

S 3160

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

March 26, 1984

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

URGENT SUPPLEMENTAL
APPROPRIATIONSKENNEDY AMENDMENTS NOS.
2835 THROUGH 2843

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. KENNEDY submitted nine amendments intended to be proposed by him to the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 492,) making an urgent supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1984, for the Department of Agriculture, as follows:

AMENDMENT No. 2885

On page 3, line 6, delete the figure "\$92,750,000" and substitute in lieu thereof the figure "\$21,000,000".

AMENDMENT No. 2836

At the appropriate place add the following: "The Senate and House Select Committees on Intelligence, in coordination with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, shall conduct a full investigation of death squads in El Salvador and shall report to the Senate and the House of Representatives by May 31, 1984, on the extent of death squad activity, responsibility for organizing, directing and carrying out death squad killings, and progress in prosecuting those responsible for such killings."

AMENDMENT No. 2837

At the appropriate place add the following language: "No funds shall be available under this or any other legislation for military assistance to the Government of El Salvador after May 31, 1984, unless the Salvadoran authorities have brought those national guardsmen charged with murder in the deaths of the four United States churchwomen in December 1980 to trial and have obtained a verdict."

AMENDMENT No. 2838

At the appropriate place in the section entitled "MILITARY ASSISTANCE" of H.J. Res. 492, add the following: No funds appropriated in this bill or other legislation shall be available for military assistance for the Government of El Salvador after May 31, 1984, unless that government has initiated a prosecution of those involved in the murder of two American Labor advisers in 1981.

AMENDMENT No. 2839

At the appropriate place in H.J. Res. 492, insert the following: "No additional funds shall be available under this or any other legislation for military assistance to the Government of El Salvador unless the President certifies to Congress by June 30, 1984, that the Salvadoran Government has agreed to participate in unconditional negotiations with all major parties to the conflict in El Salvador which are willing to participate unconditionally in such a negotiation process, and that upon the beginning of such negotiations, the Government of El Salvador agrees to attend and to negotiate in good faith: *Provided, however,* That this provision shall not take effect unless the opposition forces represented by the FDR/FMLN have agreed by such date to partici-

pate in such negotiations and to attend and negotiate in good faith.

AMENDMENT No. 2840

On page 3, at the end of line 15, insert the following: "land reform,".

AMENDMENT No. 2841

At the appropriate place add the following: "No United States ground forces shall be introduced into the territory of El Salvador, Honduras or Nicaragua for the purposes of combat unless:

"(1) Congress has declared war or authorized the presence of such forces in advance by a joint resolution signed by the President of the United States; or

"(2) the presence of such forces is necessary to provide for the immediate evacuation of United States citizens, or to respond to a clear and present danger of military attack on the United States.

In either case described in paragraph (2), the President shall advise and, to the extent possible, consult in advance with the Congress."

AMENDMENT No. 2842

At an appropriate place add the following: "No funds appropriated in this or any other legislation may be obligated or expended for the participation of United States Armed Forces in military training exercises in Honduras unless the Congress has authorized the exercises in advance by joint resolution signed by the President of the United States."

AMENDMENT No. 2843

Beginning with line 19 on page 4, delete all through line 2 on page 5.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, this week, the Senate begins a historic debate on the question of U.S. policy in Central America. The administration has successfully amended House Joint Resolution 492 to include an additional \$93 million in military assistance to the Government of El Salvador and an additional \$21 million in assistance to the contras in Nicaragua.

Before reaching the merits of this proposed legislation, some comments are in order about the vehicle that the administration has chosen to appropriate this money, and the procedures that the administration has employed to achieve its purposes.

It is indecent that the administration misuses a bill to appropriate money to assist the most desperate millions in Africa—who are now in the midst of one of the most serious famines and droughts in their history—as the vehicle by which the Congress is asked to provide more weapons to the military forces at war in Central America. In order to cast a vote for bread for the people of Africa, it may well be necessary for Senators also to cast a vote for more guns and bullets in Central America.

As for the legislative strategy here, the administration has chosen procedures that short-circuit the legislative process and minimize full consideration of these matters by the duly constituted committees of Congress. I object to the decision to circumvent the authorization procedures by which

appropriations are debated and approved in the Senate. Relying on the argument that there is an emergency in El Salvador which requires immediate action by Congress, the administration has bypassed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, rendering that committee inoperative and irrelevant with respect to this so-called emergency military assistance. By going straight to the Appropriations Committee, the administration has avoided dealing with precisely those Members of the Senate who have spent the most time and energy and effort to become expert on the situation in Central America.

By the same token, the administration's decision to attach its request for additional assistance to El Salvador and for the contras in Nicaragua to this legislation is a blatant effort to end-run the House of Representatives. One can only presume that, when it comes to this military assistance, the administration does not want to consult with its critics in the House of Representatives—but prefers to deal with Republican rubberstamps, and then try to resolve this issue in the relative obscurity of a House-Senate conference committee.

These issues are too important to the future peace of this hemisphere and to the future of U.S. relations with the peoples of Central America for debate to be cut short or for the committees of Congress to be circumvented.

Basic questions need to be stated, debated, and resolved before a single additional dollar of military aid is appropriated for El Salvador. Every time there is a problem in the world, whether in Lebanon or with the Soviet Union, whether in Grenada or El Salvador or Nicaragua, the President rushes toward a military confrontation. All that he seems to understand in foreign policy is more guns, more bullets, and more troops. What ever happened to diplomacy? There has not been a single major successful diplomatic initiative by this administration anywhere in the world since it took office.

President Reagan's instinctive resort to military force as a substitute for wise diplomacy is the fundamental flaw in American foreign policy, especially our policy in Central America. Everywhere we look, the President is seeking to use superior military power as a substitute for a steady, coherent, and balanced foreign policy, based on America's own best values. The President is resorting to the military and the CIA to rescue a failed foreign policy and enforce short-sighted and short-term solutions. In Central America, President Reagan is moving U.S. combat forces closer and closer to conflict.

I believe that the Contadora process offers a far more realistic way to peace in the region. Everything and anything we do in the region should be de-

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signed to strengthen the Contadora process, but the President is pursuing policies that actually undermine and discourage the efforts of the Contadora nations.

Instead of reducing the Sandinistas' reliance on Cuba and the Soviet Union, the policies of the Reagan administration have pushed the Sandinistas into greater and greater dependence upon those two nations.

Instead of challenging the Sandinistas' support at home by pushing for a meaningful electoral process that would include vigorous participation by opponents of the regime, the Reagan administration has pursued a policy that has consolidated support inside Nicaragua for the Sandinistas.

Instead of isolating the conflict in El Salvador so that it does not spread into a regional war, the administration has expanded the conflict to the point where Honduras is now in the verge of being drawn into the hostilities. In fact, a regional war throughout Central America may well be just around the corner if President Reagan is permitted to continue his policy of militarizing the conflict.

Instead of carefully limiting the military assistance that we send to El Salvador in the interest of pursuing a negotiated settlement of the conflict there, the administration has given the Salvadoran military a blank check, thereby insuring that the war will rage on.

Instead of keeping U.S. troops out of the conflict, the Reagan administration has organized exercises in Honduras that bring our forces to the very brink of the fighting.

Instead of strengthening the new democracy in Honduras, the administration has pursued policies which have weakened that democratic Government.

I believe we need a new approach that will give diplomacy a chance. In an effort to move the United States in the direction of negotiation rather than confrontation, I intend to work with other Senators to amend this legislation and to develop an effective alternative to the Reagan administration's policies of more guns, more bullets, more war.

First, with respect to El Salvador, we should provide only extremely limited military assistance to the new government until we know who will be running that government. I will offer an amendment to the Inouye amendment to provide sufficient military assistance to last only through the end of May—\$21,000,000 instead of \$63,000,000. At that time, we will learn who has been elected President of El Salvador, and we will know whether that Government will in fact commit itself to human rights, to land reform, and to the elimination of death squads.

Second, any military assistance that we send to El Salvador should be much more carefully conditioned on

progress on human rights and other reforms.

No more funds should be provided to the Government of El Salvador after May 31, 1984, unless there has been a verdict in the case of the four churchwomen murdered in December 1980.

No more funds should be provided to the Government of El Salvador after May 31, 1984, unless a prosecution has begun in the case of the two American labor advisers murdered in January 1981.

No more funds should be provided to the Government of El Salvador after June 30, 1984, unless that Government is willing to conduct unconditional negotiations with opposition forces.

No more funds should be provided to the Government of El Salvador unless there is continued progress in land reform.

No more funds should be provided to the Government of El Salvador unless that Government has in fact made progress in eliminating the death squads.

In addition, we must get to the bottom of the persistent allegations that high Salvadoran officials are deeply involved in the death squads, possibly with the complicity or acquiescence of the CIA.

The members of the Senate and House Committees on Intelligence should be instructed to make a full investigation of these allegations and report to the Congress by May 31 of this year.

With respect to Nicaragua, I am absolutely convinced that U.S. assistance to the contras is both wrong and counterproductive. I will offer an amendment striking that assistance from this legislation. There is no justification whatever for this Congress to ratify Ronald Reagan's secret war against Nicaragua. The Senate should have the courage to stop it now, before it is too late.

Finally, I will offer an amendment to prohibit the use of U.S. combat troops in El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua without advance approval by Congress. As we learned from the failure of the administration's policy in Lebanon, even the War Powers Act gives this President too much leeway to commit American troops to combat where the security of the Nation is not at stake.

In addition, we should amend this bill to prohibit military exercises in Honduras unless the administration has obtained advance approval from Congress. The provocative exercises now underway should be canceled, so that the Senate and the House will have the time to conduct a full review of that policy.

We must halt this rush to military confrontation in Central America. We must change course before we find U.S. soldiers bogged down in a war in Central America that will be bloody, dirty, and ultimately unwinnable. We

do not need and we cannot afford another Lebanon in El Salvador.

In our relations with that troubled region of the world, let us return to the spirit of the Alliance for Progress. Let us revive the cause of human rights and human progress. Let us stand for what is best in our own people and our own traditions.

PRESSLER AMENDMENT NO. 2844

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. PRESSLER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the joint resolution, House Joint Resolution 492, making an urgent supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1984, for the Department of Agriculture; as follows:

At an appropriate place in the resolution, insert the following new language:

Because the United States depends upon satellites for preserving the peace through command and control of United States forces worldwide and through early warning of strategic attack, among other functions:

Because satellites are vital for certification of arms control agreements:

Because the United States and other nations rely increasingly on space-based systems for weather forecasting, communications, natural resource exploration and other important commercial activities:

Because the maximum utilization of space technology for commerce and science is assured only under peaceful conditions:

Because the safety of such important missions including those performed by the space shuttle would be compromised by the threat posed by antisatellite weapons:

Because an uncontrolled space arms race would undermine strategic stability and divert resources needed to maintain strong and balanced defenses; and

Because the present pace of military developments, including weapons tests, will soon reduce the prospects of avoiding the weaponization of outer space:

The Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, hereby declare that the President should seek agreement with the Soviet Union to—

(1) declare an immediate, mutual and verifiable moratorium of limited duration on the testing in space of antisatellite weapons;

(2) immediately resume negotiations on a mutual and verifiable ban on the testing, production, deployment, and use of any antisatellite weapon;

(3) seek, on an urgent basis, a comprehensive verifiable treaty prohibiting the testing, production, deployment, or use of any space-directed or space-based weapons system which is designed to inflict injury or cause any other form of damage on the Earth, in the atmosphere, or on objects placed in space.

Sec. 2. Such agreements should not restrict operations in space not involving weapons, such as the United States space shuttle program.

IT IS TIME TO STOP SPACE WEAPONS

● Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, today I am offering as an amendment to House Joint Resolution 492, the 1984 urgent supplemental appropriation for the Public Law 480 program, the text of my resolution calling for a ban on weapons in space and on weap-