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Senators jar military riders

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The Reagan administration lost a high-risk gamble in Congress yesterday when it tried to add the two most controversial military parts of its Central American policy as riders to a bill to heat the homes of the poor in America.

But the larger question is whether the action in a Republican-controlled committee signals the end of the administration's highly touted, \$10 billion "Jackson Plan" for the economic recovery and battle against communism in Central America. The plan was named for the late Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash.

"The name of the plan is appropriate, they are both dead," said a high administration official yesterday. The five-year plan was produced by a presidential commission headed by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

After the key 15-14 vote, Sen. Pete Domenici, R-N.M., said he had never seen an issue so badly managed. He warned that the administration's entire plan for Central America may be rejected if the performance continues.

"I guarantee them [the State Department] and I guarantee the president for whom they work, they are going to fail" if there is no improvement, Sen. Domenici said. The senator served on the

Kissinger panel and is chairman of the Budget Committee.

The strategy that failed hinged on attaching two "emergency" requests — for \$21 million in covert aid for anti-Nicaraguan guerrillas and \$93 million for El Salvador — to the \$200 million emergency energy-assistance bill that has already passed the House.

The 15-14 vote came in the Republican-controlled Senate Appropriations Committee, considered the administration's most receptive panel.

The administration having taken its best shot and lost, sources said, the vote may have been the high-water mark for a Central American plan this year.

Four reasons for the Jackson Plan's failure have been offered by administration sources:

• After the December recess, "everything" became partisan as the election year opened.

• There was no time to rework the Kissinger report, so it came out looking like an "old-style foreign-aid bill."

• The House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, where the first votes were taken, is among the most liberal in Congress. Now the full committee is deadlocked,

and any package likely to emerge is expected to have more human rights restrictions on aid to El Salvador than President Reagan is likely to accept.

 Unlike the Social Security and MX missile commissions, the Kissinger panel failed to generate consensus in Congress on massive help for Central America.

The high-drama vote in the Republican-controlled panel followed combative exchanges between the chairman, Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., and Sen. Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, the Senate majority whip who managed the administration's efforts.

"Gentlemen, there's no alternative," said Sen. Stevens, explaining that no other legislative vehicles could pass Congress before June 1, which would be too late for military and guerrilla forces supported by the United States.

The "contras" who are trying to topple the Marxist government of Nicaragua will be out of funds before they could be helped by a June appropriation, which would take two more months to reach them, Sen. Stevens said.

He added that it was important that the \$93 million for El Salvador's military be at least approved before El Salvador's national elections on March 25, where there may be increased activity by leftist guerrillas opposing the government.

However, two Democratic members of the Intelligence Committee, which oversees all covert funding, disagreed with Sen. Stevens. Sen. Daniel Inouve, D-Hawaii, said he had no prior notification and no justification had been provided by the administration.

"None of us have been told there was a sudden urgency," said Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt.

Talking to reporters afterward, Sen. Stevens said he believed the administration had the votes before the meeting began, and that "the criticism of the State Department in this instance is not well-founded."

The administration has several options open for passing the two packages. One is to take them to the floor of the Senate and to offer them as amendments to the heating bill. A second option is to offer them next week in the same committee with a \$150 million famine relief bill for Africa.

"That will sink that bill," said Sen. Stevens.

Sen. Robert Kasten, R-Wis., was ready to offer the \$93 million El Salvador aid yesterday as a rider to the African relief bill, but the committee voted to postpone action until next Tuesday.

Another option is to use existing authority that would allow the president to provide emergency military assistance to El Salvador if the country agrees to repay within 120 days.

Presidential spokesman Larry Speakes said the president would consider such a move if Congress did not act quickly while a senior administration official explicitly said the administration would go the emergency route if Congress proved uncooperative.