Panama Canal revolving fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. APPLEGATE:

H.J. Res. 418. Joint resolution to designate April 28, 1988, as "National Day of Remembrance of the 749 American Victims of Operation Tiger"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BROOKS:

H.J. Res. 419. Joint resolution commemorating January 28, 1988, as "National Challenger Center Day" in honor of the crew of the space shuttle *Challenger*; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FISH (for himself and Mr. GEKAS):

H.J. Res. 420. Joint resolution to designate the week of April 17, 1988, as "Crime Victims Week"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.J. Res. 421. Joint resolution designating May 1988 as "National Digestive Disease Awareness Month"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.J. Res. 422. Joint resolution designating May 1-7, 1988, as "National Older Americans Abuse Prevention Week"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. PORTER (for himself, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. HENRY, Mr. HOYER, and Mr. SMITH of New Jersey):

H. Con. Res. 228. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress regarding the recent arrest of four people who were detained in the offices of the Zion Church in East Berlin by authorities of the German Democratic Republic; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HAMILTON (for himself and Mr. CHENEY):

H. Res. 330. Resolution relating to the termination of the affairs of the Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions With Iran; considered and agreed to.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mr. DEWINE introduced a bill (H.R. 3745) for the relief of Michael Elliott; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 192: Mr. SAWYER.

H.R. 535: Mr. CAMPBELL.

H.R. 759: Mr. ANDERSON and Mr. BUNNING.

H.R. 994: Mr. ROGERS.

H.R. 1481: Mr. RIDGE, Mr. HAYES of Illinois, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. KILDEE, and Mr. MILLER of Washington.

H.R. 1606: Mr. HOUGHTON.

H.R. 1729: Mr. LATTA.

H.R. 2248: Mr. DELLUMS.

H.R. 2640: Mr. SHAW, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. NICHOLS, Mr. SHUMWAY, Mr. CROCKETT, Mr. STANGELAND, Mr. SUNDQUIST, Mr. SIKORSKI, Mr. OBERSTAR, Mr. CONYERS, Mrs. COLLINS, Mrs. BENTLEY, Mr. KOSTMAYER, and Mr. GEKAS.

H.R. 2676: Mr. SAVAGE and Mr. KILDEE.

H.R. 2801: Mr. SHUSTER.

H.R. 2828: Mr. PENNY.

H.R. 2920: Mrs. BOXER.

H.R. 3013: Mr. KOLTER.

H.R. 3071: Mr. LEHMAN of Florida.

H.R. 3182: Mr. FUSTER, Mr. JONTZ, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. GREEN, Mr. RINALDO, Mr. DONALD E. LUKENS, Mrs. PATTERSON, Mr. LUNGREN, Mr. WORTLEY, Mr. PANETTA, Mr. HAYES of Louisiana, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. DIXON, Mr. BADHAM, Mr. SAWYER, Mr. BLILEY, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. BEVILL, Mr. MCGRATH, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. WILSON, Mr. MCCLOSKEY, Mr. VENTO, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. VISCLOSKY, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. KOLBE, and Mr. KOLTER.

H.R. 3286: Mr. HENRY, Mr. RIDGE, Mr. WILSON, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. HYDE, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. MANTON, Mr. BUSTAMANTE, and Mr. WEISS.

H.R. 3348: Mr. BUECHNER and Mr. GORDON.

H.R. 3363: Mrs. BENTLEY, Mr. BONIOR of Michigan, and Mr. MURPHY.

H.R. 3444: Mr. FORD of Tennessee and Mr. FOGLIETTA.

H.R. 3501: Mr. RITTER and Mr. COURTER.

H.R. 3523: Mrs. PATTERSON.

H.R. 3552: Mr. DIOGUARDI.

H.J. Res. 374: Mr. BRYANT, Mr. LANCASTER, and Mr. WEISS.

H.J. Res. 383: Mr. GRAY of Illinois, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. BATEMAN, Mr. SHAW, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. FORD of Tennessee, Mr. FROST, Mr. RAVENEL, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. BATES, Mr. LANCASTER, Mr. AUCOIN, Mr. FLIPPO, Mr. BRYANT, Mr. BILBRAY, Mrs. BENTLEY, Mr. CHENEY, Mr. CONTE, Mr. COURTER, Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire, and Ms. SLAUGHTER of New York.

H.J. Res. 388: Mr. BRYANT, Mr. GRAY of Illinois, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. JONTZ, Mr. LEHMAN of California, Mr. SHUMWAY, and Mr. LANCASTER.

H.J. Res. 390: Mr. FROST, Mr. BATEMAN, Mr. WORTLEY, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. FUSTER, Mr. LOWRY of Washington, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. KASICH, and Mrs. MORELLA.

H. Con. Res. 213: Mr. DORNAN of California, Mr. SWINDALL, and Mr. BADHAM.

AMENDMENTS

Under clause 6 of rule XXIII, proposed amendments were submitted as follows:

H.R. 1467

By Mr. BEREUTER:

—Page 8, after line 8, insert the following:

SEC. 9. LEAST TERN AND PIPING PLOVER STUDY.

In conducting any nesting preservation or nesting study for the least tern and piping plover (which are listed species under the Endangered Species Act of 1973) as it relates to water releases from the Gavins Point Dam near Yankton, South Dakota, on stretches of the Missouri River between the dam and Sioux City, Iowa, the Corps of Engineers—

(1) may not regulate the flow of water from the dam in a manner that may increase the likelihood of, or worsen, flooding on or along the Missouri River which could jeopardize, threaten, or increase the risk of harm to the life or property of the people living below the dam;

(2) shall, to the maximum extent possible, focus the nesting or preservation studies on those species on stretches of the Missouri River above the dam; and

(3) to minimize potentially adverse flooding on the Missouri River below the dam, shall consult on a regular and frequent basis with appropriate Missouri River riparian organizations regarding the desirable, actual,

and projected releases of water from the dam.

H.R. 3100

By Mr. MARKEY:

(Amendments to the amendment offered by Mr. Leach of Iowa/Mr. Wilson of Texas.)

—In subsection (c), entitled "Extension of Waiver", strike out "1993" and insert in lieu thereof "1988".

—In the proposed amendment to section 669 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (contained in proposed subsection (b) of the bill)—

(1) in paragraph (2) of subsection (c), strike out the period at the end of subparagraph (B) and insert in lieu thereof "; and";

(2) strike out paragraph (3); and

(3) after subparagraph (B) of paragraph (2), insert the following:

"(C) the President certifies to the Congress that extraordinary circumstances exist which require the provision of United States assistance, and describes in that certification the assistance proposed to be provided to meet those circumstances.

"(3)(A) Any waiver under paragraph (2) shall be effective for 30 days only (unless extended by the Congress).

"(B) Assistance may be provided pursuant to a waiver under paragraph (2) only to the extent necessary to meet the extraordinary circumstances described pursuant to paragraph (2)(C).

"(C) The waiver authority of paragraph (2) may be exercised only once each fiscal year.

"(4) Beginning concurrently with the initial certification issued pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection, and for as long as any waiver of the requirements of subsection (a) of this section is in effect for a country in South Asia, the President shall submit any certification required pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection to the Congress at the time of the initial certification and thereafter on September 30 of each year. If in any such certification the President determines that the situation in South Asia has changed and the certification previously made under paragraph (1) of this subsection cannot again be made, then the President shall so certify and shall take whatever action is appropriate under this subsection with regard to the assistance programs of the country or countries in question.

"(5) The President shall submit any certification under paragraph (1) and any waiver under paragraph (2) to the committees specified in section 602(c) of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978.".