

December 3, 1974

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

S 20411

NOT VOTING—10

Bellmon	Fulbright	Talmadge
Cotton	Humphrey	Thurmond
Eastland	Magnuson	
Ervin	Moss	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote there are 51 yeas and 39 nays. Two-thirds of the Senators present and voting not having voted in the affirmative, the cloture motion is not agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator—

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I call for the yeas and the nays on the conference report if and when it comes up.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and the nays were ordered.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1974

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now proceed to the consideration of S. 3394, which the clerk will state by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows: Calendar No. 1232, S. 3394, a bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and for other purposes.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill which had been reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof:

That this Act may be cited as the "Foreign Assistance Act of 1974".

FOOD AND NUTRITION

Sec. 2. Section 103 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 as amended—

(1) by inserting the subsection designation "(a)" immediately before "In";

(2) by striking out "\$291,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1974 and 1975" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$291,000,000 for the fiscal year 1974, and \$530,000,000 for the fiscal year 1975"; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(b) The Congress finds that, due to rising world food, fertilizer, and petroleum costs, human suffering and deprivation are growing in the poorest and most slowly developing countries. The greatest potential for significantly expanding world food production at relatively low cost lies in increasing the productivity of small farmers who constitute a majority of the nearly one billion people living in those countries. Increasing the emphasis on rural development and expanded food production in the poorest nations of the developing world is a matter of social justice as well as an important factor in slowing the rate of inflation in the industrialized countries. In the allocation of funds under this section, special attention should be given to increasing agricultural production in the countries with per capita incomes under \$300 a year and which are the most severely affected by sharp increases in world-wide commodity prices.

"(c) Of the total amount obligated under this Act during any fiscal year after fiscal year 1975 to procure fertilizers for, and to provide such fertilizers to, foreign countries, not more than one-third of such amount may be obligated with respect to South Vietnam."

POPULATION PLANNING

Sec. 3. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended as follows:

(1) In section 104, strike out "\$145,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1974 and 1975" and insert in lieu thereof "\$145,000,000 for

the fiscal year 1974, and \$165,000,000 for the fiscal year 1975".

(2) In section 292, strike out "\$130,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$150,000,000".

EDUCATION AND HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Sec. 4. Section 105 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "\$90,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1974 and 1975" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$90,000,000 for the fiscal year 1974, and \$92,000,000 for the fiscal year 1975".

HOUSING GUARANTIES

Sec. 5. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended as follows:

(1) In section 221, strike out "\$305,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$405,000,000".

(2) In section 223(a), strike out "June 30, 1975" and insert in lieu thereof "June 30, 1976".

AGRICULTURE CREDIT PROGRAMS

Sec. 6. (a) Title III of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

(1) by striking out the title heading and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"TITLE III—HOUSING AND OTHER CREDIT GUARANTY PROGRAMS";

(2) by inserting immediately after section 222 the following new section:

"SEC. 222A. AGRICULTURAL AND PRODUCTIVE CREDIT AND SELF-HELP COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS.—(a) It is the sense of the Congress that in order to stimulate the participation of the private sector in the economic development of less-developed countries in Latin America, the authority conferred by this section should be used to establish pilot programs in not more than five Latin American countries to encourage private banks, credit institutions, similar private lending organizations, cooperatives, and private nonprofit development organizations to make loans on reasonable terms to organized groups and individuals residing in a community for the purpose of enabling such groups and individuals to carry out agricultural credit and self-help community development projects for which they are unable to obtain financial assistance on reasonable terms. Agricultural credit and assistance for self-help community development projects should include, but not be limited to, material and such projects as wells, pumps, farm machinery, improved seed, fertilizer, pesticides, vocational training, food industry development, nutrition projects, improved breeding stock for farm animals, sanitation facilities, and looms and other handicraft aids.

"(b) To carry out the purposes of subsection (a), the agency primarily responsible for administering part I is authorized to issue guaranties, on such terms and conditions as it shall determine, to private lending institutions, cooperatives, and private nonprofit development organizations in not more than five Latin American countries assuring against loss of not to exceed 50 per centum of the portfolio of such loans made by any lender to organized groups or individuals residing in a community to enable such groups or individuals to carry out agricultural credit and self-help community development projects for which they are unable to obtain financial assistance on reasonable terms. In no event shall the liability of the United States exceed 75 per centum of any one loan.

"(c) The total face amount of guaranties issued under this section outstanding at any one time shall not exceed \$15,000,000. Not more than 10 per centum of such sum shall be provided for any one institution, cooperative, or organization.

"(d) The Inter-American Foundation shall be consulted in developing criteria for making loans eligible for guaranty coverage in Latin America under this section.

"(e) Not to exceed \$3,000,000 of the guaranty reserve established under section 223 (b) shall be available to make such payments as may be necessary to discharge liabilities under guaranties issued under this section or any guaranties previously issued under section 240 of this Act.

"(f) Funds held by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation pursuant to section 236 may be available for meeting necessary administrative and operating expenses for carrying out the provisions of this section through June 30, 1976.

"(g) The Overseas Private Investment Corporation shall, upon enactment of this subsection, transfer to the agency primarily responsible for administering part I all obligations, assets, and related rights and responsibilities arising out of, or related to the predecessor program provided for in section 240 of this Act.

"(h) The authority of this section shall continue until December 31, 1977.

"(i) Notwithstanding the limitation in subsection (c) of this section, foreign currencies owned by the United States and determined by the Secretary of the Treasury to be excess to the needs of the United States may be utilized to carry out the purposes of this section, including the discharge of liabilities under this subsection. The authority conferred by this subsection shall be in addition to authority conferred by any other provision of law to implement guaranty programs utilizing excess local currency.

"(j) The President shall, on or before January 15, 1976, make a detailed report to the Congress on the results of the program established under this section, together with such recommendations as he may deem appropriate."

(3) by striking out "section 221 or section 222" in section 223(a) and inserting "section 221, 222, or 222A" in lieu thereof;

(4) by striking out "this title" in section 223(b) and inserting "section 221 and section 222" in lieu thereof; and

(5) by striking out "section 221 or section 222" in section 223(d) and inserting "section 221, 222, 222A, or previously under section 240 of this Act" in lieu thereof.

(b) Title IV of chapter 2 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out section 240.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PROGRAMS

Sec. 7. Section 302(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "for the fiscal year 1975, \$150,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "for the fiscal year 1975, \$186,900,000".

MILITARY ASSISTANCE AUTHORIZATIONS

Sec. 8. Section 504(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "\$512,500,000 for the fiscal year 1974" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$550,000,000 for the fiscal year 1975".

SPECIAL AUTHORITY

Sec. 9. Section 506 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is repealed.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE AUTHORIZATIONS FOR SOUTH VIETNAM

Sec. 10. Section 513 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended as follows:

(1) Strike out "Thailand and Laos" in the caption and insert in lieu thereof "Thailand, Laos, and South Vietnam".

(2) At the end thereof add the following new subsection:

"(c) After June 30, 1975, no military assistance shall be furnished by the United States to South Vietnam directly or through any other foreign country unless that assistance is authorized under this Act or the Foreign Military Sales Act."

EXCESS DEFENSE ARTICLES

Sec. 11. (a) Chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 514. LIMITATION ON THE GRANT OF EXCESS DEFENSE ARTICLES.—(a) The aggregate original acquisition cost of excess defense articles ordered during the fiscal year 1975 under this chapter for foreign countries and international organizations shall not exceed \$150,000,000.

"(b) The value of any excess defense article furnished under this chapter to a foreign country or international organization by any agency of the United States Government shall be considered to be an expenditure made from funds appropriated under section 504 of this Act. Unless such agency certifies to the Comptroller General of the United States that the excess defense article it is ordering is not to be transferred by any means to a foreign country or international organization, when an order is placed for a defense article whose stock status is excess at the time ordered, a sum equal to the value thereof (less amounts to be transferred under section 632(d) of this Act) shall (1) be reserved and transferred to a suspense account, (2) remain in the suspense account until the excess defense article is either delivered to a foreign country or international organization or the order therefor is canceled, and (3) be transferred from the suspense account to (A) the general fund of the Treasury upon delivery of such article, or (B) the appropriation made under section 504 of this Act for the current fiscal year upon cancellation of the order. Such sum shall be transferred to the appropriation made under section 504 of this Act for the current fiscal year, upon delivery of such article, if at the time of delivery the stock status of the article is determined in accordance with section 644 (g) or (m) of this Act to be nonexcess.

"(c) The President shall promptly and fully inform the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate of each decision to furnish on a grant basis to any country excess defense articles which are major weapons systems to the extent such major weapons system was not included in the presentation material previously submitted to the Congress. Additionally, the President shall also submit a quarterly report to the Congress listing by country the total value of all deliveries of excess defense articles, disclosing both the aggregate original acquisition cost and the aggregate value at the time of delivery."

(b) Sections 8 and 11 of the Act entitled "An Act to amend the Foreign Military Sales Act, and for other purposes", approved January 12, 1971 (84 Stat. 2053), as amended, are repealed.

STOCKPILING OF DEFENSE ARTICLES FOR FOREIGN COUNTRIES

SEC. 12. Chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by section 11 of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 515. STOCKPILING OF DEFENSE ARTICLES FOR FOREIGN COUNTRIES.—(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no funds, other than funds made available under this chapter or section 401(a) of Public Law 89-367 (80 Stat. 37), or any subsequent corresponding legislation, may be obligated for the purpose of stockpiling any defense article or war reserve material, including the acquisition, storage, or maintenance of any war reserve equipment, secondary items, or munitions, if such article or material is set aside, reserved, or in any way earmarked or intended for future use by any foreign country under this Act or such section.

"(b) The cost of any such article or material set aside, reserved, or in any way earmarked or intended by the Department of Defense for future use by, for, or on behalf of the country referred to in section 401

(a) (1) of Public Law 89-367 (80 Stat. 37) shall be charged against the limitation specified in such section or any subsequent corresponding legislation, for the fiscal year in which such article or material is set aside, reserved, or otherwise earmarked or intended; and the cost of any such article or material set aside, reserved, or in any way earmarked or intended for future use by, for, or on behalf of any other foreign country shall be charged against funds authorized under this chapter for the fiscal year in which such article or material is set aside, reserved, or otherwise earmarked. No such article or material may be made available to or for use by any foreign country unless such article or material has been charged against the limitation specified in such section, or any subsequent corresponding legislation, or against funds authorized under this chapter, as appropriate."

MILITARY ASSISTANCE ADVISORY GROUPS AND MISSIONS

SEC. 13. Chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by sections 11(a) and 12 of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 516. MILITARY ASSISTANCE ADVISORY GROUPS AND MISSIONS.—Effective July 1, 1975, an amount equal to each sum expended under any provision of law, other than section 504 of this Act, with respect to any military assistance advisory group, military mission, or other organization of the United States performing activities similar to such group or mission, shall be deducted from the funds made available under such section 504, and (1) if reimbursement of such amount is requested by the agency of the United States Government making the expenditure, reimbursement to that agency, or (2) if no such reimbursement is requested, deposited in the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY

SEC. 14. (a) Chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by sections 11, 12, and 13 of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 517. TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY.—

(1) The President shall gradually reduce assistance (other than military training) provided under this chapter so that, not later than September 30, 1977, no assistance (other than military training) shall be provided under this chapter.

(2) Paragraph (1) of this subsection shall not apply to funds obligated prior to October 1, 1977.

(b) For each of the fiscal years 1975, 1976, and 1977, the President is authorized to finance procurements of defense articles and defense services (other than military training) by any foreign country receiving defense articles or defense services during fiscal year 1974 under this chapter on terms providing for payments to the United States Government in United States dollars (1) of the value of such articles and services which value shall not exceed during each such fiscal year the value of such articles and services (other than military training) furnished that country in fiscal year 1974 under this chapter, (2) at a rate of interest of not less than four per centum a year, and (3) within ten years after delivery of the defense articles or rendering of the defense services.

"(c) (1) By not later than September 30, 1977, all the functions of a military assistance advisory group, a military mission, or other organization of the United States Government in a foreign country performing activities similar to any such group or mission, shall be transferred to the Chief of the United States Diplomatic Mission to that country. Upon the transfer of such functions, that group, mission, or organization, as the case may be, shall cease to exist.

"(2) On and after October 1, 1977, the total number of military attachés assigned or detailed to the United States Diplomatic Mission of a foreign country shall not exceed by more than twenty-five per centum the total number of military attachés authorized to be assigned or detailed to that mission on June 30, 1974.

"(3) On and after October 1, 1977, no military assistance advisory group, military mission, or other organization of the United States Government in a foreign country performing activities similar to any such group or mission, shall be established or continued unless such group, mission, or organization is authorized by law specifically for that country."

(b) Effective October 1, 1977—

(1) the heading of chapter 1 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"CHAPTER 1—PROVIDING MILITARY TRAINING";

(2) sections 501, 502A, 514, and 516, and subsection (g) of section 644 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 are repealed;

(3) section 502 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out the caption "Utilization of Defense Articles and Services" and inserting in lieu thereof "Providing Military Training", by striking out of the text "Defense articles and defense services" and inserting in lieu thereof "Military training", and by striking out the last sentence;

(4) the heading of chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"CHAPTER 2—MILITARY TRAINING";

(5) chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out sections 503 through 505 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 503. GENERAL AUTHORITY.—The President is authorized to furnish, on such terms and conditions consistent with this Act as the President may determine, military training to any foreign country or international organization. Funds for such training shall be appropriated for each fiscal year pursuant to authorization for that fiscal year. After September 30, 1977, no such training shall be conducted outside the United States except by specific authorization of law."

(6) section 511 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out of the section caption "Assistance" and inserting in lieu thereof "Training", and by striking out of the text "military assistance" and "such assistance" and inserting in lieu thereof "military training" and "such training", respectively;

(7) section 636(g)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "defense articles and defense services on a grant or sale basis" and inserting in lieu thereof "military training"; and

(8) section 644(m) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out subparagraph (1) and by striking out of subparagraphs (2) and (3) "nonexcess" wherever it appears.

TERMINATION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO SOUTH KOREA

SEC. 15. Chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by sections 11(a), 12, 13, and 14(a) of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 518. TERMINATION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO SOUTH KOREA.—(a) The total of (1) the amount of funds obligated under this chapter to furnish assistance to South Korea, and (2) the value of excess defense articles furnished to South Korea under this chapter, shall not exceed—

"(A) \$91,500,000 during the fiscal year 1975;

"(B) \$61,000,000 during the fiscal year 1976; and

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"(c) \$30,500,000 during the fiscal year 1977.

"(b) The aggregate total of credits extended, including participations in credits, and the principal amount of loans guaranteed, under the Foreign Military Sales Act with respect to South Korea shall not exceed—

"(1) \$42,500,000 during the fiscal year 1975;

"(2) \$28,300,000 during the fiscal year 1976; and

"(3) \$14,150,000 during the fiscal year 1977.

"(c) On and after October 1, 1977, no assistance shall be furnished South Korea under this chapter, and no credits, including participations in credits, shall be extended, and no loans shall be guaranteed, under the Foreign Military Sales Act with respect to South Korea. The preceding sentence shall not apply with respect to funds obligated prior to such date."

SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE

SEC. 16. Section 532 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "for the fiscal year 1974 not to exceed \$125,000,000, of which not less than \$50,000,000 shall be available solely for Israel" and inserting in lieu thereof "for the fiscal year 1975 not to exceed \$675,000,000".

TRANSFER BETWEEN ACCOUNTS

SEC. 17. (a) Section 610 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended as follows:

(1) In subsection (a), immediately after "any other provision of this Act", insert "(except funds made available under chapter 2 of part II of this Act)".

(2) Add at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) Any funds which the President has notified Congress pursuant to section 653 that he intends to provide in military assistance to any country may be transferred to, and consolidated with, any other funds he has notified Congress pursuant to such section that he intends to provide to that country for development assistance purposes."

(b) Section 614 of such Act is amended by adding at the end of subsection (a) the following: "The authority of this section shall not be used to waive the limitations on transfers contained in section 610(a) of this Act."

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE

SEC. 18. Section 620(v) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is repealed.

LIMITATION UPON ASSISTANCE TO OR FOR CHILE

SEC. 19. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the total amount of assistance that may be made available for Chile under this or any other law during fiscal year 1975 may not exceed \$55,000,000, none of which may be made available for the purpose of providing military assistance (including security supporting assistance, sales, credit sales, or guarantees or the furnishing by any means of excess defense articles or items from stockpiles of the Department of Defense).

RECONSTRUCTION, RELIEF, AND REHABILITATION

SEC. 20. (a) Section 203 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting immediately after "of this part," the following: "The balance of such receipts for fiscal year 1973 is authorized to be made available solely for the purposes of sections 639B, 639C, and 639D of this Act."

(b) Section 639B of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "Notwithstanding any prohibitions or restrictions contained in this or any other Act, the President is authorized to furnish assistance on such terms and conditions as he may determine, for reconstruction and economic develop-

ment programs in the drought-stricken nations of Africa."

(c) The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding after section 639B a new section 639C as follows:

"SEC. 639C. RELIEF AND REHABILITATION IN BANGLADESH AND CYPRUS.—(a) The Congress finds that the recent flooding in the people's Republic of Bangladesh, and the civil and international strife in the Republic of Cyprus, have caused great suffering and hardship for the peoples of the two Republics which cannot be alleviated with their internal resources. The President shall make every effort to develop and implement programs of relief and rehabilitation, in conjunction with other nations providing assistance, the United Nations, and other concerned international and regional organizations and voluntary agencies, to alleviate the hardships caused in these two nations.

"(b) Notwithstanding any prohibitions or restrictions contained in this or any other Act, the President is authorized to furnish assistance on such terms and conditions as he may determine, for disaster relief, rehabilitation, and related programs in the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Republic of Cyprus."

(d) The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding after section 639C, as added by subsection (c) of this section, the following new section:

"SEC. 639D. DISASTER RELIEF AND REHABILITATION.—Notwithstanding any prohibitions or restrictions contained in this or any other Act, the President is authorized to furnish assistance, on such terms and conditions as he may determine for disaster relief, rehabilitation, and related programs in the case of disasters that require large-scale relief and rehabilitation efforts which cannot be met adequately with the funds available for obligation under section 451 of this Act."

(e) The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding after section 339D, as added by subsection (d) of this section, the following new section:

"SEC. 639E. INTERNATIONALIZATION OF ASSISTANCE.—Assistance for the purposes set forth in sections 639A, 639B, 639C, and 639D shall be distributed wherever practicable under the auspices of and by the United Nations and its specialized agencies, other international organizations or arrangements, multilateral institutions, and private voluntary agencies."

ACCESS TO CERTAIN MILITARY BASES ABROAD

SEC. 21. (a) Chapter 3 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 659. ACCESS TO CERTAIN MILITARY BASES ABROAD.—None of the funds authorized to be appropriated for foreign assistance (including foreign military sales, credit sales, and guarantees) under any law may be used to provide any kind of assistance to any foreign country in which a military base is located if—

"(1) such base was constructed or is being maintained or operated with funds furnished by the United States; and

"(2) personnel of the United States carry out military operations from such base: unless and until the President has determined that the government of such country has, consistent with security authorized access, on a regular basis, to bona fide news media correspondents of the United States to such military base."

(b) Section 28 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 is repealed.

PROHIBITING POLICE TRAINING

SEC. 22. (a) Chapter 3 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by section 21(a) of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 660. PROHIBITING POLICE TRAINING.—

(a) None of the funds made available to carry out this Act, and none of the local currencies generated under this Act, shall be used to provide training or advice, or provide any financial support, for police, prisons, or other law enforcement forces for any foreign government or any program of internal intelligence or surveillance on behalf of any foreign government within the United States or abroad.

"(b) Subsection (a) of this section shall not apply—

"(1) with respect to assistance rendered under section 515(c) of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, or with respect to any authority of the Drug Enforcement Administration or the Federal Bureau of Investigation which related to crimes of the nature which are unlawful under the laws of the United States; or

"(2) to any contract entered into prior to the date of enactment of this section with any person, organization, or agency of the United States Government to provide personnel to conduct, or assist in conducting, any such programs.

Notwithstanding clause (2), subsection (a) shall apply to any renewal or extension of any contract referred to in such paragraph entered into on or after such date of enactment."

(b) Section 112 of such Act is repealed.

LIMITING INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

SEC. 23. Chapter 3 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by sections 21(a) and 22 of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 661. LIMITATIONS UPON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.—(a) No funds appropriated under the authority of this or any other Act may be expended by or on behalf of the Central Intelligence Agency or any other agency of the United States Government for the conduct of operations in foreign countries pursuant to section 102(d)(5) of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 403), other than operations intended solely for obtaining necessary intelligence. Notwithstanding the foregoing limitation, the President may authorize and direct that any operation in a foreign country be resumed, or that any other operation in a foreign country be initiated, and funds may be expended therefor, if, but not before, he (1) finds that such operation is important to the national security, and (2) transmits an appropriate report of his finding, together with an appropriate description of the nature and scope of such operation, to the committees of the Congress having jurisdiction to monitor and review the intelligence activities of the United States Government.

"(b) The provisions of subsection (a) of this section shall not apply during military operations by the United States under a declaration of war approved by the Congress or an exercise of powers by the President under the War Powers Resolution."

WAIVER OF PROHIBITION AGAINST ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES ENGAGING IN CERTAIN TRADE

SEC. 24. Chapter 3 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by sections 22 and 23 of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 662. WAIVER OF PROHIBITION AGAINST ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES ENGAGING IN CERTAIN TRADE.—Any provision of this Act or the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 which prohibits assistance to a country because that country is engaging in trade with a designated country may be waived by the President if he determines that such waiver is in the national interest and reports such determination to the Congress."

POLICY WITH RESPECT TO INDOCHINA

SEC. 25. (a) The Congress finds that the cease-fire provided for in the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam has not been observed by any of the Vietnamese parties to the conflict. Military operations of an offensive and defensive nature continue throughout South Vietnam. In Cambodia, the civil war between insurgent forces and the Lon Nol government has intensified, resulting in widespread human suffering and the virtual destruction of the Cambodian economy.

(b) The Congress further finds that continuation of the military struggles in South Vietnam and Cambodia are not in the interest of the parties directly engaged in the conflicts, the people of Indochina, or world peace. In order to lessen the human suffering in Indochina and to bring about a genuine peace there, the Congress urges and requests the President and the Secretary of State to undertake immediately the following measures:

(1) to initiate negotiations with representatives of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China to arrange a mutually agreed-upon and rapid de-escalation of military assistance on the part of the three principal suppliers of arms and material to all Vietnamese and Cambodian parties engaged in conflict;

(2) to urge by all available means that the Government of the Khmer Republic enter into negotiations with representatives of the Khmer Government of National Union for the purpose of arranging an immediate cease-fire and political settlement of the conflict; and to use all available means to establish contact with the Khmer Government of National Union and to urge them to participate in such negotiations. The United States should urge all Cambodian parties to use the good offices of the United Nations or a respected third country for the purpose of bringing an end to hostilities and reaching a political settlement;

(3) to utilize any public or private forum to negotiate directly with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government, and the Republic of Vietnam to seek a new cease-fire in Vietnam and full compliance with the provisions of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, including a full accounting for Americans missing in Indochina;

(4) to reconvene the Paris Conference to seek full implementation of the provisions of the Agreement of January 27, 1973, on the part of all Vietnamese parties to the conflict; and

(5) to maintain regular and full consultation with the appropriate committees of the Congress and report to the Congress and the Nation at regular intervals on the progress toward obtaining a total cessation of hostilities in Indochina and a mutual reduction of military assistance to that area.

PRINCIPLES GOVERNING ECONOMIC AID TO INDOCHINA

SEC. 26. (a) Congress finds that after expending over a billion dollars in funds for economic purposes in Indochina last year and vast amounts in previous years, little in lasting economic benefit remains. A large proportion of the funds expended have been used for consumable items related to the war effort. Very little of our money has found its way into capital investments of a lasting productive benefit to the people. Congress calls upon the President and Secretary of State to take immediately the following actions designed to maximize the benefit of United States economic assistance:

(1) to organize a consortium to include multilateral financial institutions to help plan for Indochina reconstruction and development; to coordinate multilateral and

bilateral contributions to the area's economic recovery; and to provide continuing advice to the recipient nations on the use of their own and outside resources;

(2) to develop, in coordination with the recipient governments, other donors, and the multilateral financial institutions, a comprehensive plan for Indochina reconstruction and economic development;

(3) to develop country-by-country reconstruction and development plans, including detailed plans for the development of individual economic sectors, that can be used to identify and coordinate specific economic development projects and programs and to direct United States resources into areas of maximum benefits;

(4) to shift the emphasis of United States aid programs from consumption-oriented expenditures to economic development;

(5) to identify possible structural economic reforms in areas such as taxation, exchange rates, savings mechanisms, internal pricing, income distribution, land tenure, budgetary allocations and corruption, which should be undertaken if Indochinese economic development is to progress; and

(6) to include in Indochina economic planning and programing specific performance criteria and standards which will enable the Congress and the executive branch to judge the adequacy of the recipients' efforts and to determine whether, and what amounts of, continued United States funding is justified.

(b) This section shall not be construed to imply continuation of a United States financial commitment beyond the authorization provided for in this Act or amendments made by this Act.

INDOCHINA POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION

SEC. 27. Section 802 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 802. AUTHORIZATION.—There are authorized to be appropriated to the President to furnish assistance for the relief and reconstruction of South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos as authorized by this part, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, for the fiscal year 1974 not to exceed \$504,000,000, and for the fiscal year 1975 not to exceed \$617,000,000. Of the amount appropriated for fiscal year 1975—

"(1) \$449,900,000 shall be available only for the relief and reconstruction of South Vietnam in accordance with section 806 of this Act;

"(2) \$100,000,000 shall be available only for the relief and reconstruction of Cambodia in accordance with section 807 of this Act;

"(3) \$40,000,000 shall be available only for the relief and reconstruction of Laos in accordance with section 808 of this Act;

"(4) \$4,100,000 shall be available only for the regional development program;

"(5) \$16,000,000 shall be available only for support costs for the agency primarily responsible for carrying out this part; and

"(6) \$7,000,000 shall be available only for humanitarian assistance through international organizations.

Such amounts are authorized to remain available until expended."

ASSISTANCE TO SOUTH VIETNAMESE CHILDREN

SEC. 28. Section 803 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended as follows:

(1) in subsection (a), strike out "rights, particularly children fathered by United States citizens" and insert in lieu thereof "rights";

(2) in subsection (b), immediately after the second sentence, insert the following: "Of the sums made available for South Vietnam under section 802(1) of this Act for fiscal year 1975, \$10,000,000, or its equivalent in local currency, shall be available until expended solely to carry out this section."

LIMITATIONS WITH RESPECT TO SOUTH VIETNAM

SEC. 29. Part V of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 806. LIMITATIONS WITH RESPECT TO SOUTH VIETNAM.—(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no funds authorized to be appropriated by this or any other law may be obligated in any amount in excess of \$1,274,900,000 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975, for the purpose of carrying out directly or indirectly any economic or military assistance, or any operation, project, or program of any kind, or for providing any goods, supplies, materials, equipment, services, personnel, or advisers in, to, for, or on behalf of South Vietnam. Of that amount, there shall be available during such fiscal year—

"(1) \$700,000,000 for military assistance;

"(2) \$125,000,000 only to carry out the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954; and

"(3) \$449,900,000 only for economic assistance, of which there shall be available—

"(A) \$90,000,000 for humanitarian assistance, of which there shall be available—

"(i) \$70,000,000 for refugee relief;

"(ii) \$10,000,000 for child care; and

"(iii) \$10,000,000 for health care;

"(B) \$154,500,000 for agricultural assistance, of which there shall be available—

"(i) \$85,000,000 for fertilizer;

"(ii) \$12,000,000 for POL (for agriculture);

"(iii) \$6,000,000 for insecticides and pesticides;

"(iv) \$10,000,000 for agricultural machinery and equipment (including spare parts);

"(v) \$3,500,000 for agricultural advisory services;

"(vi) \$20,000,000 for rural credit;

"(vii) \$10,000,000 for canal dredging;

"(viii) \$4,000,000 for low-life pumps; and

"(ix) \$4,000,000 for fish farm development;

"(C) \$139,800,000 for industrial development assistance, of which there shall be available—

"(i) \$124,000,000 for commodities;

"(ii) \$10,000,000 for industrial credit; and

"(iii) \$5,800,000 for industrial advisory services (including feasibility studies);

"(D) \$65,600,000 for miscellaneous assistance, of which there shall be available—

"(i) \$47,900,000 for the service sector (including POL, machinery, equipment and spare parts); and

"(ii) \$17,700,000 for technical services and operating expenses.

"(b) (1) No funds made available under paragraph (2) or (3) of subsection (a) may be transferred to, or consolidated with, the funds made available under any other paragraph of such subsection, nor may more than 20 per centum of the funds made available under subparagraph (A), (B), (C), or (D) of paragraph (3) of subsection (a) of this section be transferred to, or consolidated with, the funds made available under any other such subparagraph.

"(2) Whenever the President determines it to be necessary in carrying out this part, any funds made available under any clause of subparagraph (A), (B), (C), or (D) of subsection (a) of this section may be transferred to, and consolidated with, the funds made available under any other clause of that same subparagraph.

"(3) The President shall fully inform the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate of each transfer he intends to make under paragraph (1) or (2) of this subsection prior to making such transfer.

"(c) In computing the \$1,274,900,000 limitation on obligational authority under subsection (a) of this section with respect to such fiscal year, there shall be included in the computation the value of any goods,

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supplies, materials, equipment, services, personnel, or advisers provided to, for, or on behalf of South Vietnam in such fiscal year by gift, donation, loan, lease, or otherwise. For the purpose of this subsection, 'value' means the fair market value of any goods, supplies, materials, or equipment provided to, for, or on behalf of South Vietnam but in no case less than 33 1/3 per centum of the amount the United States paid at the time such goods, supplies, materials, or equipment were acquired by the United States.

"(d) No funds may be obligated for any of the purposes described in subsection (a) of this section in, to, for, or on behalf of South Vietnam in any fiscal year beginning after June 30, 1975, unless such funds have been specifically authorized by law enacted after the date of enactment of this section. In no case shall funds in any amount in excess of the amount specifically authorized by law for any fiscal year be obligated for any such purpose during such fiscal year.

"(e) After the date of enactment of this section, whenever any request is made to the Congress for the appropriation of funds for use in, to, for, or on behalf of South Vietnam for any fiscal year, the President shall furnish a written report to the Congress explaining the purpose for which such funds are to be used in such fiscal year.

"(f) The President shall submit to the Congress within thirty days after the end of each quarter of each fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year which begins July 1, 1974, a written report showing the total amount of funds obligated in, to, for, or on behalf of South Vietnam during the preceding quarter by the United States Government, and shall include in such report a general breakdown of the total amount obligated, describing the different purposes for which such funds were obligated and the total amount obligated for such purpose.

"(g) (1) Effective six months after the date of enactment of this section, the total number of civilian officers and employees, including contract employees, of executive agencies of the United States Government who are citizens of the United States and of members of the Armed Forces of the United States present in South Vietnam shall not at any one time exceed four thousand, not more than two thousand five hundred of whom shall be members of such armed forces and direct hire and contract employees of the Department of Defense. Effective one year after the date of enactment of this section, such total number shall not exceed at any one time three thousand, not more than one thousand five hundred of whom shall be members of such armed forces and direct hire and contract employees of the Department of Defense.

"(2) Effective six months after the date of enactment of this section, the United States shall not, at any one time, pay in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, the compensation or allowances of more than eight hundred individuals in South Vietnam who are citizens of countries other than South Vietnam or the United States. Effective one year after the date of enactment of this section, the total number of individuals whose compensation or allowance is so paid shall not exceed at any one time five hundred.

"(3) For purposes of this subsection, 'executive agency of the United States Government' means any agency, department, board, wholly or partly owned corporation, instrumentality, commission, or establishment within the executive branch of the United States Government.

"(4) This subsection shall not be construed to apply with respect to any individual in South Vietnam who (A) is an employee or volunteer worker of a voluntary private, nonprofit relief organization or is an employee or volunteer worker of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and

(B) engages only in activities providing humanitarian assistance in South Vietnam.

"(h) This section shall not be construed as a commitment by the United States to South Vietnam for its defense."

LIMITATIONS WITH RESPECT TO CAMBODIA

SEC. 30. (a) Part V of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by section 29 of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 807. LIMITATIONS WITH RESPECT TO CAMBODIA.—(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no funds authorized to be appropriated by this or any other law may be obligated in any amount in excess of \$377,000,000 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975, for the purpose of carrying out directly or indirectly any economic or military assistance, or any operation, project, or program of any kind, or for providing any goods, supplies, materials, equipment, services, personnel, or advisers in, to, for, or on behalf of Cambodia. Of that amount there shall be available—

"(1) \$200,000,000 for military assistance;

"(2) \$77,000,000 only to carry out the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954; and

"(3) \$100,000,000 only for economic assistance, of which there shall be available—

"(A) \$20,000,000 for humanitarian assistance;

"(B) \$63,000,000 for commodity import assistance;

"(C) \$15,000,000 for multilateral stabilization assistance; and

"(D) \$2,000,000 for technical support and participant training.

"(b) No funds made available under paragraph (2) or (3) of subsection (a) of this section may be transferred to, or consolidated with, the funds made available under any other paragraph of such subsection, nor may more than 20 per centum of the funds made available under any subparagraph of paragraph (3) of subsection (a) of this section be transferred to, or consolidated with, the funds made available under any other such subparagraph.

"(c) In computing the \$377,000,000 limitation on obligation authority under subsection (a) of this section with respect to such fiscal year, there shall be included in the computation the value of any goods, supplies, materials, equipment, services, personnel, or advisers provided to, for, or on behalf of Cambodia in such fiscal year by gift, donation, loan, lease or otherwise. For the purpose of this subsection, 'value' means the fair market value of any goods, supplies, materials, or equipment provided to, for, or on behalf of Cambodia but in no case less than 33 1/3 per centum of the amount the United States paid at the time such goods, supplies, materials, or equipment were acquired by the United States.

"(d) No funds may be obligated for any of the purposes described in subsection (a) of this section in, to, for, or on behalf of Cambodia in any fiscal year beginning after June 30, 1975, unless such funds have been specifically authorized by law enacted after the date of enactment of this section. In no case shall funds in any amount in excess of the amount specifically authorized by law for any fiscal year be obligated for any such purpose during such fiscal year.

"(e) After the date of enactment of this section, whenever any request is made to the Congress for the appropriation of funds for use in, to, for, or on behalf of Cambodia for any fiscal year, the President shall furnish a written report to the Congress explaining the purpose for which such funds are to be used in such fiscal year.

"(f) The President shall submit to the Congress within thirty days after the end of each quarter of each fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year which begins July 1, 1974, a written report showing the total amount

of funds obligated in, to, for, or on behalf of Cambodia during the preceding quarter by the United States Government, and shall include in such report a general breakdown of the total amount obligated, describing the different purposes for which such funds were obligated and the total amount obligated for such purpose.

"(g) (1) The total number of civilian officers and employees of executive agencies of the United States Government who are citizens of the United States and of members of the Armed Forces of the United States (excluding such members while actually engaged in air operations in or over Cambodia which originate outside Cambodia) present in Cambodia at any one time shall not exceed two hundred.

"(2) The United States shall not, at any time, pay in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, the compensation or allowances of more than eighty-five individuals in Cambodia who are citizens of countries other than Cambodia or the United States.

"(3) For purposes of this subsection, 'executive agency of the United States Government' means any agency, department, board, wholly or partly owned corporation, instrumentality, commission, or establishment within the executive branch of the United States Government.

"(4) This subsection shall not be construed to apply with respect to any individual in Cambodia who (A) is an employee or volunteer worker of a volunteer private, nonprofit relief organization or is an employee or volunteer worker of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and (B) engages only in activities providing humanitarian assistance in Cambodia.

"(h) This section shall not be construed as a commitment by the United States to Cambodia for its defense."

(b) Sections 655 and 656 of such Act are repealed.

LIMITATIONS WITH RESPECT TO LAOS

SEC. 31. Part V of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by sections 29 and 30(a) of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 808. LIMITATIONS WITH RESPECT TO LAOS.—(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no funds authorized to be appropriated by this or any other law may be obligated in any amount in excess of \$70,000,000 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975, for the purpose of carrying out directly or indirectly any economic or military assistance, or any operation, project, or program of any kind, or for providing any goods, supplies, materials, equipment, services, personnel, or advisers in, to, for, or on behalf of Laos. Of that amount, there shall be available—

"(1) \$30,000,000 for military assistance; and

"(2) \$40,000,000 only for economic assistance, of which there shall be available—

"(A) \$11,000,000 for humanitarian assistance;

"(B) \$6,500,000 for reconstruction and development assistance;

"(C) \$16,100,000 for stabilization assistance; and

"(D) \$6,400,000 for technical support.

"(b) No funds made available under paragraph (2) of subsection (a) of this section may be transferred to, or consolidated with, the funds made available under paragraph (1) of such subsection, nor may more than 20 per centum of the funds made available under any subparagraph of paragraph (2) be transferred to, or consolidated with, the funds made available under any other such subparagraph.

"(c) In computing the limitations on obligation authority under subsection (a) of this section with respect to such fiscal year, there shall be included in the computation

the value of any goods, supplies, materials, equipment, services, personnel, or advisers provided, to, for, or on behalf of Laos in such fiscal year by gift, donation, loan, lease or otherwise. For the purpose of this subsection, 'value' means the fair market value of any goods, supplies, materials, or equipment provided to, for, or on behalf of Laos but in no case less than 33 1/2 per centum of the amount the United States paid at the time such goods, supplies, materials, or equipment were acquired by the United States.

"(d) No funds may be obligated for any of the purposes described in subsection (a) of this section in, to, for, or on behalf of Laos in any fiscal year beginning after June 30, 1975, unless such funds have been specifically authorized by law enacted after the date of enactment of this section. In no case shall funds in any amount in excess of the amount specifically authorized by law for any fiscal year be obligated for any such purpose during such fiscal year.

"(e) After the date of enactment of this section, whenever any request is made to the Congress for the appropriation of funds for use in, to, for, or on behalf of Laos, for any fiscal year, the President shall furnish a written report to the Congress explaining the purpose for which such funds are to be used in such fiscal year.

"(f) The President shall submit to the Congress within thirty days after the end of each quarter of each fiscal year beginning with the fiscal year which begins July 1, 1974, a written report showing the total amount of funds obligated in, to, for, or on behalf of Laos during the preceding quarter by the United States Government and shall include in such report a general breakdown of the total amount obligated, describing the different purposes for which such funds were obligated and the total amount obligated for such purpose.

"(g) This section shall not be construed as a commitment by the United States to Laos for its defense."

POPULATION, NARCOTICS, INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN AND REGIONAL PROGRAMS

Sec. 32. Part V of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by sections 29, 30(a), and 31 of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"Sec. 809. POPULATION, NARCOTICS, INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN AND REGIONAL PROGRAMS.—The provisions of sections 806, 807, and 808 shall not apply to: (1) funds obligated for purposes of title X of chapter 2 of part I (programs relating to population growth); (2) funds made available under section 482 (programs relating to narcotics control); (3) funds made available under section 802(6) (humanitarian assistance through international organizations); or (4) funds obligated for regional programs."

TRANSFER OF FUNDS

Sec. 33. Part V of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by sections 29, 30(a), 31, and 32 of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"Sec. 810. TRANSFER OF FUNDS.—(a) The authority of section 610 of this Act shall not apply with respect to any funds made available to South Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos.

"(b) Any funds made available under any provision of this or any other law for the purpose of providing military assistance for South Vietnam, Laos, or Cambodia may be transferred to, and consolidated with, any funds made available to that country for war relief, reconstruction, or general economic development."

MIDDLE EAST ASSISTANCE

Sec. 34. (a) The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new part:

"PART VI

"Sec. 901. GENERAL AUTHORITY FOR ASSISTANCE TO THE MIDDLE EAST.—The President is authorized to furnish assistance authorized by this Act, and to provide credits and guaranties authorized by the Foreign Military Sales Act. Any such assistance, credits, and guaranties shall be provided in accordance with all the provisions applicable to that type of assistance under this Act and applicable to credits and guaranties under the Foreign Military Sales Act.

"Sec. 902. ALLOCATIONS.—(a) Of the funds appropriated to carry out chapter 2 of part II of this Act during the fiscal year 1975, not to exceed \$100,000,000 may be made available for military assistance in the Middle East.

"(b) Of the funds appropriated to carry out chapter 4 of part II of this Act during the fiscal year 1975, not to exceed \$667,500,000 may be made available for security supporting assistance in the Middle East.

"(c) Of the aggregate ceiling on credits and guaranties established by section 31(b) of the Foreign Military Sales Act during the fiscal year 1975, not to exceed \$330,000,000 shall be available for countries in the Middle East.

"Sec. 903. SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS FUND.—

(a) There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for the fiscal year 1975 not to exceed \$100,000,000 to meet special requirements arising from time to time in the Middle East for the purpose of providing any type of assistance authorized by part I of this Act, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purpose. The funds authorized to be appropriated by this section shall be available for use by the President for assistance authorized by this Act in accordance with the provisions applicable to the furnishing of such assistance. Such funds are authorized to remain available until expended.

"(b) The President shall keep the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives currently informed on the programing and obligation of funds under subsection (a).

"(c) (1) Prior to obligating any amount for a project in excess of \$1,000,000 from funds made available under this section, the President shall transmit a written report to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate on the same day giving a complete explanation with respect to such proposed obligation. Each report shall include an explanation relating to only one project.

"(2) The President may make such obligation thirty days after the report has been so transmitted unless, before the end of the first period of thirty calendar days after the date on which the report is transmitted, a resolution is adopted disapproving the proposed obligation with respect to which the report is made.

"(3) Paragraphs (4) through (11) of this subsection are enacted by Congress—

"(A) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, and as such they are deemed a part of the rules of each House, respectively, but applicable only with respect to the procedure to be followed in the House in the case of resolutions described by this subsection; and they supersede other rules only to the extent that they are inconsistent therewith; and

"(B) with full recognition of the constitutional right of either House to change the rules (so far as relating to the procedure of that House) at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of that House.

"(4) For purposes of paragraphs (2) through (12) of this subsection, 'resolution'

means only a concurrent resolution, the matter after the resolving clause of which is as follows: "That the Congress does not approve the obligation for — and explained in the report transmitted to Congress by the President on —, 19—," the first blank space therein being filled with the name of the foreign country or organization on whose behalf the obligation is to be incurred, and the other blank spaces therein being appropriately filled with the date of the transmittal of the report; but does not include a resolution specifying obligations for more than one proposed project.

"(5) If the committee, to which has been referred a resolution disapproving a proposed obligation, has not reported the resolution at the end of ten calendar days after its introduction, it is in order to move either to discharge the committee from further consideration of the resolution or to discharge the committee from further consideration of any other resolution with respect to the same obligation which has been referred to the committee.

"(6) A motion to discharge may be made only by an individual favoring the resolution, is highly privileged (except that it may not be made after the committee has reported a resolution with respect to the same proposed obligation), and debate thereon is limited to not more than one hour, to be divided equally between those favoring and those opposing the resolution. An amendment to the motion is not in order, and it is not in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to.

"(7) If the motion to discharge is agreed to, or disagreed to, the motion may not be renewed, nor may another motion to discharge the committee be made with respect to any other resolution with respect to the same obligation.

"(8) When the committee has reported, or has been discharged from further consideration of, a resolution with respect to an obligation, it is at any time thereafter in order (even though a previous motion to the same effect has been disagreed to) to move to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. The motion is highly privileged and is not debatable. An amendment to the motion is not in order, and it is not in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to.

"(9) Debate on the resolution is limited to not more than two hours, to be divided equally between those favoring and those opposing the resolution. A motion further to limit debate is not debatable. An amendment to, or motion to recommit, the resolution is not in order, and it is not in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution is agreed to or disagreed to.

"(10) Motions to postpone, made with respect to the discharge from committee, or the consideration of, a resolution with respect to an obligation, and motions to proceed to the consideration of other business, are decided without debate.

"(11) Appeals from the decisions of the Chair relating to the application of the rules of the Senate or the House of Representatives, as the case may be, to the procedure relating to a resolution with respect to an obligation are decided without debate.

"(12) If, prior to the passage by one House of a concurrent resolution of that House, that House receives from the other House a concurrent resolution of such other House, then—

"(A) the procedure with respect to the concurrent resolution of the first House shall be the same as if no concurrent resolution from the other House had been received; but

"(B) on any vote on final passage of the concurrent resolution of the first House the concurrent resolution from the other House shall be automatically substituted."

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POLICY ON ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA

SEC. 39. The President is requested to review the regional allocation of economic development assistance and to increase Africa's share of the Agency for International Development loans and grants. Per capita official development assistance to the developing countries of Africa, including both United States bilateral assistance and United States contributions to multilateral lending institutions should be raised to a level at least equal to those for Asia and Latin America. A special effort should be made to provide more assistance to the sixteen of the world's twenty-five least developed countries that are in Africa and to the fourteen African nations that are judged to most seriously affected by rising costs of food and fuel. The President is requested to make a report to Congress on action taken to provide the developing countries of Africa with an equitable share of United States economic assistance at the time that the Agency for International Development's operational year budget for fiscal year 1975 is submitted to Congress and again with the submission to Congress of the proposed Agency for International Development budget for fiscal year 1976.

POLICY ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, AND GUINEA-BISSAU

SEC. 40. (a) (1) Congress finds that the Government of Portugal's recognition of the right to independence of the African territories of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau marks a significant advance toward the goal of self-determination for all the peoples of Africa, without which peace on the continent is not secure.

(2) Congress finds that progress toward independence for the Portuguese Government and African leaders on the timing and nature of progress toward independence are being conducted with the aim of bringing permanent peace and stability to these countries and of guaranteeing the human rights of all their citizens.

(3) Congress finds that progress toward independence for the Portuguese African territories will have a significant impact on the international organizations and the community of nations.

(4) Congress commends the Portuguese Government's initiatives on these fronts as evidence of a reaffirmation of that Government's support for her obligations under both the United Nations Charter and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Therefore, (b) Congress calls upon the President and the Secretary of State to take the following actions designed to make clear United States support for a peaceful and orderly transition to independence in the Portuguese African territories.

(1) An official statement should be issued of United States support for the independence of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, and of our desire to have good relations with the future governments of the countries.

(2) It should be made clear to the Government of Portugal that we view the efforts toward a peaceful and just settlement of the conflict in the African territories as consistent with Portugal's obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization partnership.

(3) The United States should encourage United Nations support for a peaceful transition to independence, negotiated settlement of all differences, and the protection of human rights of all citizens of the three territories.

(4) The United States should open a dialog with potential leaders of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau and assure them of our commitment to their genuine political and economic independence.

(5) The economic development needs of the three territories will be immense when

tional interest requires that the period of guaranty be longer than ten years, and states in the certification the country or international organization on whose behalf the guaranty is to be made, the period of the guaranty, and the justification for the longer period."

(7) In section 31--

(A) in subsection (a), strike out "\$325,000,000 for the fiscal year 1974" and insert in lieu thereof "405,000,000 for the fiscal year 1975"; and

(B) in subsection (b)--

(1) strike out "\$700,000,000 for the fiscal year 1974" and insert in lieu thereof "\$872,500,000 for the fiscal year 1975"; and

(2) add at the end thereof the following new sentence: "Of the funds made available under subsection (a) of this section, \$100,000,000 shall first be obligated with respect to financing the procurement of defense articles and defense services by Israel under section 23 of this Act, except that Israel shall be released from contractual liability to repay the United States Government for the defense articles and defense services so financed."

(b) Obligations initially charged against appropriations made available for purposes authorized by section 31(a) of the Foreign Military Sales Act after June 30, 1974, and prior to the enactment of the amendment of that Act by paragraph (5) of subsection (a) of this section in an amount equal to 25 per centum of the principal amount of contractual liability related to guaranties issued pursuant to section 34(a) of that Act shall be adjusted to reflect such amendment with proper credit to the appropriations made available in the fiscal year 1975 to carry out that Act.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

SEC. 36. Section 32 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "Commencing with respect to 1974, the President shall submit annually to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a written report setting forth fully the steps he has taken to carry out this section."

GORGAS MEMORIAL INSTITUTE

SEC. 37. The first section of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize a permanent annual appropriation for the maintenance and operation of the Gorgas Memorial", approved May 7, 1928, as amended (22 U.S.C. 278), is amended by striking out "\$500,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$1,000,000".

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF CONTROL AND SUPERVISION IN VIETNAM

SEC. 38. (a) There are authorized to be appropriated to the Department of State for fiscal year 1975 not to exceed \$16,536,000 for payments by the United States to help meet expenses of the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Vietnam. Funds appropriated under this subsection are authorized to be made available for reimbursement to the Agency for International Development of amounts expended by the Agency during fiscal year 1975 as interim United States payments to help meet expenses of the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

(b) There are authorized to be appropriated to the Department of State not to exceed \$11,200,000 for reimbursement to the Agency for International Development of amounts expended by the Agency for International Development to help meet expenses of the International Commission on Control and Supervision in fiscal year 1974.

(c) Reimbursements received by the Agency for International Development under this section may be credited to applicable appropriations of the Agency and shall be available for the purposes for which such appropriations are authorized to be used during fiscal year 1975.

(b) Section 620(p) of such Act is repealed.

FOREIGN MILITARY SALES ACT AMENDMENTS

SEC. 35. (a) The Foreign Military Sales Act is amended as follows:

(1) Section 3(d) is amended to read as follows:

"(d) A country shall remain ineligible in accordance with subsection (c) of this section until such time as the President determines that such violation has ceased, that the country concerned has given assurances satisfactory to the President that such violation will not recur, and that, if such violation involved the transfer of sophisticated weapons without the consent of the President, such weapons have been returned to the country concerned."

(2) Section 22 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) No sales of defense articles shall be made to the government of any economically developed country under the provisions of this section if such articles are generally available for purchase by such country from commercial sources in the United States."

(3) Section 23 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 23. CREDIT SALES.—The President is authorized to finance procurements of defense articles and defense services by friendly foreign countries and international organizations on terms requiring the payment to the United States Government in United States dollars of—

"(1) the value of such articles or services within a period not to exceed ten years after the delivery of such articles or the rendering of such services; and

"(2) interest on the unpaid balance of that obligation for payment of the value of such articles or services, at a rate equivalent to the current average interest rate, as of the last day of the month preceding the financing of such procurement, that the United States Government pays on outstanding marketable obligations of comparable maturity, unless the President certifies to Congress that the national interest requires a lesser rate of interest and states in the certification the lesser rate so required and the justification therefor."

(4) In subsections (a) and (b) of section 24, the parenthetical phrase in each is amended to read as follows: "(excluding United States Government agencies other than the Federal Financing Bank)".

(5) Section 24(c) is amended to read as follows:

"(c) Funds made available to carry out this Act shall be obligated in an amount equal to 25 per centum of the principal amount of contractual liability related to any guaranty issued prior to July 1, 1974, under this section. Funds made available to carry out this Act shall be obligated in an amount equal to 10 per centum of the principal amount of contractual liability related to any guaranty issued after June 30, 1974, under this section. All the funds so obligated shall constitute a single reserve for the payment of claims under such guaranties, and only such of the funds in the reserve as may be in excess from time to time of the total principal amount of contractual liability related to all outstanding guaranties under this section shall be debilitated and transferred to the general fund of the Treasury. Any guaranties issued hereunder shall be backed by the full faith and credit of the United States."

(6) Section 24 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(d) The President may guarantee under this section only those payments for any defense article or defense service which are due within ten years after that defense article is delivered or that defense service is rendered, except that such guaranty may be made for not more than twenty years if the President certifies to Congress that the na-

independence is achieved. Therefore, it is urged that the United States Agency for International Development devote immediate attention to assessing the economic situation in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau and be ready to cooperate with the future governments in providing the kind of assistance that will help make their independence viable. In addition, the United States Government should take the initiative among other donors, both bilateral and multilateral, in seeking significant contribution of development assistance for the three territories.

(6) In light of the need of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau for skilled and educated manpower, a priority consideration should be given to expanding immediately current United States programs of educational assistance to the territories as a timely and substantive contribution to their independence.

(c) Reports should be submitted to the Congress on the implementation of the proposals set forth in subsection (b) and Congress should be kept fully informed on developments in United States policy toward the independence of the Portuguese African territories.

(d) Since it is in the national interest of the United States to maintain and strengthen close relations with the independent nations of Africa, the Congress believes the positive initiatives should be undertaken without delay.

CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRADE

Sec. 41. (a) It is the sense of the Congress that the recent growth in international transfers of conventional arms to developing nations—

(1) is a cause for grave concern for the United States and other nations in that in particular areas of the world it increases the danger of potential violence among nations, and diverts scarce world resources from more peaceful uses; and

(2) could be controlled progressively through negotiations and agreements among supplier and recipient nations.

(b) Therefore, the President is urged to propose to the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament that it consider as a high priority agenda item discussions among participating nations of that Conference for the purposes of—

(1) agreeing to workable limitations on conventional arms transfers; and

(2) establishing a mechanism through which such limitations could be effectively monitored.

(c) The President shall transmit to the Congress not later than six months after the enactment of this Act a report setting forth the steps he has taken to carry out this section.

CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

Sec. 42. (a) The President is authorized to transmit to the Caribbean Development Bank an instrument stating that the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has the authority to conclude an agreement of accession with such bank and to assume rights and obligations pursuant to such agreement. However, such agreement shall be subject to the prior approval of the President.

(b) The instrument transmitted by the President to the Caribbean Development Bank under subsection (a) shall state that the United States shall not assume any financial or other responsibility for the performance of any obligation incurred by the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico pursuant to such agreement of accession or pursuant to any other aspect of its membership or participation in such bank.

(c) Such agreement of accession shall provide that the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico may not receive from the Caribbean Develop-

ment Bank any funds provided to the bank by the United States.

EXPENSES OF UNITED STATES MEMBERSHIP IN UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Sec. 43. No funds authorized to be appropriated under this or any other law may be made available to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization until the Secretary of State certifies that each resolution passed by such Organization not of an educational, scientific, or cultural character has been repealed.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a unanimous-consent request?

Mr. MCGEE. I will be glad to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. The Senator is entitled to be heard. The Senators will please take their conversations outside the Chamber.

The Senator from Rhode Island.

H.R. 16609—JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY DISCHARGED FROM FURTHER CONSIDERATION AND ORDERED PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy be discharged from further consideration of H.R. 16609, and that the bill be placed on the calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCGEE. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Nevada.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator cannot be heard. Will Senators please take their conversations outside the Chamber.

SENATE RESOLUTION 438—AUTHORIZING PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF SENATE REPORT ON NOMINATION OF NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER TO BE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SENATE RESOLUTION 439—AUTHORIZING PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF THE SENATE HEARINGS ON THE NOMINATION OF NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER TO BE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I send to the desk two resolutions which would authorize the printing of additional copies of the hearing and report of the Committee on Rules and Administration on the nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller to be Vice President of the United States.

I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of these two resolutions. I believe the need for additional copies of the hearings and report is obvious because of the importance of their subject matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator suspend. Senators will please

take their seats and cease all conversations.

Will the Senator suspend until the Senators take their seats, please.

The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. CANNON. The cost of the additional copies which would be printed pursuant to the two resolutions would not exceed \$1,200 in each instance, the amount being the statutory limitation under a simple resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the first resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 438) authorizing the printing of additional copies of the Senate Report on the Nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller to be Vice President of the United States.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Committee on Rules and Administration such quantity of additional copies of its report on the nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller to be Vice President of the United States as may be obtained pursuant to a simple resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the second resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 439) authorizing the printing of additional copies of the Senate hearings on the nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller to be Vice President of the United States.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to as follows:

Resolved, That there be printed for the use of the Committee on Rules and Administration such quantity of additional copies of its hearings on the nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller to be Vice President of the United States as may be obtained pursuant to a simple resolution.

Mr. CANNON. I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. GRIFFIN. Will the Senator yield to me for a brief unanimous-consent request?

Mr. MCGEE. I yield to the distinguished minority whip.

SUBSTITUTION OF SENATOR STEVENS FOR SENATOR BAKER AS A CONFEREES—H.R. 15223

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS) be substituted as a conferee for the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BAKER) on H.R. 15223, the Transportation of Hazardous Materials Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MCGEE. Mr. President, I yield to the distinguished majority whip.

ORDER FOR SENATE TO CONVENE AT 10:30 A.M. ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1974, AND FOR CONSIDERATION OF NOMINATION OF NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday

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the Senate meet at 10:30 a.m. and that at 11 o'clock a.m. the Senate go into executive session to consider the nomination of Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller, with no time agreement as of now.

Mr. WEICKER. Reserving the right to object, would it be possible to address ourselves to this nomination on Friday?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. No, the Senate will not be in session on Friday.

Mr. WEICKER. I just would inquire as to the reason for the delay, why this is being set for Monday, and why the matter cannot be handled this week?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. For several days we have indicated that the nomination of Mr. Rockefeller would not be taken up until Monday of next week.

May I say to the distinguished Senator, I tried to work out—may I have the attention of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut?

I tried to work out an agreement that would accommodate the Senator's personal situation and I was unable to reach that agreement.

Mr. WEICKER. Well, I appreciate the efforts of the distinguished Senator from West Virginia on my behalf, but very frankly, I think this Rockefeller nomination should have been voted on even far earlier than next Monday. I think we have dillydallied with this long enough. Now it is set for this particular day when I am unable to be here.

Be that as it may, I am not trying to hold the Senate up from its business, but let the RECORD state that the Senator from Connecticut felt that we should have had a Vice President of the United States a month ago.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ROLL CALL VOTES TO OCCUR AFTER 4 P.M. ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1974

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent there be no roll-call votes Monday next prior to the hour of 4 o'clock p.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1974

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill (S. 3394) to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and for other purposes.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Norvill Jones, John Ritch, Robert Dockery, and Pat Holt of the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee, Dick McCall of my staff, and Dan Spiegel of Senator HUMPHREY's staff be permitted to remain on the floor during the remainder of the Senate's consideration of S. 3394.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President,

I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS FOR 30 MINUTES

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if no Senator seeks recognition at this time, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess for 30 minutes.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 12:45 p.m., recessed until 1:15 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the presiding officer (Mr. NUNN).

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NUNN). In my capacity as the Senator from Georgia, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1974

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill (S. 3394) to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENT NO. 2001

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, I wish to read into the RECORD an amendment which I submitted yesterday to the Foreign Assistance Act. The amendment is as follows:

Notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, total contributions authorized herein to the United Nations or to any segment or subdivision of this world organization shall not exceed \$186,148,000.

That is the amendment, Mr. President. The figure, \$186,148,000, is the sum that was authorized for fiscal year 1974. The new bill for fiscal year 1975 increases that amount by \$17,552,000.

It does not seem very logical to me that the Congress of the United States should reward the United Nations for its activities in November by increasing by 24 percent the U.S. taxpayer contribution.

For that reason, this amendment would keep the contributions to the United Nations at the same level as of fiscal year 1974.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Virginia has already addressed himself to his proposal with respect to this foreign assistance bill under which he would propose to cut back the authorization in this measure by several millions of dollars. In fact, he would return it to the 1974 level.

The committee, of course, dealt very carefully with this question, and the committee is caught up with an entirely different problem than the budget, per se, and its relative size to the proceeding here. Two years ago, in 1973, the appropriations for the UNDP, the United Nations Development Program, got fouled up in the continuing resolution that Congress retreated to when they were unable to bring out a bill.

As a result of that, the budgeted commitments of the United States under UNDP for economic development programs in developing areas fell short by more than \$20 million.

In an attempt to keep its budgeted commitment, in allowing for the casualties that resulted from the continuing resolution of that year, it is necessary that we add on at least \$20 million in this section for the U.N. in order to eliminate the split-year funding that has been taking place at the present time.

It is simply a matter of redeeming the credibility and the integrity of the United States in its commitments budgetarily in the United Nations.

Another small amount has been added on here for UNRWA and for UNICEF, and full explanations of the need in each of these categories are contained in the committee's report.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, rather than my taking the time to explain to this Chamber, currently teeming with emptiness, that we print in the RECORD at this point as part of my remarks the full explanation from the committee's report.

There being no objection, the explanation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECTION 7. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PROGRAMS

This section increases the fiscal year 1975 authorization for international organizations and programs from \$150,000,000, which is authorized under current law, to \$186,900,000. The President requested an increase to \$153,900,000. The Committee approved that request and authorized, at the initiative of Senator McGee, an additional \$30,000,000. The sum added by the Committee is to be distributed as follows: U.N. Development Program (UNDP), \$20,000,000; U.N. Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), \$10,000,000; and the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), \$3,000,000.

By providing an additional \$20,000,000 for the UNDP, the United States will be able calendar year 1975, rather than the \$100,000,000 proposed by President Nixon. The additional \$20,000,000 available to UNDP would be used to end split-year funding for the UNDP which has been undertaken since calendar year 1973 when only \$70,000,000 was provided for the UNDP under the fiscal year 1973 continuing resolution. At that time, in order to allow the United States to make a \$90,000,000 contribution to UNDP in 1973, \$20,000,000 had to be drawn from fiscal year 1974 funds. This additional authorization will remedy this situation by restoring our UNDP contribution to a full annual funding basis.

The Committee believes that strong U.S. support for the UNDP is important to our nation's effective participation in the United Nations. The level of our support for the UNDP is seen by the developing nations as a measuring stick of the seriousness of our participation in the United Nations organization.

An additional \$3,000,000 is provided in order to make available the full \$18,000,000 earmarked for UNICEF in the authorization bill last year. This amount is \$3,000,000 above the amount requested by President Nixon for fiscal year 1975. Such an increase was believed to be justified by both the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees last year in view of the fact that demands on UNICEF resources had increased markedly. Despite these increased needs, our contribution to UNICEF has remained at the \$15,000,000 level since 1972.

The increase of \$10,000,000 for UNRWA is for a special emergency contribution by the

United States. UNRWA continues to be this year, as before, in serious long-term, financial difficulty. The negotiations on a peace settlement in the Middle East have given an additional importance to UNRWA's work. UNRWA's health, education, and food services have always been essential to a minimally acceptable standard of living for the refugees it serves in offering them more hope for the future, especially for their children. UNRWA has thus been central to maintaining such stability as the refuge areas have had, including those refugee areas in Israel-held territory where some 40 percent of these refugees live. Any reduction now in U.S.-

support for UNRWA in relation to its need, forcing the agency to cut back its services, would endanger not only this stability, but also the settlement negotiations. In particular, it would be seen as totally inconsistent with our repeatedly expressed position that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be established without taking into account the wishes and aspirations of the Palestinians.

The following table details the proposed distribution of all funds requested by the Executive Branch for voluntary contributions to international organizations:

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PROGRAMS UNDER THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT
(In thousands of dollars)

	Fiscal year—				Fiscal year—		
	1973 Actual	1974 Estimate	1975 Estimate		1973 Actual	1974 Estimate	1975 Estimate
AUTHORIZED UNDER SEC. 302(A) FAA				AUTHORIZED ELSEWHERE			
United Nations programs:				U.N. Environment Fund ¹			
U.N. Development Program	70,851	190,276	110,047	U.N. Relief and Works Agency (expansion of training)	7,500	10,000	
U.N. Children's Fund	15,000	15,000	15,000	Factor Basis:			
IAEA/Operational Fund	1,750	2,000	2,000	Loans	16,291	2,000	200
WMO/Voluntary Assistance Program	1,500	1,500	1,500	Grants	10,000	9,000	14,500
U.N./FAO World Food Program	1,400	1,500	1,500	Total, International Organizations and Programs	131,732	145,548	178,600
U.N. Institute for Training and Research	400	400	400				
WHO/International Agency for Research on Cancer	73	77	60	Other appropriations:			
International Secretariat for Volunteer Service	73	77	50	Population Planning and Health Funds:			
U.N. Relief and Works Agency	14,400	14,300	23,200	U.N. Fund for Population Activities	9,000	18,000	20,000
U.N. Fund for Namibia		50	50	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development	100	50	50
World Heritage Trust Fund			143	International Narcotics Control:			
				U.N. Fund for Drug Abuse Control	4,000	2,000	5,000
Subtotal	105,441	125,046	153,900	Supporting Assistance:			
				U.N. Force in Cyprus	2,400	1,600	4,800
				Grand total	147,232	167,198	208,450

¹ \$3,000,000 is contingent on reinterpretation of legislation by General Accounting Office.
² Authorized by separate legislation.

Source: AID.

Mr. AIKEN. I do hope that this Foreign Assistance Act can be acted upon and approved by the Senate promptly. I am not proud of the fact that in past years we have had to wait until almost the end of the fiscal year before deciding what to do about the appropriation for this purpose.

I believe that we now have a bill which can be approved not only by the executive branch but also by the House and the Senate as well. So I would hope that this bill can be passed without delay.

Mr. MCGEE. Mr. President, I certainly agree with my colleague from Vermont. I would like to underscore the kind of effort at compromise and broad base of understanding that went into the preparation of this new foreign aid authorization bill, and I stress this is only authorization. This does not appropriate the money.

It simply puts on authorized ceilings in the various money matters that the Committee on Appropriations will have to settle upon. This is because of the status of the bill languishing at this late point in the term, seeking to arrive at a measure that the President will accept as the responsible leader of this country, that the people who have commitments in AID can live up to without having their credibility challenged and the various opinion groups within this body can likewise agree to.

I would hasten to add that as a devotee of the importance of responsible foreign assistance, I find many parts of this bill that I would not have written into it. But this is what the process is

all about when we are trying to put together a common denominator in order to be responsible in reporting a bill that can be passed and one the President of the United States feels is in the national interest.

Therefore, it would be my hope, which I share with the distinguished Senator from Vermont, that our colleagues who anticipate amendments to the foreign aid authorization again might take a slightly more charitable view of it because it is very late in the season now. There will be a new foreign aid bill up very soon in the new year and, in my judgment, that would be the appropriate vehicle on which to hang all of the various amendments that they feel very strongly about.

Frankly, this bill has already been cut in every way imaginable. We have to put together a compromise that can be carried into law and achieve the signature of the President.

For those who just flatly oppose any kind of foreign assistance, this offers no haven and it was not written with their blanket opposition in mind. We simply have to call those votes as they fall. But in terms of those who believe something must be done in our national interest, though there be disagreement on how much and which things, this, I think, is the best compromise that honest minds and responsible individuals could put together in the name of the Foreign Relations Committee.

I stress that it came out of the committee with a virtually unanimous vote, 12 votes in favor, 1 vote abstaining, no

opposition that was expressed. However, there were three or four absentees that morning.

In any case, it does represent an honest attempt at compromise and in that spirit its passage ought to be expedited and traditional efforts to change it in other ways significantly, I would express the hope, might be reserved for the new foreign aid bill that will come very soon after the Congress reconvenes in January.

Mr. AIKEN. Well, not only does this bill represent a meeting of the minds between the executive and the legislative branches, and I believe between the Senate and the House in the legislative branch, but I have yet to hear any great cries of dissension from other countries, from the countries which we are earnestly endeavoring to help out of their economic troubles and their educational or health troubles.

So it seems to me that this is a bill which could well set an example for other bills. I realize that there are always those who have amendments and amendments, trying to gain greater favor with the people to whom the amendments will give greater help, but this is, much to my surprise I might say, a bill which seems to represent a meeting of the minds of virtually everybody concerned.

If it goes through, and I hope it does, that will establish a precedent which might well be followed in other cases.

Mr. MCGEE. Yes, the Senator is precisely right in the sense that the best of compromises on very deeply controver-

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sial areas is reflected in this measure as it is now reported out.

I would urge with him that this body expedite the completion of this measure with a minimum of delay, which I understand will likely be sometime tomorrow, pending agreement.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that floor privileges for the duration of this bill be extended to Rudy Rousseau of Senator PEARSON's office and Marianne Albertson of Senator HUMPHREY's office.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendment be agreed to and that the bill as thus amended be considered as original text for the purpose of further amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, 2 months ago a foreign aid bill came before the Senate for 2 days of active floor debate. By the time the dust had settled, 21 amendments had been added to the bill, making it increasingly unacceptable to all concerned. In its wisdom, the Senate voted to recommit that bill to the Foreign Relations Committee, thus stripping it of all amendments, including those originally recommended by the committee.

Now, Mr. President, having started afresh, the Foreign Relations Committee has reported a new foreign aid bill, one which I believe represents a reasonable compromise of the many diverse views and pressures which now surround the Nation's foreign aid program. The committee worked hard to come up with a workable solution that will meet with the approval of a significant majority of the members of this body. The committee realizes that the results will not please everyone. That is not possible—or desirable—under our legislative system.

I hope that my colleagues will study this bill and weigh the legislative situation carefully before offering amendments. If there is to be a foreign aid bill this year, we must avoid loading this bill down again with controversial amendments. This is most likely to lead either to defeat of the bill or a second recommitment.

In only a few months we will be dealing with a new foreign aid bill for the next fiscal year. I urge my colleagues to withhold their amendments until that time.

The first and most important point about this bill, which I cannot make too emphatically, is that this bill represents a substantial reduction in the amount requested by the executive branch. The executive branch requested new authorizations of \$3.25 billion for the programs covered by this bill. The Foreign Relations Committee has cut that request \$579 million, a reduction of 18 percent. This is a lot of money; about one-eighth of the \$4.8 billion in budget cuts in domestic programs recently called for by the President.

For some Senators these cuts will be too small; for some, they are too large. But I believe the committee has struck a reasonable compromise, trimming

where economics could best be achieved. This is a bill that recognizes both the dire straits of our economy as well as the priority needs of the American people. But it is continuing evidence of America's commitment to prudent humanitarianism in international affairs.

Two general changes have been made in the bill originally recommended by the committee. First, certain modest concessions have been made to executive branch objections to that earlier version. Second, certain amendments added when the bill came to the floor, but stripped when the bill was recommitment, have been included by the committee. The result of these changes is a bill which, I am informed, is acceptable to the administration. It was approved by a vote of 12 to 0 by the Foreign Relations Committee, with one member voting "Present." I hope that it will prove acceptable, with a minimum of revision, to my colleagues in the Senate.

Let me briefly outline the major provisions of the bill. S. 3394 provides authorizations in four general categories of assistance: first, worldwide development assistance; second, military grant aid and credits; third, relief and reconstruction in Indochina, and fourth, assistance directed toward peace in the Middle East.

WORLDWIDE DEVELOPMENT AID

First, worldwide development aid. Last year the Congress approved a 2-year authorization for development assistance. The amount authorized then for the 1975 fiscal year was approximately \$1 billion. The bill now before the Senate contains a modest supplement to that authorization, proposed because of the mounting urgency surrounding the global problems of food and population. The importance of this additional aid was underscored dramatically at the recent World Food Conference. I am convinced that there is no more vital international contribution that the United States can now make than to provide its fair share in assisting other nations in moving rapidly toward self-sufficiency in the production of food. This additional aid will help nations like Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan to help themselves.

WORLDWIDE MILITARY AID

The second general category of authorizations in this bill is military aid. Here, the Foreign Relations Committee was most stringent in its recommendations. The administration's request for grant military assistance was \$985 million. The committee recommends that this request be reduced to \$550 million and that the entire military grant assistance program, and all military aid missions, be phased out over a 3-year period, beginning with the current fiscal year. This is a cut of 45 percent in the request for military grant aid. In addition, the committee has added a number of provisions limiting the military aid program and tightening congressional control while the program is being phased out. For example, the committee has eliminated the so-called "drawdown authority," which in previous years has allowed the President to give foreign countries arms and ammunition from

our own military stocks. The committee also included provisions which prohibit military aid to Chile and curtail aid to South Korea.

INDOCHINA POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION

The third general category is relief and reconstruction assistance in Indochina. Here again, the Foreign Relations Committee has been stringent in its recommendation. The administration's request for economic assistance, other than Public Law 480 food aid, was \$940 million. The committee recommends that this be reduced to \$617 million, a cut of 34 percent. In addition, the committee has included in the bill detailed limitations and guidance as to how this money can be used.

The committee's amendments are specifically designed to insure that this money will be devoted, to the maximum extent possible, to expenditures which can legitimately be called "reconstruction," and as little as possible to spending which simply maintains the status quo.

I urge my colleagues to study the Indochina policy provisions in this bill. I believe they represent a prudent and effective exercise of congressional oversight responsibility.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE AID

The fourth and final general category is assistance in support of the administration's effort to achieve a lasting peace in the Middle East. The bill contains assistance for key nations in the current dispute—Israel, Jordan, and Egypt. For Israel, the bill contains \$339.5 million in supporting assistance and \$300 million in military credit sales, \$100 million of which is to be forgiven. For Egypt, the bill contains \$250 million in supporting assistance. For Jordan, the bill provides \$77.5 million in supporting assistance and \$130 million in military aid.

Finally, the bill authorizes a \$100 million Special Requirements Fund which would permit aid for any purpose that would further peace in the Middle East, including aid to Syria. But the committee has included a provision which requires that Congress be notified in advance of proposed projects and it is given the right to veto proposed uses of this money.

The administration fully supports the amounts contained in this Middle East peace package. I hope that the Senate will also endorse this program, since it relates so vitally to the fragile situation in that part of the world.

In summation, Mr. President, I reiterate my request that the Senate show restraint in any attempts to modify this bill further. We have before us a bill which represents a sound and reasonable compromise of the administration's original request, the views of the Foreign Relations Committee as embodied in the bill previously reported, and in the amendments made earlier on the Senate floor. Let us not paint ourselves into the corner where the choice is only that of defeating this bill or recommitting it again. If so, the result will be either an end to the foreign aid program or extension of the existing program through

a continuing resolution, amounting to an abdication of congressional control over foreign aid policy.

This bill has many meritorious provisions: they deserve to become law and they can become law if the Senate will accept the compromises which this bill represents.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a summary of the major provisions of the bill and tables relative to the amounts involved.

There being no objection, the summary and the tables were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SUMMARY OF MAJOR POLICY PROVISIONS IN THE BILL

I. INDOCHINA

1. Policy.—States a Congressional policy concerning the political/military situation in Indochina and principles to guide the U.S. economic assistance program.

2. Spending Ceilings.—Imposes fiscal year 1975 ceilings on obligations for assistance to Indochina: \$1.27 billion for South Vietnam; \$377 million for Cambodia; and \$70 million for Laos.

3. Project and Program Authorizations.—Authorizes funds for economic assistance to South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos by specific project or program.

4. Personnel Ceiling in South Vietnam.—Imposes a ceiling on U.S. direct hire and contract personnel in South Vietnam of 4,000 to be reached within six months after enactment and a further reduction to not more than 3,000 by the end of fiscal year 1975. Personnel of humanitarian relief agencies are exempted from the ceiling.

5. Transfer Authority.—Allows military aid

funds to be used for economic assistance purposes.

II. MILITARY ASSISTANCE

1. Phase Out of Military Grant Assistance and Military Missions.—Requires a phase out over a three-year period of military grant assistance and United States military aid missions to foreign countries.

2. Costs of Military Missions.—Requires that all costs of United States military missions abroad must be charged against appropriations for military grant assistance, beginning in FY 1978.

3. War Reserve Stockpiles for Foreign Countries.—Requires that any stockpiling of military equipment or material for foreign countries be financed out of funds appropriated for military assistance. No material can be provided to a foreign country from previously stockpiled materials unless the cost of the materials is charged against funds appropriated for the regular military assistance program or military aid to South Vietnam.

4. Authority to Draw on Defense Stocks.—Repeals the authority to draw on Department of Defense stocks for the purpose of providing additional military grant assistance to foreign countries.

5. Excess Defense Articles.—Tightens restrictions on the use of excess defense articles for foreign military aid by requiring that all grants of excess articles be charged against funds for military aid and by limiting FY 1975 excess defense article grants to \$150 million, based on acquisition cost.

6. Military Aid to Korea.—Imposes a ceiling on military grant aid and credit sales to Korea of not more than three-fourths the FY 1974 level and phases out such assistance over a three-year period.

7. Arms Sales Through Commercial Channels.—Prohibits government procurement of

arms for economically developed countries if the equipment or material is available through commercial channels.

8. Interest Rate On Credit Sales.—Imposes a minimum interest rate on credits extended to foreign countries for purchases of arms under the Foreign Military Sales Act of not less than the interest rate paid on Treasury borrowings of comparable maturity.

9. Military Aid to Chile.—Prohibits military assistance to Chile.

III. GENERAL

1. Israel.—Authorizes \$339.5 million in economic assistance and \$300 million in military credits for Israel.

2. Chile.—Imposes a fiscal year 1975 ceiling of \$65 million on economic assistance to Chile.

3. Police Training.—Prohibits use of foreign aid funds for training foreign police, prison, or other law enforcement forces.

4. Disaster Relief.—Authorizes the use of approximately \$110 million in loan refloos to meet humanitarian and reconstruction needs in Cyprus, Bangladesh, the Sahel and any other disaster areas.

5. Africa.—Calls for greater emphasis on Africa in U.S. assistance efforts.

6. Covert Operations.—Prohibits any non-intelligence-gathering covert activity abroad unless the President has first informed Congress of the importance and nature of such activity.

7. Contributions to UNESCO.—Prohibits U.S. contributions to UNESCO until that organization has repealed all resolutions not of an educational, scientific, or cultural nature.

8. Presidential Waiver.—Authorizes the President to waive any prohibitions on assistance to countries because they are trading with a designated country.

TABLE I. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AUTHORIZATIONS RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

(In thousands of dollars)

	Fiscal year 1975 authorization request	Committee recommendation	Difference from request		Fiscal year 1975 authorization request	Committee recommendation	Difference from request
1. Food and nutrition	275,300	239,000	-36,300	8. Middle East Special Requirements Fund	100,000	100,000	0
2. Population planning and health		220,000	+220,000	9. Military assistance program	985,000	550,000	-435,000
3. Education and human resources development		2,000	+2,000	10. Foreign military credit sales	555,000	405,000	-150,000
4. Gorge Memorial—Panama		1,500	+1,500	11. International Commission of Control and Supervision in Vietnam	27,726	27,726	0
5. International organizations and programs	3,900	133,900	+130,000	Total	3,252,226	2,673,126	-579,100
6. Indochina postwar reconstruction	919,800	617,000	-302,800				
7. Security supporting assistance	335,500	675,000	+339,500				

† Supplemental to current authorization.

‡ Of this amount, \$100,000,000 is to be in the nature of a grant to Israel.

TABLE II.—COMPARATIVE DATA ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES, FISCAL YEARS 1974 AND 1975

(In thousands of dollars)

	Fiscal year 1974		Fiscal year 1975 request ¹		Committee recommendation	Fiscal year 1974		Fiscal year 1975 request ¹		Committee recommendation
	Authorization	Appropriation	Appropriation	Authorization		Authorization	Appropriation	Appropriation	Authorization	
Development assistance:										
Food and nutrition	291,000	284,000	546,300	1,255,300	239,000	19,000	19,000	10,000		
Population planning and health	145,000	135,000	145,000		+20,000	30,000	15,000	30,000		
Education and human resources	90,000	89,000	90,000		+2,000					
Selected development problems	53,000	40,500	53,000							
Selected countries and organizations	39,000	36,500	39,000							
Total, functional development assistance	618,000	585,000	873,300	1,255,300	261,000					
International organizations and programs:										
UNDP and other programs	150,000	125,000	153,900	3,900	36,900					
Indus Basin Development Fund loans	(*)	2,000	200							
Indus Basin Development Fund grants	14,500	9,000	14,500							
UNRWA (expansion of training)	2,000	2,000								
U.S. Environment Fund	(*)	7,500	10,000							
Total, international organizations and programs	166,500	145,500	178,600	3,900	36,900					
American schools and hospitals abroad						19,000	19,000	10,000		
Contingency fund						30,000	15,000	30,000		
National Association Partners of the Alliance						931	750			
Albert Schweitzer Hospital						1,000	1,000			
Sahel drought relief						25,000	25,000			
Disaster relief and reconstruction						150,000	150,000			
Administrative expenses, AID						45,000	40,000	45,000		
Administrative and other expenses, State						(*)	4,800	5,900		
Total, development assistance						905,434	986,050	1,142,800	1,259,200	1,258,900
Indochina postwar reconstruction						504,000	489,000	939,800	939,800	617,000
Security supporting assistance						125,000	112,500	385,500	385,500	675,000
Middle East Special Requirements Fund								100,000	100,000	100,000
Total AID						1,684,434	1,597,550	2,568,100	1,684,500	1,689,900
International Narcotics Control						42,500	42,500			
Overseas Private Investment Corporation (reserves)						(*)	25,000	25,000		
Military assistance program (MAP)						512,500	450,000	985,000	985,000	550,000
Foreign military credit sales						325,000	325,000	555,000	555,000	405,000

	Fiscal year 1974		Fiscal year 1975 request ¹		Committee recommendation	Fiscal year 1974		Fiscal year 1975 request ¹		Committee recommendation	
	Authoriza- tion	Appropria- tion	Appropria- tion	Authoriza- tion		Authoriza- tion	Appropria- tion	Appropria- tion	Authoriza- tion		
Emergency security assistance:											
Israel.....	2,200,000	2,200,000								2,500	
Cambodia.....		150,000								2,726	
Total, foreign assistance items.....	4,764,434	4,790,050	4,175,600	3,224,500	2,644,900					2,726	
						Grand total.....	4,768,934	4,790,550	4,203,826	3,252,226	2,673,126

¹ Request includes the following additional amounts not included in the President's fiscal year 1975 budget transmitted to the Congress on Feb. 4, 1974: Indochina postwar reconstruction, \$150,000,000; security supporting assistance, \$322,500,000; Middle East special requirements, \$100,000,000; foreign military credit sales, \$240,000,000; military assistance program, \$60,000,000.

² Supplemental to existing authorization.

³ Appropriation request authorized by FAA of 1967 which made available \$51,200,000 until expended.

⁴ Authorized by Public Law 93-188 which made available \$40,000,000 until expended.

⁵ Permanent authorization for such sums as may be necessary.

⁶ Includes \$41,000,000 supplemental appropriation.

⁷ Excludes \$230,000,000 in defense stocks provided to Cambodia under sec. of the FAA of 1961.

⁸ Not authorized.

⁹ Permanent authorization of \$500,000 per annum.

¹⁰ Includes \$6,526,000 for fiscal year 1975 contribution to the ICCS and \$11,200,000 for reimbursement to AID for fiscal year 1974 expenses of the ICCS.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, foreign assistance is not, and I emphasize not, a giveaway program. It is time this myth is laid to rest. Virtually all U.S. assistance consists not of dollars, but of goods and services from American sources. A large part of this assistance, moreover, is provided on a credit basis. Thus, taking AID programs as an example, the relatively modest part of the Agency's total expenditures spent overseas tends to be offset by repayments of interest and principal on past loans and credits. In fiscal year 1973, the last year for which estimates are available, AID operations in fact netted \$60 million in earnings for the U.S. balance-of-payments account.

The food for peace program, which together with AID accounts for more than 90 percent of total U.S. economic aid, consists entirely of American goods, most of which are sold on credit. Thus, repayments on past credits more than offset current outflows of dollars for administrative and other expenses.

The operations of the international financial institutions, to which the United States is the largest single dollar contributor, are also balance of payments earners for the United States. For example, it has been estimated that in 1970, procurement in the United States of goods and services financed by the international financial institutions, as well as investments and other expenditures in the United States by the World Bank, the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the Asian Development Bank earned a net \$466 million for the U.S. balance of payments account. It has also been estimated that since 1964, the cumulative total of balance of payments net earnings from all spending in the United States by these institutions has been in excess of \$2.5 billion.

Thus, the facts do not support the myth that foreign assistance is a giveaway program.

There is a distinct downward trend in foreign economic aid costs when seen in relation to total Federal budget outlays and the U.S. gross national product. For example:

In 1949, at the beginning of the Marshall Plan, foreign economic assistance costs amounted to 11.5 percent of the Federal budget. Today, this share is less than 1.5 percent.

In 1949, economic aid represented 2.78 percent of our gross national product, and has moved downward ever since. By 1973, the figure had fallen to 0.23 percent.

The declining trend is also evident when measured in relation to the economic assistance provided by other industrialized nations of the free world.

Of 16 member nations of the Development Assistance Committee—or DAC as it is commonly known, the United States ranked second in 1963 in value of economic aid expressed as a percent of gross national product. Since then, the downward drift has been steady. By 1973, our position had dropped to 14th.

In 1963, some 62 percent of the total dollar value of aid from DAC country sources came from the United States. This share, too, has fallen steadily. In 1973, while the dollar value of U.S. economic aid still exceeded that provided by any one of the other DAC member nations, it represented 32 percent of the total value of DAC aid.

To further illustrate the point, during the 4-year period from 1962 until 1965, total U.S. foreign assistance outlays consisting of bilateral and multilateral economic assistance and bilateral military assistance averaged \$8.256 billion per year. During fiscal year 1974, and these are preliminary figures, total U.S. foreign assistance outlays were \$8.530 billion. Thus, over a 12-year period of time, U.S. foreign assistance outlays have remained virtually the same. During the same time, bilateral and multilateral assistance declined from an average of \$4.260 billion in the 1962 to 1965 period to \$3.8 billion in fiscal year 1974.

What is particularly disturbing about this course of events is the fact that other donor nations, particularly the Western European nations, are somewhat dismayed that they will be unable to increase development assistance efforts this year. In discussing the issue with Western Europeans, I found they are determined to hold the line on development assist-

ance outlays, despite the fact these nations are experiencing much more severe domestic economic problems than in the United States. Yet, we are confronted with cries to slash foreign assistance even more.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a member of my staff, Mr. William Heckman, be permitted the privilege of the floor during the debate of the foreign aid bill, and that Barbara Dickson, a member of my staff, be permitted the privilege of the floor during the debate on the Export-Import Bank Act amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCURE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, I have an amendment to the pending bill which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The second assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

APPOINTMENT OF CAREER FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS AS AMBASSADORS

SEC. 33. Section 501 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) After January 1, 1977 at any time,

not less than 85 per centum of the total number of positions of ambassador which are occupied shall be career personnel in the Foreign Service.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, this is an amendment which I offered at an earlier point during this year. It is an amendment which was modified on the Senate floor when I offered it before to the extent that it provided that 80 per cent of all the appointments to ambassadorial posts should be from the career service. As so amended, it was adopted unanimously by the Senate.

I was very pleased that it was adopted by the Senate, although I think, in its original form at 85 percent, and in the form in which I offer it today at 85 percent, it is still better because we have very fine, capable professional career Foreign Service officers. They are trained to represent the best interests of this country in the posts to which they are assigned. Many of them have spent a lifetime in the Foreign Service, in which they have gained expertise and knowledge. They become very sensitive listeners. They are able to report back to this Government in Washington on the political, economic, and social conditions of the countries of the world with which we have to live. I believe that they bring the highest degree of professionalism to the Foreign Service.

I have not suggested that there be a 100 percent requirement for ambassadorial posts to be drawn from the career Foreign Service because I believe that the President should be given some flexibility.

I think there are many distinguished American men and women in many fields, whether from the field of journalism or the field of academic life or from business life, or other political positions, all of whom could contribute in some way to the representation of the United States through embassies abroad. I do think that the backbone of our ambassadorial corps should be professional, should be the men and woman who have devoted their lives and their careers to this service. I think that that is not only in the best interest of the Government; I think it is simple fairness to the men and women who serve as Foreign Service officers.

It must be extremely frustrating for them, it must be extremely depressing for them, to devote their whole lives to service as Foreign Service officers and, when they reach that point in time when they might expect to become the top man or the top woman in some diplomatic post, to be appointed as ambassador or minister, then to find that that job goes to a purely political appointee, who may have minimal qualifications for the job; who, in fact, may not be particularly interested in the job, but who received it as a reward for services which are not really relevant to the representation of the United States of America as an ambassador to a foreign nation.

For that reason, I believe that we should require by law that 85 percent of all of our ambassadors should be appointed from the career Foreign Service.

While we are discussing this amendment, I mention in passing that I had a parallel amendment which I offered at

an earlier time, and which was also unanimously adopted by the Senate. That was the amendment which provided for the disqualification of any appointee or nominee for an ambassadorial post who had made a very large political contribution in the last Presidential election. I have not offered that amendment today, and I do not intend to offer a similar amendment today, because that particular problem has been resolved by the new election reform law, which the Congress has adopted and which the President has signed. I feel that that amendment is no longer necessary.

This amendment now pending, which provides that 85 percent of all ambassadorial posts shall be filled from the career Foreign Service, is a basic and substantive reform which I feel is vitally necessary, both for the best representation of the United States abroad and for the morale and the proper discipline of the Foreign Service corps.

So, Mr. President, since the Senate has already approved this amendment in substantially the same form, within 5 percent, I feel that the Senate will again look favorably upon this reform which is so patently required by the best interests of the United States and our service abroad. I hope that the distinguished manager of the bill will respond to this proposal.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I concur in the significance and the importance of the Senator's proposed amendment, for all of us recognize the depth of skill and capability in the career Foreign Service. But, as the Senator has properly allowed for in his proposed amendment, there is much to be said for a percentage of a number of ambassadorial posts to be reserved to the prerogative of the President, of whichever party he may be. We have many instances on record in which a so-called political appointment turned out to be very wise and, in some instances, even more effective than a career appointment.

I say to my colleague from Maryland that we are a little less certain of approximately where that percentage ought to lie or whether there ought to be some area of flexibility there. It is a basic, substantive reform approach in the present policy. It is my feeling that we might be better advised, at this very late stage in our efforts to get a compromise bill out, so that we do not have to go back into the continuing resolution business, which is a poor way to run the store, that the Senator should offer this reform amendment as a part of the new State authorization bill that will be introduced very shortly after Congress returns in January, as substantive legislation at that point, rather than on the AID authorization. It would represent no significant delay from the standpoint of time and, at the same time, would be helpful in our trying to hold together this rather complex compromise package in order to expedite legislation on some kind of a moderate foreign aid measure for this particular session, which is rapidly drawing to a close.

If the Senator wishes to express himself on whether it might be possible to make an adjustment, timewise, on that,

I should be interested in hearing about that at this time. It has nothing to do with the merit of his proposal. It is, rather, the instrument to which it would be attached.

Mr. MATHIAS. I am reluctant to give up any time on this, because, No. 1, the Senate has already agreed in principle to this amendment.

No. 2, I am reluctant because, as the Senator says, we have made some good and helpful and beneficial noncareer appointments which have been good for the United States, good for our image in the world, and good for our representation at important points. But we have also made a lot of serious and foolish errors that I should like to see curtailed as soon as possible. I do recognize the legislative problems that exist.

I see the distinguished Senator from Vermont on his feet. I do not know whether he wishes me to yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Yes, if the Senator from Maryland will yield for just an instant, I wish to say that the bill which is now before us represents something of a miracle in the field of foreign aid legislation in that while it does not meet with absolute approval, it meets with tolerable approval on the part of the executive and legislative branches—both Houses of Congress—and even the people of the countries which it is designed to benefit.

I also would like to point out that when this bill was up before us, not only was the amendment offered by the Senator from Maryland accepted—two of them, I believe—but another which I offered, and several others, were accepted. All together they killed the bill, and it was referred back to our committee; and now the bill has been returned with very few of those amendments.

So, regardless of the merits of the amendment now proposed by the Senator from Maryland and the merits of the amendment which I had sponsored the last time the bill was before us, it seems to me best that we all restrain ourselves now until the new Congress meets in January, and get new legislation, not only in the Committee on Foreign Relations but in the other committees as well. I think it would be a very gratuitous move on the part of all of us who proposed those other amendments if we not push them now, and get what is not a completely satisfactory bill but a generally satisfactory bill through, so that we will not have to wait until next spring to decide how much we are going to authorize for foreign aid for the fiscal year 1975. I think last year or the year before it was well into March before we could reach an agreement, and that is ridiculous.

So I hope we will not have to deal with these amendments at this time.

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, if I may just say a word more, as impatient as I may be on this subject—

Mr. AIKEN. Me, too.

Mr. MATHIAS. The Senator from Vermont, I think, by his very generous support in the past, has indicated that he is equally impatient, as has the Senator from Wyoming.

I cannot be impervious to the kind of arguments they make. The Senator from

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Vermont, with his unparalleled experience in this whole field, I think commands our respect and our admiration as well as our affection; and when he makes an argument he is very hard to resist.

I wonder if the Senator from Wyoming would be willing, on behalf of the committee, to seek the views of the Department on this subject at this time, so that there would not be any bureaucratic kind of delays when we get up to the point of action after the first of the year.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, it would be my recommendation to make sure that they get the message loudly and clearly down at the State Department; that they be presented with this colloquy directly, with the endorsement of those who have been involved in this colloquy.

It would be my hope not only to honor the impatience of the Senator from Maryland, but to insist that he continue that impatience, and I will join him in it, and that we make sure that this message is not ignored, shunted aside, or in other ways blunted at the departmental level. I would be prepared to follow up on that with him.

I was serious in sharing with the Senator from Vermont our conviction that in trying to hold together this minimal compromise package here, it would not be fatal even to the Senator's admirable impatience if it were put in the State authorization bill which will come up as soon as we get back, which would be an appropriate vehicle for it, and at the same time preserve our effort to try to get this compromise package adopted.

Mr. MATHIAS. I assume that they will get the message downtown, that they will understand what we are saying, and that the message will not need any kind of interpretation. But with the assurance of the Senator from Wyoming and the Senator from Vermont that we will deliver that message that we are going to be back on this floor with this amendment, we are going to plead for it and want to see it adopted.

Mr. McGEE. And that we want the Department to respond in meaningful ways to our questions and proposals in this direction, rather than another committee be set up to study the matter.

Mr. MATHIAS. So that they are on notice right now that this is going to come up.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I promise the Senator from Maryland that I will not vote against his amendment in the next Congress.

Mr. MATHIAS. I can only respond to the Senator from Vermont that I wish he were going to be here to vote for it.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I wonder if it is possible to initiate a lingering proxy in this body, out of respect for those who have chosen a richer way of life. I will not make that as a parliamentary inquiry at this time, but suggest that the Parliamentarian consider the matter for some future inquiry.

Mr. MATHIAS. I would only suggest to the Senator from Vermont that if he can spare time from the cultivation of apple trees, pear trees, peach trees, and other useful and pleasant occupa-

tions to give us his endorsement of this principle at that time, it will be extremely helpful even though he will not actually be voting on the question.

Mr. McGEE. It is my advice that he will be more powerful even than he is here, because he will have a four wheel drive when he gets back to Vermont.

Mr. MATHIAS. On that basis, Mr. President, and on the basis of the understandings reached here—and I am very grateful for the responses of both Senators—with that understanding, I will return with this amendment at the earliest opportunity.

Mr. McGEE. With the Senator from Wyoming as a cosponsor.

Mr. MATHIAS. I thank the Senator. Mr. President, I withdraw the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is withdrawn.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, we are waiting for Members of the other body who promised to be here by 2:30 with a proposal. In the meantime, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The legislative clerk proceeded to read the amendment.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 37, line 14, strike the word "and".

On page 37, line 20, strike the period and insert in lieu thereof a semicolon and the word "and".

On page 37, between lines 20 and 21, insert the following new paragraph:

(7) to provide humanitarian assistance to Indochina wherever practicable under the auspices of and by the United Nations and its specialized agencies, other international organizations or arrangements, multilateral institutions, and private voluntary agencies with a minimum presence and activity of United States Government personnel.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, under the proposed legislation I understand that there are six different areas which have been indicated as principles guiding the Indochina portion of the legislation that is before us.

The amendment I am offering is an effort to expand upon these principles governing economic aid to Indochina, which have been inserted into the bill by the Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. President, I fully support and commend the action of the committee for clearly establishing the principles it has regarding further American economic assistance to the countries of Indochina. The committee's action on the bill goes

a long way towards remedying some of the serious shortcomings in the administration's original proposal for Indochina aid, and it embodies many of the provisions I have sought in introducing my amendments last year and this past July.

So I want to commend the Foreign Relations Committee for clearly establishing a humanitarian priority in our economic assistance program for Indochina. It is long past due that our aid program recognize that people problems of the area—the needs of refugees, civilian casualties, orphans and others disadvantaged by a decade of war—and the reconstruction of civilian facilities, such as housing, hospitals, clinics and schools—these should be the overriding concern and objective of American assistance to the people of Indochina.

However, I believe there is a missing element in the bill's list of principles governing our economic aid program. This relates to the need to expand and strengthen the role and place of international and voluntary agencies in our humanitarian assistance program for Indochina. It is the purpose of my amendment to clearly establish as a principle objective of our aid that, "wherever practicable," American assistance to Indochina shall be distributed "under the auspices of and by the United Nations, other international organizations or arrangements, multilateral institutions, and private voluntary agencies with a minimum presence and activity of U.S. Government personnel."

Over the past several years, this has been one of the most glaring omissions in our Government's budget requests for Indochina—the absence of any meaningful effort to promote or strengthen international cooperation in helping to heal the wounds of war in Indochina. This despite the hope in many quarters that a good share of the effort to provide humanitarian assistance to the millions of people in need can be carried out under some form of international cooperation—if not on a regional basis, then at least in lieu thereof on international auspices for some of the special people problems which exist in the separate war-affected areas.

I have shared this hope. And, along with other Members of the Senate, I have long advocated that our Government actively encourage and support initiatives for expanding the participation and the role of the United Nations, its specialized agencies, the International Red Cross, and similar organizations, in the relief and rehabilitation programs in Indochina. Senators may recall that last year, the Senate adopted my amendments for this purpose to the fiscal year 1974 foreign assistance authorization bill. Although they were dropped in conference last year, I believe Senate action this year would strengthen the bill and will receive support in the House.

Mr. President, I believe the record is clear that a number of governments are now prepared to support and contribute to humanitarian programs in Indochina if they are under international auspices. The record is equally clear that those international arrangements are there—

waiting and ready to be used. The International Red Cross is prepared to upgrade and expand their efforts in Indochina, especially in Cambodia. The record is clear that the United Nations stands ready to help. The record shows that UNICEF has new programs underway, and that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees—UNHCR—is soliciting international support for a new program of relief to all areas of Indochina. And other offices and agencies of the United Nations are also prepared to move in meeting humanitarian needs. What is missing is a clear and firm indication of U.S. support—of a meaningful pledge to help fund these international initiatives.

The administration's policy toward internationalizing assistance for Indochina has been ambiguous, to say the least. Despite public statements to the contrary—before the refugee subcommittee and elsewhere—our Government has done precious little to really support initiatives by the United Nations and other international bodies. In fact, apart from indicating some token contributions to the International Red Cross, and some mild interest in the modest program of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the administration's original budget presentation and subsequent statements on our foreign aid policy toward Indochina, all but ignore the creative possibilities for expanding international participation in this area.

In fact, in recent weeks officials of our Government have sought to attach unreasonable conditions on our support of international programs in all areas of Indochina. Such an attitude undercuts the effectiveness of such organizations as UNICEF and the U.N. High Commissioner, and threaten to unravel the international framework needed to meet the massive needs of orphans and children and other war victims in all the war-affected areas. It also serves to discourage contributions from other countries, ready and willing to contribute to humanitarian relief in Indochina, if it is undertaken under international auspices.

Mr. President, it is time for the administration to stop the foot-dragging and the negativism. It is time to support in a significant way, international efforts to meet the relief and rehabilitation needs of all the people of Indochina. It is time to break with the past, and to actively support new directions in our assistance policy toward Indochina.

The bill reported by the Foreign Relations Committee has made a giant step in this direction, and I hope my amendment will carry it one step further.

Mr. President, it seems to me that one of the most effective instruments in meeting humanitarian needs that we have seen in recent times, whether it has been in the area of Bangladesh or also to some extent in the Sahel, or other areas of very desperate need, has been through the established specialized agencies of the United Nations.

I happen to believe one of the finer jobs of the U.N. has been the work of its specialized agencies. These are made up of career individuals whose concern and

commitment to humanitarian interests have been, I think, perhaps the brightest star of the United Nations.

I know that recently there have been steps taken within the U.N. that single out some of the specialized agencies for political recrimination. Of course, this is an aspect which I deplore because I think I can say without the possibility of contradiction that the various specialized agencies have recorded an admirable record in the area of humanitarian assistance whenever they have been called to play a role.

Even today in Indochina, there is an existence now—an international presence—that has the capacity to provide greater humanitarian assistance. I think it is entirely appropriate that we, to the extent that it is possible, and this is purely an advisory amendment, take advantage of that particular machinery.

It seems to me as well that we can lessen the burden on the American taxpayer.

In many instances, countries are quite willing to help and assist in humanitarian undertakings if they are under international auspices.

Too often in the past in Indochina we have made this strictly a U.S. undertaking and excluded the possibility for participation from other member states of the U.N.

First of all, to provide a more effective response to humanitarian needs; second, to reduce what I think is the ever increasing pressure on the American taxpayer; and third, because I think there are sound U.N. programs.

I think this amendment is useful and helpful.

Finally I would say, Mr. President, that this amendment follows a previous amendment to the last foreign aid bill, which was accepted.

This is a matter which is not new in terms of our understanding of it and I think it would be extremely useful in the area of humanitarian assistance in Indochina.

I urge adoption of the amendment and request the support of the floor manager.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I would like to say to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts that the proposed language amendment squares very tightly with the position that has long been taken by the members of the Foreign Relations Committee. Falling, as it would, under that section of the bill pretty much covering economic aid to Indochina, it seems to me it makes even more articulate in terms of meaning that whole section.

On behalf of the committee, I would be authorized to accept that language as consistent with the intent of this section of the bill.

Mr. KENNEDY. I appreciate the support of the floor manager and his expression of support by the members of the committee.

I am prepared to vote on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY).

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, after discussing the matter with the interested parties, at this time I wish to propound a unanimous-consent request: that there be 1 hour on amendments to the pending business, the time to be equally divided between the sponsor of the amendment and the manager of the bill, and 30 minutes on amendments to amendments, motions, and so forth, the time to be equally divided between the sponsor of the amendment to the amendment and the manager of the bill; that there be 2 hours on the bill, itself; that the vote occur not later than 6 p.m. tomorrow afternoon; that rule XII be waived and regular order be followed; and that all amendments be germane.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the Presiding Officer.

The text of the unanimous-consent agreement is as follows:

Ordered. That, during the consideration of S. 8304, a bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and for other purposes, debate on any amendment in the first degree shall be limited to 1 hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the mover of such and the manager of the bill, and debate on any amendment in the second degree, debatable motion or appeal shall be limited to 30 minutes, to be equally divided and controlled by the mover of such and the manager of the bill; *Provided*, That in the event the manager of the bill is in favor of any such amendment or motion, the time in opposition thereto shall be controlled by the Minority Leader or his designee; *Provided further*, That no amendment that is not germane to the provisions of the said bill shall be received.

Ordered further. That on the question of the final passage of the said bill, debate shall be limited to 2 hours, to be equally divided and controlled, respectively, by the Majority and Minority Leaders or their designees; *Provided*, That the said Leaders, or either of them, may, from the time under their control on the passage of the said bill, allot additional time to any Senator during the consideration of any amendment, debatable motion or appeal.

Ordered further. that the vote on final passage of this bill shall occur not later than 6:00 p.m., Wednesday, Dec. 4, 1974.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On whose time?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The time to be charged to both sides on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I ask

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unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I submitted to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 an amendment, the purpose of which was to make absolutely certain that in all foreign aid programs conducted by the U.S. Government in cooperation with the governments of other countries, we did not create a greater gap between the status of men and women in those countries than already existed. In fact, it would be the intention and purpose to use all the human resources in these countries in connection with the development programs of lesser developed countries.

Yet, as we saw the implementation of our foreign aid program with funds provided for training and for education, we saw the possibility that a preponderance of these funds might be going to the training and education—the giving of skills—to half the population, the men and not the women. This not only created a further gap between the sexes in these countries but also failed to take advantage of all the human resources available to these countries in their development program.

As a matter of fact, we have found in the administration of foreign assistance bills that the management, the policy positions taken, in connection with this legislation frequently was carried out predominantly by men, without really proper thought given to the possibility that sex discrimination was carried on.

As a result of the submission of this so-called Percy amendment, the Director of Foreign Assistance, Mr. Dan Parker, issued the "Percy amendment policy implementation plan," directing all agency development assistance plans to contain clear statements as to how women in developing countries will be involved in the development process and how the plan or proposal will benefit women and thus their capabilities.

I commend Mr. Parker for the extraordinary, fine way in which he has implemented this part of our foreign aid bill and for the excellent work being done within AID now to implement it in spirit and fully in accordance with the intention of Congress.

At the United Nations, on behalf of the United States, very recently, I submitted a similar amendment, so that in all development programs of the United Nations, this amendment and the policy of nondiscrimination by sexes would be observed. I am happy to report that the appropriate committee unanimously reported out for the consideration of the plenary session this particular amendment, submitted by me as a delegate to the United Nations this year, on behalf of the United States. I feel certain that this will be implemented in all future foreign aid and development assistance programs of the United Nations.

It would therefore seem appropriate, Mr. President, that the assistance programs that the U.S. Government has and contributes toward, such as the World Bank, would also have a policy, and that the U.S. delegate to those organizations

be instructed to implement the policies and provisions that are now being carried out in our own foreign aid programs.

An amendment has been prepared by me which I feel will have the widespread support of the Members of the Senate. Other Members of the Senate who have particularly interested themselves in these matters include Senator HUMPHREY, and other members of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the past. I simply wish to indicate that it will be my intention, at some point in the future, on the first bill that the Committee on Foreign Relations considers in the next session of Congress, to introduce this amendment as an amendment to such bill, to be implemented as early as possible after that.

It would have been the intention of the Senator from Illinois to introduce an amendment to the present, pending bill, but the Senator from Illinois, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, is fully supportive of the principle, supported by the administrator, that it would impede the progress of the pending legislation if it were open for amendments, no matter how worthy those amendments may be. The need now, after almost half the fiscal year has passed, to enact an authorizing bill for foreign assistance is urgent, and no action should be taken that might possibly impede or slow up that process.

Therefore, I shall not offer the amendment today, but I simply wish to notify my colleagues that I shall offer the amendment at some future time on the first bill that will be taken up and considered by the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the proposed amendment be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the amendment was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

At the end of the bill add the following new section:

INTEGRATION OF WOMEN

SEC. 33. Chapter 3 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 305. INTEGRATION OF WOMEN.—The President is requested to instruct each representative of the United States to each international organization of which the United States is a member (including but not limited to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Asian Development Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) to carry out their duties with respect to such organizations in such a manner as to encourage and promote the integration of women into the national economies of member and recipient countries and into professional and policy-making positions within such organizations, thereby improving the status of women."

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President,

I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

VIETNAM-ERA VETERANS' READJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1974—VETO

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCURE) laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives, which was read, as follows:

The House of Representatives have proceeded to reconsider the bill (H.R. 12628) entitled "An Act to amend title 38, United States Code, to increase vocational rehabilitation subsistence allowances, educational and training assistance allowances, and special allowances paid to eligible veterans and persons under chapters 31, 34, and 35 of such title; to improve and expand the special programs for educationally disadvantaged veterans and servicemen under chapter 34 of such title; to improve and expand the veteran-student services program; to establish an education loan program for veterans and persons eligible for benefits under chapter 34 or 35 of such title; to make other improvements in the educational assistance program and in the administration of educational benefits; to promote the employment of veterans and the wives and widows of certain veterans by improving and expanding the provisions governing the operation of the Veterans Employment Service, by increasing the employment of veterans by Federal contractors and subcontractors, and by providing for an action plan for the employment of disabled and Vietnam era veterans within the Federal Government; to codify and expand veterans reemployment rights; and for other purposes", returned by the President of the United States with his objections, to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, it was

Resolved, That the said bill pass, two-thirds of the House of Representatives agreeing to pass the same.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States to the House of Representatives, as follows:

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning today without my approval H.R. 12628, a bill which would provide what I consider an excessive increase and liberalization of veterans' education and training benefits.

Instead, I urge the Congress to send me a veterans' education bill along the lines that I have proposed. By doing so, we can avoid adding another half billion dollar load to the already overburdened taxpayer. Failure to do so will mean that the Congress will in the aggregate—Federal pay deferral, Railroad Retirement and Veterans Education—add over one and a half billion dollars to the Federal deficit in 1975.

This bill which I am returning to the Congress provides benefits that are greater than those granted to World War II and Korea veterans. It would cost the taxpayers half a billion dollars more in fiscal year 1975 than is appropriate in view of the country's current economic circumstances.

The decision not to sign this bill has not been an easy one. But it is necessary if all of us are to operate with essential budgetary restraint. The Nation must reduce Federal spending if we are to stop the inflation spiral.

I have asked the Congress on previous occasions to join with me to hold down Federal spending and help whip inflation. In two important instances, the Federal pay deferral plan and the Railroad Retirement

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bill, the Congress refused to join with me and the result has added an additional one billion dollars to the Federal taxpayers' burden.

Veterans' benefits should—and can—be improved. I continue to support a responsible increase in education benefits for veterans. I again urge the Congress, as I have on many occasions, to enact a GI Bill providing for an 18.2 percent benefit increase rather than the 23 percent in this bill. Such action would be in keeping with the need for fiscal responsibility while recognizing the Nation's special debt to our veterans.

Since the Vietnam-era GI bill first went into effect in 1966, the total of veterans' benefit increases enacted through 1972 have substantially exceeded the rise in cost of living. Not including the provisions of this bill, the basic monthly education has increased by a \$120 per month or 120 percent since 1966. This compares with an actual rise of 55 percent in the Consumer Price Index.

In addition to the 23 percent benefit increase, this bill extends entitlement for GI bill benefits from 36 to 45 months for undergraduates. I believe the present entitlement of four academic years is sufficient time to permit a veteran to obtain his baccalaureate degree and to enable him to adjust to civilian life.

In addition, the bill contains other objectionable features despite my urging that they be eliminated. It establishes a new direct loan program for veteran students which departs from the sound objective of providing student aid through one department—Health, Education and Welfare—rather than through various Federal agencies. A direct loan program is also inefficient compared to available guaranteed loan programs, which provide substantially more assistance to the veteran at less cost to the Federal taxpayer.

I am returning this bill with reluctance, but it is my earnest hope that the Congress will demonstrate its willingness to join the executive branch in taking the difficult actions needed to hold down spending by the Federal Government while being equitable with our veterans.

GERALD R. FORD.

THE WHITE HOUSE, November 28, 1974.

The Senate proceeded to reconsider the bill (H.R. 12628), Vietnam-Era Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1974, returned by the President on November 28, 1974, without his approval, and passed by the House of Representatives, on reconsideration, on December 3, 1974.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Shall the bill pass, the objection of the President of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding?

Who yields time?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I allocate my time to the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Indiana (Mr. HARTKE).

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana is recognized.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following staff members of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs be permitted on the floor during consideration of this bill: Guy H. McMichael, Mary Whalen, Larry Chernikoff, and John Szabo.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I address myself today to the Vietnam-Era Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act.

Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, on November 28, the President returned to Congress without his approval, H.R. 12628, the Vietnam-Era Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1974. The veto of this important measure was unwarranted, unnecessary, and extremely unfortunate. I arise to urge my colleagues to support the motion to override the President's veto.

I term this an unfortunate veto, because I believe the President was ill served by those who advise him. There are a number of assertions contained in the veto message which cannot go unchallenged, together with unspoken implications which also must be examined.

GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE VIETNAM-ERA VETERANS' READJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1974

Before turning to the veto message, I believe that it would be worthwhile to briefly summarize the provisions of this comprehensive and important measure.

Title I amends title 38, United States Code, as follows:

First, increases the rates of monthly educational assistance allowance by 2.7 percent for eligible veterans under chapter 34 and for eligible wives, widows, and children training under chapter 35. Monthly allowance for a single veteran with no dependents is increased from \$220 to \$270. A married veteran's allowance is increased from \$261 to \$321 monthly. The allowance for a married veteran with a child is increased from \$298 to \$366 a month with provision for \$23 for each additional dependent.

Second, increases by 18.2 percent the monthly training assistance allowance payable to eligible veterans or persons pursuing a full-time program of apprenticeship or other on-job training program. The initial monthly allowance for a single veteran with no dependents is increased from \$160 to \$189.

Third, liberalizes eligibility requirements for disabled Vietnam veterans to train under the vocational rehabilitation provisions of chapter 31 to equalize them with those in effect for veterans of World War II and the post-Korean conflict.

Fourth, clarifies and liberalizes the circumstances under which disabled veterans training under the vocational rehabilitation provisions of chapter 31 may qualify for individualized tutorial assistance.

Fifth, increases by 18.2 percent the educational allowance payable to eligible veterans or persons who are enrolled in PREP, flight training, or pursuing a program of education by correspondence.

Title II amends title 38, United States Code, as follows:

First, permits the initial 6 months of active duty training by Reserve and National Guard members to be counted toward entitlement for educational assistance under chapter 34, if the Reserve or Guard members subsequently serve on active duty for a consecutive 12 months or more.

Second, extends the maximum entitlement of educational assistance benefits for eligible veterans from 36 to 45 months to be utilized in pursuit of a

education leading to a standard undergraduate college degree.

Third, clarifies and strengthens certain administrative provisions of the veterans VA educational assistance program; to prevent and mitigate against abuses by providing that courses with vocational objectives must demonstrate that at least 50 percent of the course graduates obtained employment in the occupational category for which the course was designed to provide training.

Fourth, provides that the Administrator shall not approve enrollment of an eligible veteran or person in any course which utilizes significant avocational and recreational themes in its advertising, or in any proprietary below-college level course in which more than 85 percent of the eligible students are wholly or partially subsidized by the Veterans' Administration.

Fifth, clarifies and strengthens certain administrative provisions of the VA educational assistance program to prevent abuses.

Sixth, authorizes up to 6 months of refresher training for veterans eligible under the current GI bill to update knowledge and skills in light of the technological advances occurring in their fields of employment during and since the period of their active military service.

Seventh, liberalizes the veteran-student service programs by raising the maximum work-study allowance from \$250 to \$625—increasing the maximum number of hours a veteran may work from 100 to 250—and removing any statutory ceiling on the number of veterans who can participate in the program.

Eighth, liberalizes the tutorial assistance program by extending the maximum assistance period from 9 to 12 months and increasing the monthly tutorial allowance from \$50 to \$60.

Ninth, liberalizes permissible absences for courses not leading to standard college degrees by excluding customary vacation period established by institutions in connection with Federal or State legal holidays.

Tenth, permits any joint apprenticeship training committee which acts as an annual reporting fee of \$3 for each eligible veteran or person enrolled in VA educational programs in return for furnishing the VA with the reports or certificates of enrollment, attendance, and termination of such eligible veterans.

Eleventh, provides that occupation-vocational courses not leading to a standard college degree but offered on a clock-hour basis may in the alternative be measured on a credit-hour basis, provided that there is a minimum 22 hours of attendance per week.

Twelfth, provides that the Administrator shall not approve the enrollment of any eligible veteran or person in any course offered by an institution which utilizes erroneous, deceptive, or misleading advertising, sales, or enrollment practices of any type.

Thirteenth, directs the Administrator to measure and evaluate all programs authorized by title 38 with respect to their effectiveness, impact, and structure and mechanisms for the delivery of services, and to collect, collate, and analyze, data regard-