



Senators Load Up State Department Measure

For members of Congress, few things are more irresistible than a chance to play secretary of state for a day. Senators had that chance for four days early in October, and 40 of them took advantage of it, offering a host of amendments to a routine bill authorizing funds for the State Department and related agencies.

Before passing the bill (HR 1777) 85-8 on Oct. 8, the Senate staked out a position on virtually every foreign policy issue facing the United States, as well as some matters over which Washington has little influence. (Vote 315, *Weekly Report* p. 2490)

With the annual foreign aid authorizations bill stalled and the yearly defense bill in deep political trouble, senators turned to the State Department measure to vent their views on foreign policy. Most of the 86 amendments added to the bill were non-binding measures that merely stated the "sense of the Senate." A few, however, would force changes in U.S. policy or would require the administration to break longstanding agreements with other countries. The Senate debated the bill on Oct. 2, 6, 7 and 8.

Moments before the Senate finished the bill, Daniel J. Evans, R-Wash., took the floor to complain that his colleagues were "trivializing" an important piece of legislation.

"We seem to create amendments ... by reading yesterday's headlines so that we can write today's amendments so that we can garner tomorrow's headlines," Evans said.

No one rose to defend the Senate's actions, although Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell, D-R.I., responded that "we have to work in an imperfect world."

The bill now goes to a House-Senate conference, where many of the Senate amendments likely will fall by the wayside. But the Senate's most prolific sponsor of amendments, Jesse Helms, R-N.C., will be seated at the conference table by virtue of his status as ranking minority member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

The House passed its version of

—By John Felton

the State Department bill on June 23, after adopting only a handful of amendments. (*Weekly Report* p. 1385; *Senate bill*, *Weekly Report* p. 1387)

The Senate authorized \$3.6 billion in fiscal 1988 for operations by the State Department, United States Information Agency and the Board for International Broadcasting, which runs Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The House authorized \$3.9 billion in fiscal 1988 and \$4.6 billion in 1989. President Reagan had requested \$4.25 billion in fiscal 1988 for those agencies.

State Department officials and administration supporters complained that the cuts mandated by the Senate bill will damage Washington's ability to carry out foreign policy. Hours before the Senate passed the bill, State Department officials released plans to eliminate some 1,300 jobs, nearly 8 percent of its total Foreign Service and Civil Service positions. Specific cuts include the closing of two dozen small embassies and consulates.

Pell said he agreed that the State Department faces damaging cutbacks, but noted that under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-control law Congress had to make "tough choices." In writing the bill, Pell said, the committee gave priority to ongoing State De-

partment operations and deferred several construction programs.

While cutting back on the overall State Department budget, the Senate demanded several expenditures that could restrict the department's fiscal running room even further. The Senate opposed the department plan to save money by closing overseas consulates, and it voted to create several new high-level positions, including an under secretary of state for security, construction and foreign missions, and an ambassador-at-large for Afghanistan.

Dumping on the Soviets

As in the House debate three months before, much of the Senate's action on the State Department bill centered around U.S. relations with the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet rhetoric did not appear to be dimmed by the prospect of a summit meeting this fall between Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

Indeed, conservatives used debate on the bill to voice their frustrations over the administration's determination to sign an intermediate-range missile arms-control treaty in spite of what the conservatives insisted is a long history of Soviet treaty violations.

The attack on the Soviet Union

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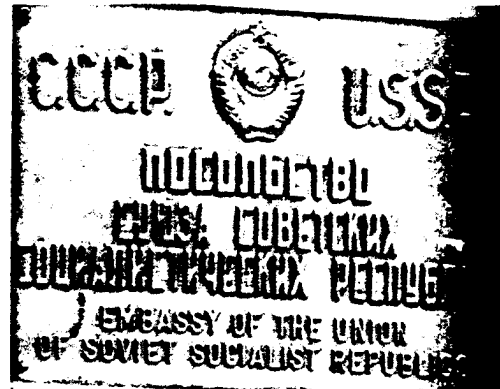
—Sen. Daniel J. Evans, at right



"We have to work in an imperfect world."

—Sen. Claiborne Pell

Foreign Policy - 2



Sen. Steve Symms, R-Idaho, at left with Soviet defector Stanislav Levchenko and Rep. Dick Armey, R-Texas, opposite the Soviets' new embassy, wants to prevent the Soviets from moving there from their old building, above . . .

began within minutes of the opening of Senate debate on the bill on Oct. 2. Malcolm Wallop, R-Wyo., offered an amendment condemning the Soviet Union for conducting missile tests in the Pacific Ocean, and demanding a Soviet apology. Two dummy warheads landed within a few hundred miles of the Hawaiian Islands.

Wallop called the Soviet tests "a deliberate provocation of the United States and a direct threat to our national security."

Helms, a close ally of Wallop, then offered a second-degree amendment that sought to undo two arms-control amendments that the Senate had attached only days before to the Defense Department authorization bill (HR 1748). Helms' amendment, in effect, would have allowed the president to proceed with all his planned strategic weapons programs — including the strategic defense initiative, or "star wars" — as long as he certified that the Soviet Union is violating previous arms control treaties with the United States. (*Defense bill, Weekly Report p. 2228*)

The Senate tabled the Helms amendment on Oct. 6 by a 52-43 vote, and then adopted a revised version of the underlying Wallop amendment 96-0. As passed, the amendment called on the administration to protest the Soviet tests and demanded that the president report to Congress on the details of the tests and the Soviet explanations for them. (*Votes 302-303, Weekly Report p. 2488*)

Among other amendments directed at the Soviet Union and its allies, the Senate:

- Reaffirmed its position that the administration should abrogate existing agreements under which the United States and the Soviets have been building new embassies in each other's capitals.

By voice vote, the Senate adopted an amendment sponsored by Steve Symms, R-Idaho, requiring the president to void 1969 and 1972 U.S.-Soviet accords and to begin new negotiations aimed at forcing the Soviets to build a new embassy in Washington located no more than 90 feet above sea level.

U.S. intelligence officials have complained that the still-unfinished Soviet Embassy office building, located on Washington's highest hill at nearly 350 feet above sea level, will permit the interception of electronic communications from the Pentagon, State Department and other sensitive agencies. In addition, recent tests have found that the new Soviet-built U.S. Embassy in Moscow is riddled with listening devices. (*Weekly Report p. 1427*)

The Senate already had adopted the Symms amendment as part of the defense authorization bill, but that measure may never become law.

- Required the administration to apply to Soviet-bloc diplomats in the United States the same travel restrictions that already are applied to diplomats and trade officials from the Soviet Union.

The most important restriction bars those diplomats from traveling more than 25 miles from their offices without obtaining permission from the State Department. The amendment was sponsored by William V. Roth Jr.,

R-Del., and adopted by voice vote.

- Prohibited the executive branch from expelling from the United States persons seeking asylum from communist countries. This amendment was sparked by a 1985 case in which U.S. immigration authorities twice handed over to Soviet authorities a merchant sailor, Miraslov Medvid, who jumped into the Mississippi River. Sponsored by Helms and Alfonse M. D'Amato, R-N.Y., the amendment was adopted by voice vote.

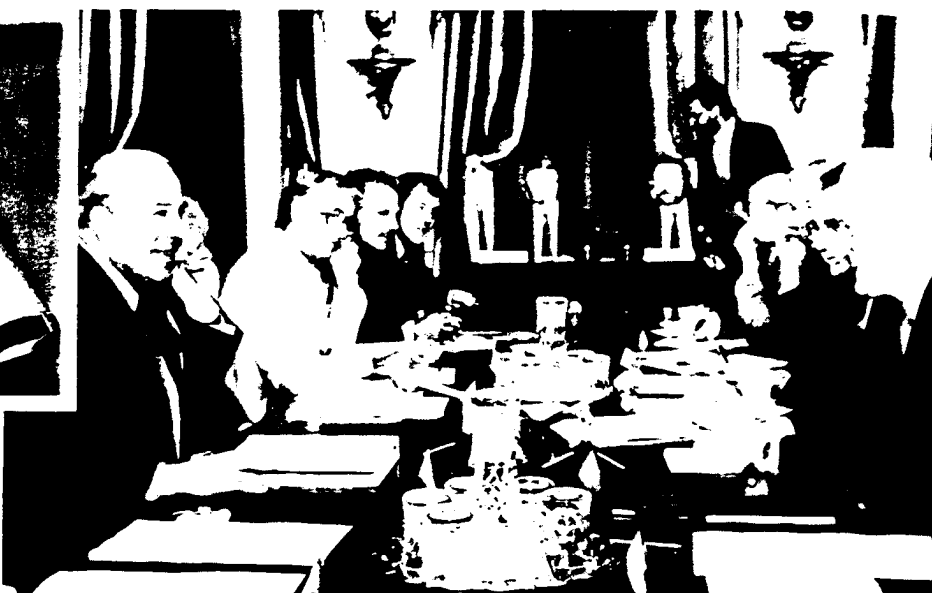
- Stated opposition to any Soviet role in a Middle East peace conference, unless the Soviets have recognized Israel's right to exist. Sponsored by Pete Wilson, R-Calif., the amendment was adopted by voice vote.

- Prohibited the State Department, after Sept. 30, 1989, from hiring foreign nationals in communist countries to work in U.S. diplomatic and consular missions. Sponsored by William S. Cohen, R-Maine, the amendment was aimed at ending, at least in communist countries, the department's practice of using local citizens as cooks, drivers and maids. The secretary of state could waive the prohibition on a case-by-case basis, however, if the CIA director requested it or if the secretary reported to Congress that doing so was "vital to the national security of the United States." Adopted by voice vote.

- Barred foreign nationals from being housed at diplomatic missions in the United States unless they are accredited to those missions. Helms, the sponsor, said one purpose of the amendment was to prohibit Soviet citizens who work for the United Nations — suppos-



... while Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., above, took aim at the State Department for keeping protesters away when Secretary George P. Shultz hosted meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, at far right.



edly international civil servants — from living at the Soviet Union's U.N. mission buildings, where they would be under KGB control. Also affected would be Soviet businessmen and journalists. Adopted by voice vote.

Helms vs. State Department

Helms has never attempted to disguise his belief that the State Department is peopled by weak-willed bureaucrats more interested in their careers than in national security. In the past he delayed action on ambassadorial nominations as a way of making his points; this year he has used his position as ranking Republican on Foreign Relations to cause fits for the State Department, especially its boss, Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

Among Helms' recent targets has been a request by Shultz for authority to build an official residence for future secretaries of state.

Shultz has said such a residence is needed primarily for security, since secretaries of state and their foreign guests are visible targets for terrorist and other attacks. To win congressional approval for the idea, Shultz has said he would not live in the residence and that it could be built with donations from private individuals.

Opposing Shultz' request as precedent-setting and unjustified, Helms made several attempts this year to block it. The Foreign Relations Committee in June narrowly rejected a Helms amendment on the subject, and the Senate on Oct. 6 tabled, by a 61-34 vote, his amendment barring construction of an official residence for

any Cabinet member. (*Vote 305, Weekly Report p. 2488*)

But Helms returned on Oct. 8 with a narrow amendment barring only the establishment of an official residence for the secretary of state. After considerable vote-switching in the Senate well — Frank H. Murkowski, R-Alaska, changed his vote twice before supporting the amendment — Helms won, 48-47. (*Vote 314, Weekly Report p. 2490*)

Helms sponsored several other amendments aimed at State Department policies or actions, including ones that:

- Prohibited the State Department from declaring any of its buildings to be a "foreign mission" for purposes of limiting public protests against foreign diplomats. Helms reacted to the department's attempt on Sept. 15 to limit protests against a visit by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. Adopted by voice vote.

- Required the State Department to "consult" with Renamo, the rightist guerrilla group that is battling the leftist government of Mozambique. The State Department, apparently with Reagan's approval, has backed the government of Mozambique and refused to deal directly with the guerrillas. The amendment was tabled 61-34. (*Vote 305, p. 2488; background, Weekly Report p. 2446*)

- Required the secretary of state, in consultation with the Foreign Relations Committee, to name a five-member commission to study the Foreign Service personnel system. This was a watered-down version of a Helms

amendment that would have suspended the State Department's controversial "selection out" process under which senior diplomats who fail to win promotions within a certain time are forced out of the Foreign Service. Related Helms amendments required the State Department to give the Foreign Relations Committee access to records of all grievances filed by Foreign Service personnel and a list of all State Department positions and personnel. Yet another amendment required the Office of Personnel Management to conduct an audit and inspection of the Foreign Service system. All amendments were adopted by voice vote.

- Barred ambassadors and other diplomats serving as "chief of mission" from receiving hardship pay or performance supplements on top of their basic salaries. Helms said the purpose of the amendment was to keep those diplomats from earning more than the \$89,500 paid to members of Congress. He said the State Department had given the Foreign Relations Committee a list of 307 diplomats who earned more than that amount by virtue of special bonuses. Adopted by voice vote.

Other Targets

The Senate also took aim at some of Washington's favorite targets, including foreign organizations and countries that are politically unpopular. Among the targets were:

- **The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).** Charles E. Grassley, R-Iowa, offered, and the Senate adopted by voice vote, an

Adm. Crowe: Limit Military at NSC

Limits should be placed on military officers serving on the staff of the National Security Council (NSC), the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has told investigators working for the congressional Iran-contra committees.

In a deposition given to the panels on June 18, Adm. William J. Crowe Jr. suggested fixing limits on the amount of time military officers could serve on the NSC staff. The committees released a declassified version of his deposition Oct. 13.

Crowe shed little light on the Iran-contra affair, largely because he said he did not learn until after the fact that the United States in 1985 had begun selling weapons to Iran in exchange for the release of hostages held by pro-Iran factions in Lebanon. Crowe said he was not told about the weapons sales until June 1986.

Without mentioning them by name, Crowe's comments about military officers serving on the NSC staff appeared directed at Lt. Col. Oliver L. North and Adm. John M. Poindexter, both of whom worked at the NSC and played pivotal roles in the Iran-contra scandal. In his testimony, Crowe suggested that military aims and national security goals can easily be blurred with military officers filling key NSC staff positions.

"I don't think an active military man should lead the NSC, I just really don't believe that," said Crowe. "That is a very prejudiced view because as the chairman [of the Joint Chiefs of Staff], I think if you want a military bias in the sense of the chiefs, you should go to the chairman, not to the NSC adviser." (*Background on NSC structure, Weekly Report p. 345*)

Poindexter became Reagan's national security adviser in late 1985 following the resignation of Robert C. McFarlane. Poindexter resigned his position last November, after it was revealed that profits from the sale of weapons to Iran had been diverted to the Nicaraguan contras. Poindexter has since said that he approved of North's plan to divert the Iran profits, but did not tell President Reagan what he had done.

ment also called on the president to void the treaties unless Panama accepted the "DeConcini reservation," under which the United States stated its intention to defend the canal. Panama has come under increasing criticism from an unusual coalition of liberals and conservatives concerned about charges of human rights abuses and corruption by the regime headed by Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega. (*Vote 308, Weekly Report p. 2489*)

Other Amendments

Other amendments adopted by the Senate:

- Partially reversed a Foreign Relations Committee attempt to prevent the State Department from closing overseas consulates as an economy move. An amendment offered by Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M., and accepted by voice vote, set aside only \$50 million to reopen 10 consulates, most of them in Europe. The committee had "fenced" \$500 million in the bill, saying it could be spent only to reopen the consulates. The amendment also delayed for 180 days a section of the bill barring the State Department from closing other consulates.

- Asked the president to submit to Congress a plan for getting U.S. allies to share the cost of defending shipping in the Persian Gulf. Sponsored by John Melcher, D-Mont., it was adopted 95-2. (*Vote 310, p. 2489*)

- Required the State Department to withhold 50 percent of the U.S. assessed contributions to the United Nations and its organizations for fiscal 1988 until the president has certified to Congress that there has been "significant progress" in eliminating practices by which U.N. agencies hire Soviet citizens who reportedly remain under the control of the Soviet Union. Sponsored by John Heinz, R-Pa., the amendment was adopted by voice vote.

- Stated the sense of the Senate that the United States should admit at least 38,000 East Asian refugees annually in fiscal years 1988-90. The amendment was intended to put the full Senate behind the recent approval of the 38,000 figure by the Judiciary Committee. Sponsored by Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., the amendment was adopted Oct. 7 by a 63-33 vote. (*Vote 309, Weekly Report p. 2489*)

- Increased the authority of the State Department's Office of Munitions Control to deny arms export licenses in questionable cases. Sponsored by David Pryor, D-Ark., the amendment was adopted by voice vote.

amendment requiring the administration to close PLO quasi-diplomatic offices in Washington and New York on the grounds that the PLO is a "terrorist" group. The administration already had ordered the Washington office closed for the same reason but had resisted closing the New York facility because the PLO has official status there as an "observer" group at the United Nations. Jeff Bingaman, D-N.M., waged a lonely and unsuccessful fight against the amendment as an abridgment of free speech.

- **Foreign Diplomats.** The Senate on Oct. 8 adopted a Helms amendment placing several new restrictions on the immunity from prosecution accorded to foreign diplomats and their families in the United States. Among its 16 provisions, the amendment requires the State Department to ask the sending country for a waiver of immunity for any diplomat accused of a serious crime, and to declare *persona non grata* any diplomat whose country refuses the waiver; bars re-entry into the United States of diplomats who are asked to leave because of an alleged criminal offense; and increases to \$1 million, from \$300,000,

the amount of automobile liability insurance that diplomats must carry. Helms cited several cases in which diplomats or members of their families had committed violent acts against U.S. citizens but were not punished.

- **China.** The Senate on Oct. 6 passed a lengthy Pell-Helms amendment condemning reported human rights violations in Tibet by the People's Republic of China. The amendment included 17 "findings," each citing alleged abuses by the Chinese; it was sparked by incidents in late September and early October during which Tibetan protesters were attacked and killed by Chinese authorities. The amendment authorized refugee aid and scholarships for Tibetans and required that any notices to Congress of U.S. arms sales to China be accompanied by a statement that China is acting in good faith to resolve human rights issues in Tibet. Adopted by voice vote.

- **Panama.** By a 59-39 vote on Oct. 7, the Senate tabled a Symms amendment that sought to put the Senate on record as saying it should not have approved ratification of the Panama Canal treaties in 1978. The amend-