

Stated for:

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, on roll-call No. 408, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes."

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON  
H.R. 2606, FOREIGN OPERATIONS,  
EXPORT FINANCING, AND RE-  
LATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIA-  
TIONS ACT, 2000

Mr. CALLAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 2606) making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2000, and for other purposes, with a Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

MOTION TO INSTRUCT OFFERED BY MS. PELOSI

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to instruct.

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

The Clerk read as follows:

Ms. PELOSI moves that the managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill H.R. 2606 making appropriations for Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs for the fiscal year 2000 be instructed to insist on the provisions of the House bill with respect to Indonesia limiting International Military Education and Training to "expanded military education and training only".

□ 1100

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). Pursuant to the rule, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI) and the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. CALLAHAN) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, it is 11 o'clock a.m. in Washington, D.C. It is nighttime in East Timor; and families there and those who have been evacuated from East Timor are living with the suffering of the past week and longer, much of it perpetrated by the Indonesian military cooperating with the militias in Dili and the rest of East Timor.

The motion to instruct conferees I have offered today moves that the House insist on its position restricting military training to Indonesia to expanded IMET only. The Senate bill contains no such restriction.

Were it within the scope of my motion to instruct to cut off all military training to the Indonesian military, I would do so. But the constraints of the parliamentarian are such on my motion that I cannot.

Just as a matter of explanation, Mr. Speaker, the Department of Defense

spends about \$50 million a year on independent national military education and training. That is called IMET program.

The program provides a wide range of training to over 125 countries around the world. The training ranges from sending foreign officers to some of our many military schools for extended periods to training in basic military tactics and techniques.

In the past 10 years, with the changes in the world, Congress has insisted that the new programs be developed and carried out which deal with civil military relations and human rights awareness. These programs are called Expanded IMET and now take place in many countries with difficult problems, like Guatemala, El Salvador, and Indonesia. Indonesia receives \$550,000 worth of IMET training in 1999 and 400,000 has been requested for 2000.

The purpose of my motion here today is to insist that the restrictions on the limited Expanded IMET only stay in place for the year 2000, FY 2000. As I said, I would prefer to cut all IMET to Indonesia, especially made clear by the recent events there. However, this is not within the scope of the two bills, as I mentioned, as currently drafted.

In fact, the President has suspended all military training and military-to-military contacts for the time being. Ensuring that Expanded IMET restrictions stay in place for all of FY 2000 will make that limitation a matter of law.

I believe it is important to send a strong signal to the Indonesian Government at this time, despite the apparent progress on allowing a United Nations peacekeeping force into East Timor. The horrifying events of the past week have shocked the world. They have indeed challenged the conscience of the world. We know that thousands of people have been killed. The systematic nature of this mayhem where young men, Catholic priests and nuns, and U.N. workers were in fact targeted by the militias speaks volumes about the depths of this problem.

I am indeed grateful that order seems to have been restored in East Timor, but at what cost and how many lives already lost? The terms of reference for the U.N. peacekeeping force are still under negotiation, as is the timing of their deployment. The Indonesian military is sending mixed signals about their willingness to cooperate with the U.N., and we need to keep the pressure on.

The people of East Timor chose independence and democracy, and the consequences have been dire for them. Instead of a democratic spirit prevailing there, violence reigns. No one can say with certainty to what degree the Indonesian military was culpable, but it is increasingly clear that either the military was involved directly in militia activity in East Timor or they failed to confront it.

Keeping the restrictions on Expanded IMET for Indonesia will at least put

Congress on record as sending a signal to the Indonesian military that their behavior has been unacceptable. It also will send a signal to our own military that the suspension of the military-to-military contact program should remain in effect indefinitely.

I again want to repeat that I would prefer to go further in my motion today. I believe that all assistance programs for Indonesia should be seriously reviewed. Disbursements to Indonesia under the structural adjustment program to the IMF should be halted, and the international bank loans that go directly to the government should be suspended. These measures are necessary to demonstrate to the Indonesian Government that we will not tolerate the undermining of democracy in East Timor.

Others of my colleagues have motions to this effect, and I hope that they will come to the floor soon. If it had been possible from a parliamentary standpoint, we would have included many of those initiatives in this motion to instruct. But staying with what is within the scope of the two bills, I urge my colleagues to vote to support the motion to instruct conferees on this motion.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CALLAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I do not oppose the motion offered by the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI). I think that she echoes what we did here in the House, and that was to limit the IMET training in Indonesia to expanded military education and training only. This is exactly the reason and the purpose for the Expanded Military Education and Training program, which is to teach military leaders and military people in foreign countries something about human rights, to educate them with the ability to work with a civilian government. If Indonesia ever needed this assistance, it is now.

So I intend to support the motion of the gentlewoman to instruct to insist the Senate keep the language that we inserted in the House in our bill.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CALLAHAN. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the motion to instruct conferees and just remind Members that I have held hearings in my subcommittee on the U.S. cooperation with the Indonesian military and I find it appalling that we have been training, especially through the JCET program, many of the people, including those who are part of Kopassus, which is an infamous brigade, it is the Red Berets, it is their so-called elite, many of whom have been charged with very serious human rights violations, including the use of torture.

We had Pius Lustrilanang, one of those who was tortured by the Indonesian military, appear at one of our hearings, and he gave riveting testimony of the daily beatings that he endured at the hands of those people.

Where we come in, or where the United States I think has made a very serious error, is that we have trained in sniper training, urban guerilla warfare, and other kinds of assistance to the very people in Kopassus and in other elements of the Indonesian military. And I asked our U.S. officials both in Jakarta, as well as at our hearings, did we keep track of those we trained. There is no list of those that we have trained.

Now there are several of those members who are under indictment. General Prabowo, who was the leader of Kopassus, has been sacked. But there are still very strong remnants of that kind of abusing authority still in place. We are seeing them now operate with impunity in East Timor.

Mr. CALLAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 4 minutes to the very distinguished gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY) who has fought this fight over the years for the people of East Timor.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this motion and urge all of my colleagues to do the right thing for the courageous people of East Timor.

I am outraged at the current events in East Timor, whose people exercised their right to self-determination two weeks ago. Although the threats and intimidation of anti-independence groups ominously hung over their heads, nearly all eligible East Timorese voted for the referendum, with an overwhelming majority choosing independence from Indonesia over autonomy within it.

What should be a time of celebration for the East Timorese is instead a time of great terror. Anti-independence militia groups continue today to burn houses, places of worship, loot businesses and private homes, and brutally murder innocent civilians.

The U.N. Security Council delegation sent to Indonesia has cited strong evidence that the Indonesian military and police are complicit in this rampage. The chief U.N. human rights official has said that there are enough witnesses of the militias' heinous acts that a war crimes tribunal will likely be convened.

East Timorese refugees, still frightened for their lives, tell of planned, systematic massacres of young men and clergy.

We are witnessing a catastrophic violation of human rights. Initially President Habibie resisted international peacekeepers, insisting that the military could bring order to East Timor. Now Indonesia has agreed to the peace-

keepers but needs more time to discuss the details. As Habibie hedges and delays, East Timor has run out of time. As Indonesia turns a blind eye, those who advocated a peaceful and democratic transition to independence violently perish.

Until the terror ceases, the United States and international financial institutions should continue the moratorium on aid to Indonesia. Until an international peacekeeping force reclaims East Timor and the Indonesian military leaves, not one iota of military assistance should be sent to Indonesia, not one Indonesian soldier should be trained by U.S. military personnel, not one dollar should prop up those responsible for this massacre.

Let us make clear that we are disgusted by Indonesia's utter disrespect for the tenets of democracy and the sanctity of human life. We have a responsibility to our partners in democracy in East Timor to be the loudest voice, the strongest voice in support of their courageous step towards independence. Let us not stand by as East Timor is destroyed and its people banished and murdered. As we have learned from history, the price of inaction is far too great.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN) who has just returned from East Timor.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the motion to instruct conferees.

It is absolutely critical that U.S. and international pressure be maintained and increased on the Government of Indonesia and the Indonesian military. Instructing the conferees on the foreign aid bill to retain the House restrictions on IMET and expand the IMET is one modest but concrete action this House can take.

The U.S. has provided an estimated \$148 million in weapons, ammunition, spare parts, and technical support to Indonesia since 1993. However, Indonesia and the U.S. have continued to maintain military training and officer exchange programs.

Those programs, costing about a half a million dollars per year, are now frozen as a result of the suspension of military relations announced last week by President Clinton.

Eighteen Indonesian military officers currently are studying at U.S. military facilities as part of the IMET program. Eleven are in a training program at the Center for Military Relations in Monterey, California. Six are studying English. And one officer is at an American war college.

This House has taken the lead in restricting IMET funding to Indonesia because of the brutal human rights records of its military. Today, more than ever, those restrictions must be extended and expanded.

Mr. Speaker, I was in East Timor at the end of August, just nine days before the referendum on independence. I

traveled to Suai and Maliana. I spent a day with the parish priests in Suai, Father Hilario Madeira and Father Francisco Soares. I met with U.N. workers in Maliana. In Dili, I had dinner with Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo.

Every one of these people told me of their faith in the U.N. process, their commitment to vote, and their fears about violent retaliation following the vote. Those fears have now been realized.

Father Hilario and Father Francisco were murdered, shot down in their church as they tried to protect the people inside. Forty-five of the U.N. workers in Maliana were massacred. The home of Bishop Belo has been burned to the ground. Thousands have been killed or forcibly removed, their fates unknown.

Dili has been destroyed, burnt to the ground, emptied of its people. And still the Government of Indonesia delays the deployment of international peacekeepers.

All of us in the international community have broken faith with the people of East Timor. They trusted us to protect them as they bravely voted for freedom. We must not fail them again.

I urge my colleagues to support the motion to instruct conferees.

I thank the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI) for her motion.

□ 1115

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, earlier I mentioned other initiatives in Congress, one of them being advanced by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN), a leader on this issue. I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN).

(Mr. BENTSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding me this time and also commend her for offering this motion to instruct. Like her, I wish that it would go a little bit further. I as well as the gentlewoman from California and some others have introduced a bill that would direct representatives to both the IMF and the World Bank to use their voice and vote to oppose any additional funding under the IMF-G7 credit facility that was implemented last year to Indonesia until such time as the President can certify to the Congress that the situation has been peacefully resolved.

There are a number of us on the floor today who in the last year worked very hard for adding capital to the IMF to help follow through with this program to help Indonesia, to help Thailand, to help South Korea, because we believed it was in the best interest of the United States that we contain the Asian currency crisis because of what a large export market it is for us. I find myself very frustrated by the fact that Indonesia has continually failed to follow up to the requirements that the Congress put in, the requirements that the IMF and the World Bank have called

for, and I think the situation in East Timor is the proverbial stick that broke the camel's back. The fact is, this is not a credit that the United States taxpayers should want to underwrite so long as the government and the military are willing to persecute the people of East Timor. And while we have had progress made over the weekend with the tacit inviting of a U.N. peacekeeping force, the fact is the details have not been worked out and the killing still goes on. Newspapers today report that the militias are being housed just across the border. So I think this issue is far from being resolved.

I think it is incumbent upon the Congress, including those of us who believed that U.S. involvement through the IMF-G7 package was the right thing to do, to now put pressure on the Indonesian government through this motion and motions such as those that I have introduced in order to restore some sanity and peace to East Timor and to get the Indonesian government back on the right track. Otherwise, I think the United States should want to have nothing to do with this government. I believe that we should be involved in world affairs and should be involved in the affairs over there, but we should not be involved in such actions as are taking place today.

I thank the gentlewoman for offering her motion and ask my colleagues to support it.

Ms. PELOSI. I thank the gentleman for his very fine statement.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. KENNEDY) who has been a champion on this issue in his service in the Congress and before.

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from California for yielding me this time and I want to commend her for the great work she has always done using her position in the committee to follow this issue closely.

In 1996, I traveled to East Timor. I went to Dili, and I saw the spot where hundreds lost their lives in the famous Santa Cruz cemetery massacre. Unfortunately, the tragedy of that massacre is occurring again today as we speak.

In 1996, I met with Nobel peace laureate Bishop Belo in his home. Now that home has been burned down, destroyed, by paramilitaries that are rampant in the region. Even nuns and priests and other religious leaders have been killed over the past week. It is time that we end this violence and take a real stand. The people of East Timor took a courageous stand themselves just a few weeks ago when they voted for independence. We owe them, these people desperate for freedom and democracy, a chance for peace.

Last week, I introduced legislation to show further support for the Timorese that calls for the suspension of financial and military assistance to Indonesia and a call for peacekeeping troops. Today's motion will ensure

that we adhere to similar language that was already included in the Foreign Operations bill that my colleagues in that subcommittee so critically included. Again, we tried to persuade Indonesia with words, but words were not enough. The situation is critical. There is no time to wait. The lives of thousands are in the balance. We need to act. We need to act now. We need to pass this motion and pass it overwhelmingly and send a message to the Indonesian government that we will not abide by the way they are treating the East Timorese people.

Ms. PELOSI. I thank the gentleman for his fine statement.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), the very distinguished ranking member of the full Committee on Appropriations who fought this fight long before many of us were even in Congress or on this committee.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support this motion and will vote for it, but I want to take this time to discuss my broader concerns about the budget crisis that we face.

As Members know, yesterday the Republican leadership indicated they wanted to solve the problem of our budget caps by providing for a 13-month fiscal year. I want to say today that I enthusiastically support that plan and I urge that the new month be named "Orwellian." The reason I say that is because George Orwell in his famous novel "1984" began that novel with the words, "It was a bright cold day in April and the clocks were striking 13."

I think there are 10 advantages of a 13-month year as the Republican leadership is suggesting.

First of all, everyone could take 8 percent off their age. Adding 1 month to the year reduces the number of years we have lived by 8 percent.

Second, we could bring back Ronald Reagan as President. By making this retroactive, we could arrange it so that it is 1984 all over again, which is what the Republicans have been trying to do for years. That would be appropriate, because it was with the Reagan budgets that the deficit first exploded and put us where it is today.

Third, it could add 30 more shopping days till Christmas. That would add immeasurably to economic growth, although it could cause the economy to overheat which might cause Alan Greenspan to raise interest rates.

Fourth, it could give every child in America 1 month more of summer vacation. That could add to economic growth in the tourist and resort industries as people have more time to travel.

Fifth, as an alternative we could add 1 month to the work year. That could add to worker productivity and raise economic growth that way.

Sixth, it would help at least two more major league baseball players to join Mark McGwire and Sammy Sosa

in breaking Roger Maris' single season home run record because they would have 30 extra days to do it. That would bring millions of additional fans into the Nation's ballparks, and we would have millions more to add to the economic strength of baseball and to the economy in general.

Seventh, it would make all taxpayers happy by delaying tax filing deadlines by 1 month.

Eighth, it could give Republicans 1 extra month to complete their budget, although at the rate they are going, that probably would not make any difference.

Ninth, it could delay the Y2K problem by 1 month if the month is inserted before January.

And, tenth, it could prove that the Middle Age critics of Galileo were correct when they denied his theory that the earth circled the sun once every 12 months. They could thus join the Kansas school board in helping turn back the clock.

I would urge that we support the Republican leadership's proposal. It is the way out of this mess for everyone. And while we are considering that proposal, I hope we get serious and in fact pass the motion to instruct that the gentlewoman is proposing on the East Timor question today. It is a serious issue. We should not be providing military aid to Indonesia under these circumstances.

I thank the gentlewoman for yielding me the time.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. FRANK), another champion of democracy. It is no coincidence that Massachusetts comes to this debate so strong with their commitment to promoting democratic values throughout the world.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding me this time.

That commitment is reinforced by the really quite admirable passion that Portuguese Americans feel as a sense of responsibility towards East Timor which had been a Portuguese colony and it is that which helps energize myself and my colleagues from Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

Two points. First, the Indonesian government should understand what a terrible price they are paying for this massacre. I offered an amendment to this bill in 1996 to cut IMET. I lost on the floor, because Members were not predisposed to be critical of Indonesia. Members felt Indonesia was a potentially valuable friend and ally. I do not criticize Members for changing their position. Events have changed. No one, I think, could have foreseen quite as much brutality as we have seen. Some of us were pessimistic, but the Indonesians managed to exceed even our worst fears. So what they are going to see when they compare the vote of 1996 to what I hope will be an overwhelming vote today is the price they have paid for this butchery, and they should understand that what we are saying is,

they are on a very tenuous probation. No one is writing them off the face of the earth, but the heavy burden now is on the people and government of Indonesia to show that they understand how terribly they have misbehaved and for them to undo this.

Secondly, will the military please, the U.S. military, now stop telling us how these training programs inculcate respect for human rights. If the military has geostrategic reasons for wanting alliances with other militaries, then let us be honest about it. But the argument they give us that when they have relations with brutal and repressive regimes, they are doing it to civilize the military of those regimes, they are doing it to turn the military of those regimes into relative Peace Corps, they do not tell the truth. Indonesia was one of their best examples of how by this relationship they were encouraging a more civilized military, and no military in recent history has behaved in a more brutal and less civilized fashion.

So I hope both of those lessons are taken to heart by a very large vote in favor of the gentlewoman's instruction.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, kings of countries, leaders of tribes and very wealthy people, when they have their birthdays, they give gifts to others. I understand that our distinguished chairman had his birthday over the weekend and I was wondering if the very distinguished chairman would yield 10 minutes to me of his time in observation of his birthday for which we are all very grateful.

Mr. CALLAHAN. Mr. Speaker, since the gentlewoman recognized my birthday, I appreciate that very much, but I might tell her in response to what the gentleman from Wisconsin was talking about earlier on the 13 months. When you reach my age, maybe it is time for us to move to a 13-month year, because my next birthday would therefore be 30 days later. But if we are going to go to the 13 months, I would hope that they would make it in the summer rather than the winter because I do not like cold weather. So if we are going to move in that direction, I would encourage those that will be in charge of that decision to make the extra month maybe between August and September, rather than between, for example, January and February. But I will be happy to agree to the unanimous-consent request of the gentlewoman from California to take 10 minutes of my time, provided we talk about the situation in East Timor and we talk about expanded IMET training. I will be happy to agree to the gentlewoman's request.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). Without objection, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI) will control 10 minutes of the time originally allocated to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. CALLAHAN).

There was no objection.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the very distinguished gentleman, and

I know I speak for every Member in the Chamber in wishing him a very happy birthday.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER), a champion for democracy all over the world.

(Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman, my colleague from California, for bringing this motion to the floor. She has championed human rights all over the world. I am delighted that she has given us this opportunity to speak out against the atrocities and the brutality that has taken place in East Timor.

Year after year, we are told by the military of this country that they are engaged in training programs with the military of other countries that cause that military establishment in those countries, in this case Indonesia, to respect human rights, to understand the chain of command, to respect civil authority and to benefit us through that relationship. Unfortunately we now see in East Timor just one in a continuation of tragedies where this has turned out to be fiction. It could be no further from the truth. What in fact we see is the involvement of those American-trained soldiers in the massacre, the slaughter and the brutality against their own citizens.

Earlier this year, we debated the School of the Americas where we saw this activity in South America and today now we see it in East Timor. Let us understand something, that the contacts that were supposedly established in East Timor and in Indonesia because of American military training never came about. They never came about because those phone calls were refused, those conversations were not paid attention to, they were not heeded until one thing happened, until the military had taken care of business in East Timor. And by taking care of business, we are talking about the burning and sacking of towns and homes, the destruction of people and the killing of people who voted for and supported the democracy movement, who voted for and supported a vote for freedom that was offered to them by their government.

□ 1130

They have thought it was offered in good faith. It turned out when they voted for freedom, they were then signing a death warrant on themselves. We are told of how systematically, systematically the military and militia with lists of names of people who supported democracy were taken from their homes and killed, in some cases killed in their homes in front of family and the members of the family were killed. This was a systematic extermination of the forces of democracy in East Timor, and we have got to quit kidding our-

selves that somehow the continuation of expanded IMET, of IMET training to these forces, is bringing about democracy. It is bringing about a holocaust of people in East Timor.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman for his excellent statement.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL), really the conscience of this Congress.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for her great work, and I just appreciate the chance to stand up in support of this motion.

I have been involved with this issue on East Timor since 1980. I remember when I was first on the Committee on Foreign Affairs and we took up the issue of East Timor, had hearings on it; and it is time that we speak together as a Congress and a government. We have not been together on this issue for all of these years. I think this is the time. I am hoping that the Senate will certainly adopt it.

Mr. Speaker, the other thing I wanted to say is that I have read with chagrin some of our officials and our Government saying that really East Timor belongs to Indonesia. The fact is that is not true. East Timor has been independent. Indonesia has been condemned many times in the United Nations, even by our own country relative to the annexation of East Timor when Indonesia moved in after 1975.

This is an important motion, I certainly support it, and I applaud the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI) who again has shown us what a wonderful Congresswoman she is, and I urge all Members to support this.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from American Samoa (Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA). He lives closest to East Timor, and I am very pleased to yield to him.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding this time to me, and I do want to thank her for giving me this opportunity for some comments concerning this very important issue, and I do want to wish the gentleman from Alabama a very happy birthday.

Mr. Speaker, the question of East Timor has been something that I have been following for many years. We have held hearings, and I want to thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), the chairman of our Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, and despite all of these things, now all of a sudden it seems that East Timor is coming to bear.

The fact of the matter is, Mr. Speaker, East Timor was a former Portuguese colony, and when Portugal left this colony, the Indonesian military came and simply occupied it; and the saddest affair of all, Mr. Speaker, is the fact that 200,000 East Timorese were sacrificed, they were massacred, in 1974 when they took over this portion of the island; and the sad part about it, too, Mr. Speaker, is that we cannot afford

to talk only about East Timor and ignore West Papua New Guinea, because both of these were former. And while I say that East Timor was a former colony of Portugal, but West Papua New Guinea was a former colony of the Dutch, but the Indonesian military simply came over and took over this place and was never recognized by the international community, and it was never recognized by our own country.

For 24 years, Mr. Speaker, this place has been trying over the years in getting the attention not only of our own Nation, but the international community, and finally, finally that we do not have the Cold War any more to contend with, now we are all worried about to say that because Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world and the country with the highest population as far as the Muslim religion is concerned; this is all irrelevant, Mr. Speaker. The fact of the matter is that these people, this military, has butchered these people, and it is about time that we do something about this, and I want to commend the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI) for offering this motion.

Mr. CALLAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers and, therefore, yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON), our distinguished ranking member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I will not take up the 2 minutes. I just want to commend the gentlewoman and the gentleman for agreeing on this language. This is a critical moment. There has to be a very clear and direct signal from the United States as there has been from the White House, from United States Congress, that America will not countenance this kind of behavior. The outrageous acts by the Indonesian military and government has to be answered, and I am glad to see the gentlewoman from California leading this effort today.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished ranking member, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON), for his leadership and his statement.

Mr. Speaker, I want to begin my closing by commending the distinguished chairman of the committee for his cooperation on this motion to instruct. It is my understanding that the gentleman will not oppose, and I assume that means he will support the motion to instruct conferees, and for that I am very grateful because I think it is very important that whatever the content of the motion to instruct, that it have unanimous support, and while, as I said earlier, I would have gone further to cut off all military training to the Indonesian military, what is before us is what is allowed by the rules within the scope of the two bills that will be reconciled in conference.

So I look forward to working with the chairman in conference under his leadership on insisting on the House language when, as I anticipate, we carry this motion to instruct today.

In closing I just want to say again why it is so important. Our distinguished colleagues who have spoken here today have spent years toiling on the issue of East Timor. They are concerned because they are champions of human rights throughout the world, and as such East Timor has been an important issue. They have many Portuguese Americans living in their districts, and so, many of them have a heightened awareness, specifically of the sad situation in East Timor. They are aware of East Timor as it has been, and as it existed since the Portuguese left, leaving East Timor an independent country which was then immediately overtaken by the Indonesian military.

In our foreign operations bill over the years we have asked and tried to persuade the Indonesian Government to work with Bishop Belo for a peaceful resolution of the situation in East Timor. As has been mentioned by my colleagues, in the past week Bishop Belo, a Nobel prize winner, a Nobel peace laureate for his work for promoting democratic reform and autonomy or independence, as the case may be—it is now independence in East Timor, self determination in East Timor has had his house burned to the ground. The people who sought sanctuary there had to flee.

Never in the 400-or-so years of recent history of East Timor with all of the occupations that they have endured, including all the time the Japanese occupying that area, never were the religious institutions, establishments, treated in this fashion. My colleagues have gone into the number of people who have died, hundreds of thousands made homeless, hundreds of thousands evacuated in the last 10 days from East Timor. This is a moral blot on the world, as I said earlier, a challenge to the conscience of the world. Hopefully the world will rise to the occasion as we prepare to send in the U.N. troops.

But as we talk about that, the form that this motion takes is to confine the military training of the Indonesian military to expanded IMET, and I want to spend a moment on that.

We have tried in our committee, those of us who have been working on this issue, to eliminate all military training by the U.S. military of the Indonesian military. Our military has said that we must go in there and train them, and they do not even want to confine it to Expanded IMET. Our military wants to train the Indonesian military. As a compromise we have included language that says if our military they train them, it has to be on how a military functions in a civilian society and focus on respecting the human rights of people that they are dealing with there.

We have asked the U.S. military over and over for the policy justification for

our training of the Indonesian military. None has come forward. What has come forward though is the overwhelmingly enthusiastic support by our military of this training which I think that whether or not, and I believe that the Indonesian military was very, very involved in the massacre that occurred in East Timor, but even for a moment if my colleagues say there is a question about that, that they did not cooperate with the militia. What did they do to stop this massacre?

A price in humanity has been paid in the last 10 days that could have been prevented. I think that I can say without any doubt that the U.S. military training of Indonesian military has been a failure, has been a failure. We fail to see also the policy justification for that military-to-military training.

I have asked and my chairman has very graciously agreed for our committee to have hearings on U.S. military training worldwide. We had that hearing. In advance of that hearing on our bill, we had asked for an accounting of this military training worldwide. We received volumes, but really not volumes of information that was very useful.

So today, surrounding this tragedy maybe at long last we will get enough awareness on the part of the Congress to examine what this program is about.

I call to my colleagues' attention another point, and that is even though this body by its vote forbade the military U.S. training of the Indonesian military except for Expanded IMET, our military went around the intent of Congress and trained the Kopassus under another program. Not IMET, but the JCET program, trained the Kopassus which is guilty of many atrocities in Indonesia and in East Timor. Our weapons were used against the people of East Timor.

So let us do this today. It is a small baby step in the motion to instruct, and hopefully the strong vote that it has will be a vote about confining to expanded IMET, that the conference will agree to that. But in addition to that, we must take a close look at the policy justification for this military-to-military training, and when Congress says it shall not take place or it should only take place under certain circumstances, that our military understand a civilian government as well and that they do not find other ways to go around it.

Since I have served on the Committee on Foreign Operations and on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, I have constantly been called by our CINCPAC the present one, Admiral Blair, his predecessor and that admiral's predecessor to talk about the glories of our training of the Indonesian military. I did not believe it then, and I am absolutely certain that it has not been effective now. Witness what happened in East Timor.

So I am pleased to have the time to bring this motion to the floor. I thank my distinguished chairman for supporting the motion to instruct. I also

thank him for giving us the forum to have the military training hearing that we had and hope now with all of this discussion that it will raise the consciousness of this body to the issue of IMET and military training, JCET, other military training, weapon sales and the military-to-military cooperation.

I want to commend the Clinton administration for its leadership in these past days in getting us to a point where now a U.N. peacekeeping force can go in. I want to commend them for suspending the military-to-military cooperation; but it is important for this body to act, put into law this confining of the military training to human rights activities and the role of a military in a civilian society.

With that, if I have any time left, Mr. Speaker, I would like to set aside 10 seconds, 10 seconds recognizing that we really do not have a 13th month here, 10 seconds of silence on behalf of all the people who have died in East Timor. This should be a grief to every person in the world, and I would ask for that 10 seconds.

Mr. FALOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, I join my esteemed colleague, Congresswoman PELOSI, on her motion to instruct conferees to maintain the House language on restrictions of IMET military assistance to Indonesia.

Like many of our colleagues, I am greatly disturbed and saddened by the brutal, violent response of the pro-Jakarta militia and Indonesian military to the overwhelming vote for independence demonstrated by the courageous people of East Timor. However, I am not at all surprised at the rampant killings, Mr. Speaker, as the Indonesian military has routinely used violence as a tool of repression.

Although the Timorese struggle for self-determination has received much publicity, Mr. Speaker, scant attention has been paid to the people of West Papua New Guinea who have similarly struggled in Irian Jaya to throw off the yoke of Indonesian colonialism. As in East Timor, Indonesia took West Papua New Guinea by force in 1963. In a pathetic episode, the United Nations in 1969 sanctioned a fraudulent referendum, where only 1,025 delegates handpicked and paid-off by Jakarta were permitted to participate in an independence vote. The rest of the West Papua people, over 800,000 strong, has absolutely no voice in the undemocratic process.

Since Indonesia subjugated West Papua New Guinea, the native Papuan people have suffered under one of the most repressive and unjust systems of colonial occupation in the 20th century. Like in East Timor where 200,000 East Timorese are thought to have died, the Indonesian military has been brutal in Irian Jaya. Reports estimate that between 100,000 to 300,000 West Papuans have died or simply vanished at the hands of the Indonesian military. While we search for justice and peace in East Timor, Mr. Speaker, we should not forget the violent tragedy that continues to play out today in West Papua New Guinea. I would urge our colleagues, our great nation, and the international community to revisit the status of West Papua New Guinea to ensure that justice is also achieved there.

Mr. Speaker, with respect to the events of the past week, the Indonesian Government

should be condemned in the strongest terms for allowing untold atrocities to be committed against the innocent, unarmed civilians of East Timor. I commend President Clinton for terminating all assistance to and ties with the Indonesian military. The latest U.N. estimate are that up to 300,000 Timorese, over a third of the population of East Timor, have been displaced and it remains to be seen how many hundreds, if not thousands, have been killed in the mass bloodletting and carnage. A war crimes tribunal, as called for by UNHCR head Mary Robinson, is necessary to punish those responsible for the atrocities.

I further commend the decision of the United Nations to try to maintain its UNAMET operations in Dili, even if only with a skeletal staff. It was absolutely essential that international observers, such as the U.N., not desert East Timor or the likelihood of genocide against the Timorese people would have substantially increased. I am greatly disturbed to learn this morning that the UNAMET compound has been abandoned because of continuing attacks by Indonesian militia and military elements.

As to the issue of a U.N. or international peacekeeping force, I strongly support such an intervention in East Timor and commend Indonesian President Habibie for his decision this weekend to authorize entry. While Australia and New Zealand may take the lead in the formation of such a peacekeeping force, it is crucial that Southeast Asian nations, such as the Philippines, Malaysia, and Thailand, contribute significant troops to the effort, and I applaud the cooperation and commitment of these countries. Jakarta, however, should not be permitted to dictate which countries shall comprise and contribute to the international peacekeeping force.

It is clear the United States must also commit to this peacekeeping effort and not shirk its duty. Besides playing a significant role in supplying airlift capabilities and logistical support, I believe America should also contribute a small, if not symbolic, contingent of ground troops, which could easily be drawn from our substantial forces of U.S. Marines based in Okinawa.

With Indonesia being the fourth largest nation and the largest Muslim country in the world, which sits astride major searoutes of communication and trade—certainly we have substantial national interests in preserving stability in Indonesia and Southeast Asia, as well as preventing a U.N. initiative from turning into a catastrophic humanitarian disaster.

Moreover, Mr. Speaker, I believe that what has happened in East Timor—where the Indonesian military forces played a major role in the horrific violence—holds prophetic ramifications for the future of Indonesia as a whole. In front of the world, President Habibie has been humiliated by the inability to control his own military while Defense Minister General Wiranto's hand in the unfolding events in East Timor is still being questioned. It raises the question as to who is actually in control in Jakarta, and whether a civilian democratic government or military regime holds the reigns of power to Indonesia—now and for the future.

By its simple presence, Mr. Speaker, an international peacekeeping force in East Timor may well lend a hand in stabilizing not just that island but the fragile democracy that ostensibly governs Indonesia.

I thank the gentlewoman for her motion and urge our colleagues to support this important measure.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of the Motion to Instruct Conferees and to condemn the violence raging in East Timor. Sadly, on what should have been a joyous occasion, the free and democratic decision of the people of East Timor to become independent, violence erupted, and brought tragedy instead.

The stories we have heard from this region are heartbreaking—homes burned, young people shot and dumped in the sea, massacres by machete. The brutal tactics of anti-independence militias and members of the Indonesian military are truly horrific. Of course, our hearts go out to the people of East Timor for all they have endured. However, our sympathy is not enough. We must take action to ensure that such violence will not continue.

The government in Indonesia has been slow to bring an end to the violence in East Timor. President Habibie has finally agreed to allow an international peacekeeping force to enter East Timor and restore order. However, this alone will not do. Of course, I believe that we must supply humanitarian aid to the region, but we should discontinue our programs of military and economic assistance pending resolution of this crisis. While this motion to instruct conferees would not completely cut off military aid to Indonesia, it is an important first step. We must send a message that such violence is unacceptable and will not be rewarded with continued assistance.

On a personal note my constituent Alan Nairn, a journalist reporting on the situation in East Timor, was captured last night by the Indonesian military police. I have been working hard to ensure his immediate release and am hopeful that he will emerge unharmed.

I have closely monitored the situation in East Timor for years, and have consistently called upon the Administration to take bold steps to protect human rights and support the people of East Timor. I have long urged the United Nations to take an active interest in the plight of the East Timorese. In addition, I have called for International Military Education Training funding to be cut to Indonesia and I have opposed the sale of F-16 fighter planes to that nation on account of its poor human rights record.

The tragedy in East Timor has touched us all. I urge this House and the Clinton Administration to do all that it can to end the hostilities and ease the suffering of those in East Timor.

I urge the adoption of this motion.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

□ 1145

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). The question is on the motion to instruct offered by the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

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

Ms. PELOSI. 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. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question will be postponed until after the disposition of H.R. 1883 under suspension of the rules.

The point of no quorum is considered withdrawn.

## IRAN NONPROLIFERATION ACT OF 1999

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 1883) to provide for the application of measures to foreign persons who transfer to Iran certain goods, services, or technology and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 1883

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Iran Nonproliferation Act of 1999".

### SEC. 2. REPORTS ON PROLIFERATION TO IRAN.

(a) REPORTS.—The President shall, at the times specified in subsection (b), submit to the Committee on International Relations of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a report identifying every foreign person with respect to whom there is credible information indicating that that person, on or after January 1, 1999, transferred to Iran—

(1) goods, services, or technology listed on—

(A) the Nuclear Suppliers Group Guidelines for the Export of Nuclear Material, Equipment and Technology (published by the International Atomic Energy Agency as Information Circular INFCIRC/254/Rev.3/Part 1, and subsequent revisions) and Guidelines for Transfers of Nuclear-Related Dual-Use Equipment, Material, and Related Technology (published by the International Atomic Energy Agency as Information Circular INFCIRC/254/Rev.3/Part 2, and subsequent revisions);

(B) the Missile Technology Control Regime Equipment and Technology Annex of June 11, 1996, and subsequent revisions;

(C) the lists of items and substances relating to biological and chemical weapons the export of which is controlled by the Australia Group;

(D) the Schedule One or Schedule Two list of toxic chemicals and precursors the export of which is controlled pursuant to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction; or

(E) the Wassenaar Arrangement list of Dual Use Goods and Technologies and Munitions list of July 12, 1996, and subsequent revisions; or

(2) goods, services, or technology not listed on any list identified in paragraph (1) but which nevertheless would be, if they were United States goods, services, or technology, prohibited for export to Iran because of their potential to make a material contribution to the development of nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons, or of ballistic or cruise missile systems.

(b) TIMING OF REPORTS.—The reports under subsection (a) shall be submitted not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, not later than 6 months after such date of enactment, and not later than the end of each 6-month period thereafter.

(c) EXCEPTIONS.—Any foreign person who—

(1) was identified in a previous report submitted under subsection (a) on account of a particular transfer, or

(2) has engaged in a transfer on behalf of, or in concert with, the Government of the United States, is not required to be identified on account of that same transfer in any report submitted thereafter under this section, except to the degree that new information has emerged indicating that the particular transfer may have continued, or been larger, more significant, or different in nature than previously reported under this section.

(d) SUBMISSION IN CLASSIFIED FORM.—When the President considers it appropriate, reports submitted under subsection (a), or appropriate parts thereof, may be submitted in classified form.

### SEC. 3. APPLICATION OF MEASURES TO CERTAIN FOREIGN PERSONS.

(a) APPLICATION OF MEASURES.—Subject to sections 4 and 5, the President is authorized to apply with respect to each foreign person identified in a report submitted pursuant to section 2(a), for such period of time as he may determine, any or all of the measures described in subsection (b).

(b) DESCRIPTION OF MEASURES.—The measures referred to in subsections (a) are the following:

(1) EXECUTIVE ORDER 12938 PROHIBITIONS.—The measures set forth in subsections (b) and (c) of section 4 of Executive Order 12938 shall be applied with respect to that person.

(2) ARMS EXPORT PROHIBITION.—The United States Government shall not sell to that foreign person any item on the United States Munitions List as in effect on August 8, 1995, and shall terminate sales to that person of any defense articles, defense services, or design and construction services under the Arms Export Control Act.

(3) DUAL USE EXPORT PROHIBITION.—The President shall deny licenses and suspend existing licenses for the transfer to that person of items the export of which is controlled under the Export Administration Act of 1979 or the Export Administration Regulations.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE OF MEASURES.—Measures applied pursuant to subsection (a) shall be effective with respect to a foreign person no later than—

(1) 90 days after the report identifying the foreign person is submitted, if the report is submitted on or before the date required by section 2(b);

(2) 90 days after the date required by section 2(b) for submitting the report, if the report identifying the foreign person is submitted within 60 days after that date; or

(3) on the date that the report identifying the foreign person is submitted, if that report is submitted more than 60 days after the date required by section 2(b).

(d) PUBLICATION IN FEDERAL REGISTER.—The application of measures to a foreign person pursuant to subsection (a) shall be announced by notice published in the Federal Register.

### SEC. 4. PROCEDURES IF MEASURES ARE NOT APPLIED.

(a) REQUIREMENT TO NOTIFY CONGRESS.—Should the President not exercise the authority of section 3(a) to apply any or all of the measures described in section 3(b) with respect to a foreign person identified in a report submitted pursuant to section 2(a), he shall so notify the Committee on International Relations of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate no later than the effective date under section 3(c) for measures with respect to that person.

(b) WRITTEN JUSTIFICATION.—Any notification submitted by the President under subsection (a) shall include a written justification

describing in detail the facts and circumstances relating specifically to the foreign person identified in a report submitted pursuant to section 2(a) that support the President's decision not to exercise the authority of section 3(a) with respect to that person.

(c) SUBMISSION IN CLASSIFIED FORM.—When the President considers it appropriate, the notification of the President under subsection (a), and the written justification under subsection (b), or appropriate parts thereof, may be submitted in classified form.

### SEC. 5. DETERMINATION EXEMPTING FOREIGN PERSON FROM SECTIONS 3 AND 4.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Sections 3 and 4 shall not apply to a foreign person 15 days after the President reports to the Committee on International Relations of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate that the President has determined, on the basis of information provided by that person, or otherwise obtained by the President, that—

(1) the person did not, on or after January 1, 1999, knowingly transfer to Iran the goods, services, or technology the apparent transfer of which caused that person to be identified in a report submitted pursuant to section 2(a);

(2) the goods, services, or technology the transfer of which caused that person to be identified in a report submitted pursuant to section 2(a) did not materially contribute to Iran's efforts to develop nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons, or ballistic or cruise missile systems;

(3) the person is subject to the primary jurisdiction of a government that is an adherent to one or more relevant nonproliferation regimes, the person was identified in a report submitted pursuant to section 2(a) with respect to a transfer of goods, services, or technology described in section 2(a)(1), and such transfer was made consistent with the guidelines and parameters of all such relevant regimes of which such government is an adherent; or

(4) the government with primary jurisdiction over the person has imposed meaningful penalties on that person on account of the transfer of the goods, services, or technology which caused that person to be identified in a report submitted pursuant to section 2(a).

(b) SUBMISSION IN CLASSIFIED FORM.—When the President considers it appropriate, the determination and report of the President under subsection (a), or appropriate parts thereof, may be submitted in classified form.

### SEC. 6. RESTRICTION ON EXTRAORDINARY PAYMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION.

(a) RESTRICTION ON EXTRAORDINARY PAYMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no agency of the United States Government may make extraordinary payments in connection with the International Space Station to the Russian Space Agency, any organization or entity under the jurisdiction or control of the Russian Space Agency, or any other organization, entity, or element of the Government of the Russian Federation, unless, during the fiscal year in which the extraordinary payments in connection with the International Space Station are to be made, the President has made the determination described in subsection (b), and reported such determination to the Committee on International Relations and the Committee on Science of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate.

(b) DETERMINATION REGARDING RUSSIAN COOPERATION IN PREVENTING PROLIFERATION TO