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Held before

Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance

of the

Committee on Foreign Relations

1, 1962

TO AMEND THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961

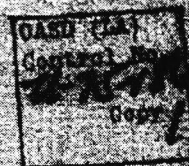
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S. 2662

TO AMEND THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961

- - -

Thursday, December 4, 1975

- - -

United States Senate,

Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance of the

Committee on Foreign Relations,

Washington, D. C.

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:20 o'clock p.m., in Room 4221, Dirksen Senate Office Building, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey (Chairman of the Subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Humphrey (presiding), Case, and Javits; Senators Symington and Leahy.

Also present: Pat M. Holt, Chief of Staff; Norville Jones and Richard M. Moose, Staff Assistants.

- - -

Senator Case. The Committee will come to order.

Senator Humphrey has been detained by several hundred enthusiastic young Minnesotans; and I would imagine this would be the hardest thing for any politician to detach himself from. This is the situation. He asked me if I would start with the statement that he had prepared himself. So, for myself, as well as for him, I will proceed.

This, of course, is the Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance,

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1 continuing its hearings on legislation relating to the
2 Administration's request for Middle East, military and security
3 assistance, together with consideration of a bill which Senator
4 Humphrey has introduced, S. 2662, with several co-sponsors, the
5 International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act
6 of 1975.

7 Our witnesses today will speak on various aspects of
8 the legislation before us, human rights, arms transfers and
9 assistance to the Middle East.

10 There will be only one, and possibly two more hearings before
11 the Subcommittee must proceed with its mark-up of legislation.
12 We regret that the time available has not permitted us to
13 schedule for oral testimony all those who wished to appear; and
14 I particularly regret that we will be unable to hear Mr. Fred B.
15 Morris, who wished to speak on human rights in Brazil; and Mr.
16 John M. Newmann, regarding Indonesia. Their statements will be
17 printed in the hearing record together with written testimony
18 submitted by the U. S. Catholic Conference and Mr. Henry E. Niles
19 of the Business Executives Move for New National Priorities.

20 Finally, the Department of State has submitted at our
21 request the testimony of Mr. James M. Wilson, Jr., Coordinator
22 for Humanitarian Affairs. He was prepared to testify today,
23 but there simply was not time available to accomodate his
24 appearance if we also wished to hear public witnesses to whom
25 we had earlier commitments.

1 We will hold the hearing record open until December 9th for
2 the receipt of testimony from other public witnesses.

3 We are pleased to have as our first witness today, Senator
4 Alan Cranston, who will be followed by Senator Edward Kennedy.
5 Is Senator Cranston here? Proceed in your own way.

6 STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ALAN CRANSTON

7 Senator Cranston. Thank you very, very much, Mr. Chairman,
8 I'm delighted to have the opportunity to be with you this
9 afternoon.

10 I have a quite long statement that I want to submit for
11 the record, and I'll try to breeze through it and summarize
12 what I think are the most important points, without reading the
13 whole thing, if I may.

14 Senator Case. Without objection, the statement will be
15 printed in full in the record. You may proceed as you wish.

16 Senator Cranston. My purpose in appearing and offering
17 an amendment to the legislation before you is to try to high-
18 light the importance of human rights, the importance that it
19 should be given in considerations of American foreign policy;
20 and, specifically on the necessity of weighing human rights
21 concerns when making decisions, to extend security assistance
22 to countries around the world.

23 I deeply appreciate the cooperation we have had from
24 Senator Humphrey, Dick Moose and Dan Spiegel, and others,
25 involving us in the planning of these hearings. I am very

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1 impressed with the legislation that Senator Humphrey has intro-
2 duced, the International Security Assistance and Arms Export
3 Control Act of 1975, and I know that all the members of this
4 particular Subcommittee have displayed great interest in raising
5 the flag on human rights issues in one way or another. I'm aware
6 of your particular efforts, Senator Case, to prevent dis-
7 crimination against Americans by those countries who receive
8 some form of assistance from this country.

9 I am glad to be allied with Senators McGovern and Abourezk
10 in their recent successful efforts to attach a human rights
11 amendment to the Foreign Economic Assistance Act. Senator Javits
12 has been very active and helpful in regard to my particular
13 amendment; and I know that Senator Symington has been very,
14 very interested over the years in this problem.

15 With your permission, I would like to include in the record
16 two matters, a thought-provoking essay on "Dictatorships and
17 American Foreign Policy", by the editor of Foreign Affairs,
18 William Bundy; and, I would also like to include later a text
19 of the amendment I am offering.

20 Senator Case. Without objection, that will be done.

21 Senator Cranston. Simply put, these are tax dollars that
22 we are considering, to the tune of over \$4.500 billion that
23 Congress is being asked to approve in security assistance for
24 fiscal year '76. As you know, when you take into account the
25 foreign military sales that the Government is likely to under-

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1 write or approve in this fiscal year, we are dealing with a
2 new figure of well beyond \$10 billion. In summary, as far as
3 my own very deep feelings on this matter, promiscuous military
4 aid to a host of dictators who repress their own people, or
5 threaten their neighbors, is a betrayal of the democratic
6 principles, I believe, and of our true national interest.

7 We give away billions of dollars in arms to all kinds of
8 obnoxious foreign governments, and we say we do so in the name
9 of national security; but it's a false security, based on the
10 United States trusting unworthy and untrustworthy governments
11 who do not have the support of their own people.

12 We can best help the victims of totalitarian regimes by
13 refusing security assistance to governments which use the
14 weapons and the military training we provide, to put their own
15 people under the "dictatorial boot".

16 In regard to the conditions in the countries that we aid -
17 and the record has not been made totally clear on that matter
18 to this country - it is my strongly held view that Congress
19 has the right and the duty, under the Constitution, to require
20 any information from the President that we feel is relevant
21 in reaching legislative decisions in matters of this magnitude.
22 We cannot advocate these judgments, nor give up control over
23 the information behind the judgments to the Executive Branch.

24 The Security Assistance bill authorizes American tax
25 dollars and grants legislative approval for arming foreign

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1 governments. That's a decision for Congress in the final
2 analysis; but the policy judgments are a joint responsibility,
3 of course, with the President. Unfortunately, though, the
4 State Department and the White House do not seem to give the
5 attention to human rights in reaching foreign aid decisions
6 that the majority in both Houses of Congress plainly desires
7 and made plain they want.

8 My amendment says that the Congress is entitled to receive
9 as much information as is available in regard to the status of
10 human rights and freedom in countries receiving security
11 assistance; then we can take the information and weigh its
12 relevance, along with the national security judgments made by
13 the President and the Secretaries of State and Defense.

14 If Congress, as the elected representatives of the people,
15 wants to give more importance to human rights concerns in the
16 total scheme of things, then we have the right and we have the
17 power to do it. I want to emphasize that my amendment is not
18 an automatic security assistance cut-off amendment in regard
19 to particular countries, rather it's an information amendment,
20 designed to arm us, Congress, with what it needs to make a
21 wise policy judgment prior to extending security assistance, or
22 allowing arms sales to countries around the world.

23 I believe we should re-evaluate security assistance
24 programs, particularly in regard to repressive regimes; and the
25 amendment which I am offering gives a formula for doing so. It

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1 is designed to ensure that human rights concerns will be a major
2 factor in the future decisions of the U. S. Government to grant
3 or sell weapons and training, and other forms of security
4 assistance around the world.

5 The legislation that I am proposing is considerably tougher
6 than Section 502B of the present law. It builds upon the
7 admirable efforts of Representative Harkin and Senators McGovern
8 and Abourezk to raise human rights standards in connection with
9 the foreign economic assistance program. Last December when
10 Congress passed Section 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act, many
11 of us thought that a significant step forward had been taken.
12 That law made plain that the Administration was supposed to
13 submit information to this Committee in regard to the nature
14 of governments that were receiving aid.

15 Despite the wording of that law and its clear intent,
16 Congress has not received, in fiscal year '76 a report from
17 the President, advising the Legislative Branch, as the
18 provisions of the law required, of the extraordinary circumstances
19 necessitating security assistance to governments that grossly
20 violate human rights. Nor do we have from the President a
21 detailed plan for the reduction and eventual elimination of the
22 present military assistance program, as required by Section 17
23 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1974.

24 What did we get instead of what the law plainly indicated
25 was necessary? What you, this Committee, received was a state-

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1 ment from the Secretary of State, and a report from the State
2 Department that ignore and evade the spirit of the laws passed
3 by Congress on this subject.

4 In the Secretary's statement to the House International
5 Relations Committee on November 6, in regard to the security
6 assistance program there is incredibly no mention at all - no
7 mention at all - of a factor in the decision to extend security
8 assistance to particular countries. Clearly, other considerations
9 dwarf the human rights considerations in the Secretary's mind.
10 At one point he states:

11 "The United States cannot expect to retain influence with
12 nations whose perceived defense needs we disregard. Defense
13 supply links to these countries can significantly strengthen
14 efforts to achieve cooperation on other issues."

15 He goes on to argue:

16 "And there are gains to our domestic position as well.
17 Security assistance programs contribute needed jobs to several
18 sectors of our labor force. They help us maintain a more
19 favorable balance of payments. And they permit our defense
20 industries to achieve significant economies through scale of
21 production."

22 Now, plainly, Members of the Committee, Mr. Chairman,
23 something is missing here. There is no mention of human rights
24 under "the criteria of security assistance" listed by the
25 Secretary, despite the language of the law that we enacted.

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1 I find it difficult to understand why this is the way
2 the Administration proceeds, totally ignoring what was the intent
3 and the desire of this Committee and Congress; yet, this is
4 what happened. So, I think it's proper to ask, does this
5 omission mean that the State Department has concluded that not
6 a single one of the 45 or so countries, for which security
7 assistance is proposed, has a government that consistently
8 engages in serious violations of internationally recognized
9 human rights?

10 In light of what everybody knows is going on in the world,
11 and in certain countries, that's a preposterous conclusion. I
12 assume it is not the conclusion of the State Department.

13 I draw attention to the belated, unsigned report received
14 on the Hill from the State Department on November 18. It's
15 entitled, "Report to the Congress on the Human Rights Situation
16 in Countries Receiving U. S. Security Assistance." After citing
17 the law it states:

18 "We view Section 502B as an authoritative expression of
19 Congressional concern for human rights in all countries receiving
20 security assistance."

21 The report then states that reports have been received
22 from U. S. Missions in 68 countries, with a classified analysis
23 of the human rights situation in the country where the Mission
24 is located. Then the report states:

25 "Repressive laws and actions, arbitrary arrest and prolonged

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1 detention, torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or
2 punishment, unfair trials or other flagrant denials of the rights
3 of life, liberty and the security of the person are not extra-
4 ordinary events in the world community."

5 The report also states:

6 "Some countries, of course, present more serious evidence of
7 violations than others."

8 The report then raises two questions in the following
9 language:

10 "When we consider using security assistance as a possible
11 lever to improve the human rights situation in a particular
12 country, we are faced at the outset with at least two fundamental
13 questions:

14 "(1) Would the substantial reduction or termination of
15 security assistance to that country damage our own national
16 security?

17 "(2) Would the substantial reduction or termination of
18 security assistance improve or worsen the human rights situation
19 in that country or make it more difficult to make our views
20 known?"

21 They go on to say that each country should be looked at
22 individually.

23 Bur, Mr. Chairman, the issue is not simply resolved by
24 what the State Department considers, knows and believes about
25 this general situation, and about the situation in regard to

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1 violation of human rights in various countries because the
2 Congress has made the judgment, the Congress has set the policy,
3 the Congress has passed the law of the land, which is Section
4 502B.

5 Near the end of this unacceptable report - unacceptable in
6 my view - from the Department of State, there is this rather
7 far-reaching conclusion:

8 "In view of the widespread nature of human rights violations
9 in the world, we have found no adequately objective way to make
10 distinctions of degree between nations. This fact leads us,
11 therefore, to the conclusion that neither the U. S. security
12 interest nor the human rights cause would be properly served by
13 the public obloquy and impaired relations with security assistance
14 recipient countries that would follow the making of inherently
15 subjective United States Government determinations that 'gross'
16 violations do or do not exist, or that a 'consistent' pattern
17 of such violations does or does not exist in such countries."

18 The inference is that everybody does it, so, why make an
19 issue of it. But I want to say, as strongly as I can, that
20 we must remember that this is America. Of all the gifts bestowed
21 on this country, the one that alone remains as the great American
22 exception is the constitutional system in a democratic setting.
23 For all our domestic and foreign mistakes, our record as a
24 civilized society commands respect. If we do not respect our
25 own history and hold up the torch of democratic ideas, who will?

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1 And if we do not, who are we?

2 When we hear about repression in another country - and there
3 are gross violations against humanity occurring in countries to
4 which we give military assistance - do we keep our distance?
5 What would would the Secretary, what would the Administration
6 have us do? Do we take the attitude that, "After all, what does
7 it have to do with us?"

8 I am aware that some would say this is a lofty idealism in
9 the face of the real facts of life on the international scene.
10 It's argued that the realistic course is to continue economic
11 and also military sales to repressive regimes, for various
12 reasons. But, is it realistic to aid particularly repressive
13 regimes in the name of "stability" or "leverage" or "national
14 security"? That's what we tried in Vietnam, and I think that's
15 the basic reason why we failed in Vietnam.

16 The Administration maintains in the report that there is
17 "no adequately objective way" to determine if gross violations
18 of human rights are occurring. The testimony you will hear
19 later this afternoon from Mr. Sussman contradicts that claim.

20 We know that the State Department has prepared human rights
21 reports on individual aid recipient countries, they did that
22 for Congressman Fraser in respect to Korea. I hope that your
23 Committee will request the information on the circumstances
24 in these countries, so that you will know, and so through you
25 Congress can know what the situation is. What is the status of

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1 human rights in the countries that we are asked to use American
2 taxpayers' dollars to assist in military defense.

3 This argument aside, I would hope we as Americans do have
4 some subjective feelings about what is going on today in Chile,
5 Brazil, Korea, Indonesia, Ethiopia, Zaire, the Philippines
6 and Cyprus - to name a few countries which have been touched
7 by our security assistance program.

8 Let me hasten to note that there are individuals, some of
9 them well known, in the State Department who share the concern
10 that I am expressing about human rights. Ambassador Moynihan
11 in recent weeks has eloquently focused the attention of the world
12 on the repressive practices of dictatorial regimes.

13 In my prepared statement there is a very fine quote from
14 William D. Rogers, the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-
15 American Affairs, in a recent speech that he made on this topic.

16 It should be obvious, it seems to me, that Congress needs
17 to pass new legislation to get its message taken seriously
18 by the Administration, in view of the lack of impact by our
19 mild, beginning effort in Section 502. Therefore, I have
20 submitted my amendment to the security assistance bill designed
21 to establish a formula for congressional approval of Executive
22 decisions to provide aid to regimes violating human rights. This
23 might well be termed a "sunshine bill" because it will get the
24 facts out in the open.

25 And, just to briefly summarize, before I close, its major

1 provisions.

2 First. No security assistance to any country engaged in
3 gross violations - although there is a later exceptance.

4 Second. The President shall submit an annual report to
5 Congress regarding the status of human rights within security
6 assistance recipient countries.

7 Third. Upon the request of either the Foreign Relations
8 or International Relations Committees, the President shall
9 transmit within 30 days a certification stating that there are
10 no gross violations, or that there are extraordinary circumstances
11 warranting continuing the aid despite gross violations - within
12 a particular country.

13 I will recognize that there are some countries - Korea is
14 probably a good example - where, despite whatever the status of
15 human rights presently is, we need to continue our security
16 assistance program until we deal with our relationship there
17 and security matters there by other means, which I think we
18 should do in the case of Korea. I'm not suggesting a formula
19 that would mean we couldn't continue our present program to
20 Korea; there would be a way to continue with it under my formula.

21 Fourth. Security assistance can then be terminated by
22 Congress within 90 calendar days after receiving this report
23 from the Administration.

24 Fifth. The legislation covers grant aid, credit sales,
25 cash sales, licenses, and training.

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1 Let me close by just saying, I know that this probably is
2 not the perfect approach, there may be a better approach. The
3 Administration will raise objections to its having to label a
4 certain country as violator of human rights, and perhaps there
5 is a way to revise my approach to get around that. Perhaps
6 Congress could make that decision without necessarily labeling
7 any country, if even Congress does not wish to do it. There
8 are ways to deal with that problem.

9 But, I think we have to forcefully get at the matter of
10 using the American taxpayers' dollars to prop up dictatorships,
11 to give them the training and the tools that they use to keep
12 their own people under the dictatorial "boot", and to attack
13 their neighbors. When we engage in that sort of a foreign
14 policy, and that sort of an international policy, I think we
15 blur what America stands for, and that is so dangerous in a
16 world where democracy is on the run and dictatorship on the
17 rise; and we are so closely involved with many of these
18 dictatorships.

19 I would be eager to work with you after this hearing in
20 trying to devise a formula that meets legitimate objections to
21 what I propose; but that gets at this so that we cut it off,
22 except under extraordinary circumstances of national security.
23 And, let me finally say, I cannot believe that there are extra-
24 ordinary reasons relating to our national security that require
25 us to continue this aid to the long host of dictatorial regimes

1 that presently receive it.

2 Senator Humphrey. Senator, I want to thank you very much.
3 I know that I speak for the members of this Subcommittee when
4 I tell you that you have been a very forceful leader in this
5 effort to defend human rights in all areas of the world, and
6 particularly as it relates to any assistance that we might
7 extend.

8 You will be pleased to know that in the first bill, the
9 economic assistance, that already passed the Senate, and the
10 Conference Report is now being completed, we have a very strong
11 provision on human rights; the strongest that has ever been
12 written in any legislation. That came as a result of efforts
13 here in this Subcommittee, along with Congressman Harkins of
14 the House of Representatives, Congressman Fraser, and others in
15 that body. And, speaking for myself, I intend to see that
16 the military assistance, or security assistance bill that is now
17 before us, will have provisions that are equally as strong and
18 equally as effective.

19 I think your testimony today has indicated a line, an
20 approach that we can and should make, recognizing the difficulties
21 that are apparent in any undertaking like this. We have in
22 Section 116 of the Foreign Economic Assistance Act - you see,
23 we separated military and security assistance from the economic
24 assistance - it says, "No assistance may be provided under
25 this part - that is under the economic assistance part - to the

1 government of any country which engages in a consistent pattern
2 of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights,
3 including torture, or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or
4 punishment; prolonged detention without charges; or other
5 flagrant denials of the right to life, liberty, and the security
6 of the person, unless such assistance directly benefits the
7 people of such country."

8 Now we define what we mean by that. "In determining whether
9 this standard is being met in regard to funds allocated under
10 this part, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate,
11 the Committee on International Relations of the House of
12 Representatives may require the administrator primarily
13 responsible for administering Part 1 of this act to submit in
14 writing information demonstrating that such assistance will
15 directly benefit the needy people in such countries, together
16 with a detailed explanation of the assistance to be provided,
17 including the dollar amount; and the explanation how such
18 assistance will directly benefit the needy people of such
19 country.

20 "If either Committee or House of Congress disagrees with
21 the administrator's justification, it may initiate action to
22 terminate assistance to any country by a concurrent resolution
23 under Section 617 of this Act", and so forth and so on.

24 Now, in this instance we wanted to be sure that if there
25 were people, for example, under the Humanitarian Assistance Act,

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1 food assistance, in countries, let's say, where there might have
2 been patterns that would apply to what we call "denial of human
3 rights", we did not want to see individuals, persons, denied
4 the food that was necessary for life itself. So, we had to
5 have some language there that would accomodate those contingencies.

6 But, we will review it, and we will make sure that it is
7 properly administered.

8 Plus, Senator, you are not the only one that was dis-
9 appointed with the report from the State Department. I have
10 called them, told them of my disappointment, and spoken to the
11 Secretary about it. I intend to take it up with this Subcommittee
12 as a part of our deliberations. And, by the way, you had that
13 report before I did, and I'm Chairman of this Subcommittee. I
14 want to compliment you. I found out about it in the New York
15 Times - they know most everything before anyone else does. I
16 don't know whether they've got somebody on the payroll over
17 there, or not. But, about a day later I found out about this
18 report.

19 I assure you that the report that came in under the previous
20 law - which we have strengthened in the new law - will be not
21 only critically examined, I will ask to have it referred back
22 to the State Department to get us the kind of documentation that
23 law requires because I consider the report not only inadequate,
24 I consider it really, I guess what you would call, "An expression
25 of editorial indifference" to both the spirit and the letter of

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1 the law.

2 Senator Cranston. That's a good description, Mr. Chairman.

3 Senator Javits. Mr. Chairman, we have to go vote, but I
4 would like to state for the record that two New Yorkers will
5 be testifying shortly, Leonard Sussman, the Executive Director
6 of Freedom House; and Joseph Sternstein, President of the
7 Zionist Organization of America. I know them both, and I
8 commend them highly to the Committee. I'm in a House-Senate
9 Conference and will have to leave.

10 Senator Humphrey. I'll go right now, Senator, and vote.

11 Senator Javits. I'll go with you.

12 I would like to say to Senator Cranston, I'm very
13 sympathetic, and I will do my best, will work with the Chairman
14 to work it out, as we did on the other bill. I am worried about
15 requiring the President to label invidiously individual countries.
16 But, that is a technical problem. I know you are a very
17 reasonable man, and we'll try.

18 Senator Cranston. Thank you very much.

19 Senator Humphrey. Thank you, Senator Cranston.

20 Senator Cranston. It was music to my ears to hear you
21 reading that language from the other law because I was one of
22 the original sponsors of that.

23 Senator Humphrey. You sure were.

24 Senator Cranston. Let me finally say, you all know the
25 choices, if we spend all this on this, we aren't going to have

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1 the money for the program for jobs for Americans that you were
2 talking about; and some of this money might well be kept at
3 home for Americans.

4 Senator Humphrey. Senator, if you take a look at the
5 amendments that we have offered on military assistance and
6 grant sales, I think you will be relatively pleased. We are
7 not about to let things be as they were.

8 Senator Cranston. Good.

9 Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much.

10 (The written statement of Senator Alan Cranston is as
11 follows:)

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1 Senator Humphrey. I'll be right back.

2 (Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

3 Senator Humphrey. Is Mr. Sussman here? Mr. Sussman, would
4 you accomodate us by starting your testimony because Senator
5 Kennedy is going to be delayed; and if you wouldn'd mind, if
6 you would agree, we would interrupt your testimony when the
7 Senator comes, if that is agreeable.

8 Your testimony follows very logically, I understand, that
9 of Senator Cranston, so, we thought we would proceed with you.

10 And now I am going to have to ask our witnesses, despite
11 the desire to listen to every word, to abbreviate it because
12 we have a very busy day in the Senate. We are trying to get
13 these hearings completed, but we want to give real consideration
14 to the proposals which you have made. So, if you will give us
15 the suggestions for constructive legislation, and we will
16 incorporate in the record all of your prepared statement, and
17 this will go for every witness. I am going to ask that we
18 limit the witnesses to ten minutes. Thank you.

19 STATEMENT OF LEONARD SUSSMAN

20 Mr. Sussman. I do have a prepared statement, and I'll
21 only read about ten minutes' worth of it, at your suggestion.

22 I appreciate the opportunity on behalf of Freedom House
23 to appear here today, to express our views on the human rights
24 amendment to the International Security Assistance and Arms
25 Control Act of 1975.

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1 Freedom House is a national, voluntary educational
2 organization with its headquarters in New York City. It was
3 founded 35 years ago to help mobilize American opinion in support
4 of Great Britain and the Allies then under Nazi and Fascist
5 assault. We presently conduct research, publication and advisory
6 programs to help strengthen free institutions in the United
7 States and around the world.

8 By means of our Comparative Survey of Freedom we have
9 established and continually seek to refine a universal standard
10 for measuring the level of human rights in every nation and
11 dependent territory. We do not set forth the American political
12 system as the standard, nor do we assume western liberal
13 democracy is necessarily the highest form of political develop-
14 ment, though it does presently provide varied forms of compara-
15 tively free societies.

16 We stress the adjective "comparative" - our judgments are,
17 in reality, comparisons of the state of individual freedom from
18 one country to another and, from time to time, within a given
19 country. We attempt to discover by this method whether in any
20 given time span there is an improvement or deterioration in the
21 liberties actually ensured the citizens of one country and all
22 countries.

23 I believe that our Comparative Survey of Freedom prompted
24 your Committee's invitation to testify today. I shall, however,
25 express one caveat. I will not discuss, as a spokesman for

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1 Freedom House, provision (a) of Amendment No. 1155 which
2 states that,

3 "no security assistance may be provided to any government
4 which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of
5 internationally recognized human rights."

6 The Board of Trustees of Freedom House would wholeheartedly
7 support an effort to employ America's influence to assist
8 persons denied basic human rights. But the Board, in my view,
9 would be divided on the efficacy of barring security assistance
10 primarily on the basis of violations of human rights by a
11 recipient or potential recipient country, for there may be
12 overriding American national security considerations. Or, it
13 may be clear that the introduction or continuance of U. S.
14 security assistance will have a salutary effect in diminishing
15 severe restrictions on human rights within a particular country.

16 Further, a consistent pattern of gross violations may not
17 be established, though occasional or even aberrant examples of
18 such violations may be apparent. For this reason in particular
19 we shall stress the use of informational disclosure by our
20 government. For in our view, the United States Government
21 cannot ignore the blatant violation of basic human decencies
22 anywhere. Certainly we cannot when, as a nation, we undertake
23 specific security assistances which directly or indirectly
24 sustain a regime whose practices violate not only the Universal
25 Declaration of Human Rights but the fundamental premises and

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1 practices of our own nation.

2 It should not any longer be arguable that once a nation
3 engages in gross violations of human rights, that nation has
4 forfeited its right to plead immunity from appropriate inter-
5 national response. Vile treatment of one's own citizens cannot
6 be considered an "internal affair". Multi-national declarations
7 from 1945 through the Conference on European Security and
8 Cooperation at Helsinki this summer have stigmatized abuses of
9 citizens within sovereign nation-states and described numerous
10 ameliorative responses.

11 While we shall not address the pragmatic question of
12 whether the United States should bar security aid to countries
13 grossly violating human rights, we welcome this opportunity to
14 express our view on provision (b) of Amendment No. 1155.

15 "The President shall transmit to Congress as part of the
16 presentation materials for security assistance for each fiscal
17 year, a statement for each country proposed as a recipient of
18 security assistance on the status of gross violations of inter-
19 nationally recognized human rights."

20 Such information should be made available to all relevant
21 agencies in the Executive Branch and transmitted to the Congress,
22 the American people, and indeed the nation which is under
23 consideration for assistance. Disseminating human rights data
24 in this manner would, in the first instance, re-confirm our
25 nation's traditional ideals. Such regularized concentration on

1 human rights cannot fail to demonstrate America's concern for
2 oppressed peoples. It should then be possible for this govern-
3 ment to act simultaneously on two levels.

4 We may, for example, take pragmatic steps with respect to
5 trade or other forms of binational relationships while expressing
6 earnestly our concern for the foreign citizens suffering gross
7 violations of human rights. Nations with considerably less
8 influence than the United States follow such a two-tiered pattern.

9 Many Third World states and, of course, the Soviet Union
10 do not hesitate to criticize American society and governmental
11 policies in the sharpest terms, while simultaneously negotiating
12 with us for varied purposes.

13 It is possible for this government or any other - and even
14 for independent political scientists - to set forth criteria
15 which can be applied to all countries with equal relevance and
16 integrity?

17 It has been argued that it is not possible to create an
18 objective standard to test the conduct of all nations with
19 regard to conditions of human rights. There are, it is said,
20 vastly different cultures, traditions and juridical, social,
21 economic and political systems. Freedom House rejects this view.
22 We believe there is, first, a commonality - the humanity of all
23 peoples - that transcends national borders. Flowing from the
24 oneness of humanity is the responsibility of leaders to
25 eradicate the present incarnations of our common dark past.

1 The medieval torture rack may have given way to the sophisticated
2 electric shock treatment, but both must be anathematized today.

3 United Nations, since its inception, has described many
4 domestic activities in nation states, deemed to be universally
5 prescribed, torture in many forms; slavery in several aspects;
6 maltreatment of woman and children. There is a sizeable body
7 of human rights definitions and proscriptions; the code obviously
8 is more observed in the breach than in practice, but the U.N.
9 nevertheless provides substantial proof that certain fundamental
10 human rights can be universalized.

11 Freedom House believes it is not only possible to describe
12 and discover the most abhorrent acts of violence against human
13 beings. We have also demonstrated the value of establishing
14 criteria for a standard of individual freedom that goes beyond
15 recording gross violations and describes as well the degree of
16 movement toward a generally free society. We recognize, of
17 course, that in a universe of great diversity, any judgment may
18 be regarded as subjective, ethnocentric, or serving a particular
19 national interest. Yet, the right to be safe from torture has
20 already achieved sufficient standing as a fundamental right, so
21 that even countries practicing torture found it necessary to
22 deplore it as a formal governmental practice. We believe there
23 are other fundamental human needs or rights. The list must be
24 extended as disclosure of restrictive practices directs the issue
25 more effectively to the consciences of nations.

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1 A pervasive factor of human existence today is the individual's
2 ability or inability to make real choices concerning the basic
3 patterns of life, particularly with regard to the impact of
4 government on the individual. Though there are widely differing
5 social, economic and political systems, it is possible to dis-
6 cover the extent to which every government today permits the
7 individuals under its jurisdiction to exert freedom of choice
8 in political and civil affairs. Such freedom - or its absence -
9 reflects the level of political and civil liberty in each country.

10 Freedom House for four years has maintained such a year-
11 round analysis under the direction of Dr. Raymond D. Gastil. We
12 readily acknowledge our limitations. We labor constantly to
13 improve our methods and judgments. We receive a regular flow of
14 information from governments, specialists in the geographic
15 areas, experts in law and human rights, press accounts from
16 reporters of many nationalities, international associations
17 concerned with freedom of communication, and others. The still
18 greater flow of data we seek is dependent upon the funding of
19 additional supportive studies.

20 Our Survey has attracted world-wide attention. United
21 States Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan, addressing the United
22 Nations, November 12, employed our data extensively in intro-
23 ducing the resolution calling for amnesty for all political
24 prisoners. His effort, aborted by onerous amendments by other
25 nations, should be only the beginning of such informational

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1 disclosure of human rights violations. We are particularly
2 encouraged by the attention given the Survey by scholars in
3 several disciplines in this country and abroad, by print and
4 broadcast, press coverage has been rather extensive.

5 It may be of interest, too, the other governments regularly
6 approach us for information on the Survey. There is, patently,
7 a yearning by thoughtful persons in many countries for a
8 universally applicable standard of human rights, even if that
9 standard is not now universally acceptable by governments,
10 particularly those whose human rights standards are low.

11 Whether or not any other nation formally supports the
12 development of such human rights judgments as our Comparative
13 Survey of Freedom, it is, we believe, essential for the United
14 States Government to have access to such information.

15 Indeed, we have recently so argued before the Committee on
16 Government Operations of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on
17 Investigations. In connection with Senator Jackson's hearing,
18 November 18, on the American role in encouraging respect for
19 freedom to write and publish in the international community, we
20 maintained that "Every agency of the Government of the United
21 States which has responsibility for negotiating with other
22 governments should take into account in negotiations the
23 character of the government with which our country negotiates."

24 We described the increasing impact of human rights issues
25 on international affairs and listed 26 widely used forms of

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1 repression. We concluded that the influence of the U. S.
2 Government and private citizens - in commercial or cultural
3 exchanges - should hereafter be employed, in effect, to barter
4 the expansion of a particular country's domestic freedoms for
5 its acquisition of American products of expertise.

6 We have seen some salutary changes, reluctantly made, by
7 repressive governments in embarrassed response to American
8 opinion - almost solely voiced by private citizens and their
9 organizations. Freedom House calls for the regular description
10 of human rights violations abroad. We ask that some agency of
11 the U. S. Government qualify itself to specify the level of
12 human rights in every nation. And we ask that the vast communi-
13 cations networks at our command be employed to disseminate this
14 information on a regular basis and whenever special situations
15 require it.

16 In conclusion - I shall not read the data on each country
17 that is included in my statement - I'll be glad to answer
18 questions regarding the data. Please, bear in mind that this
19 is a brief summary of the vast volume of information which
20 goes into the judgment of the political and civil liberty
21 status in each country.

22 Thank you.

23 Senator Humphrey. Mr. Sussman, we want to especially thank
24 you for coming before us, representing Freedom House, a highly
25 respected institution. We appreciate your constructive

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1 suggestions. We would even appreciate it more if you would put
2 your hand to drawing up appropriate legislative language in the
3 form of the proper amendment; however, I'll ask our staff to
4 be working on that.

5 I like the suggestions that you made here. You believe,
6 apparently, that the power of information has a continuing and
7 postive effect.

8 Mr. Sussman. Very much so. I would be delighted to work
9 with the staff people on that.

10 Senator Humphrey. We will ask the people to work with you.
11 Senator Leahy?

12 Senator Leahy. No questions.

13 Senator Humphrey. Senator Cranston?

14 Senator Cranston. No questions.

15 Senator Humphrey. Thank you very, very much for your
16 statement, it was a very good statement.

17 (The complete statement of Leonard Sussman is as follows:)
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

1 Senator Humphrey. Senator Kennedy, we welcome your testimony
2 and presence here; please proceed.

3 STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE EDWARD M. KENNEDY

4 Senator Kennedy. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and
5 Members of the Committee.

6 I want to thank you for the opportunity to appear before
7 the Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance this afternoon to testify
8 on the serious issue of U. S. sales of conventional arms world-
9 wide.

10 May I summarize the testimony and submit the complete
11 text for the record?

12 Senator Humphrey. It will be printed as written.

13 Senator Kennedy. Mr. Chairman, I would like first of all
14 to compliment you for your leadership and concern in this area,
15 and for your efforts to bring some sense, reason, and control to
16 our escalating and potentially dangerous arms sales abroad. The
17 Arms Export Control Act, S. 2662, which you introduced, is a
18 major contribution in the effort to impose congressional over-
19 sight and control over weapons sales. I strongly support its
20 prompt adoption.

21 This legislation, Mr. Chairman, is coming none too soon,
22 for it relates to a basic change in the pattern of military
23 power in the world - a basic change in the prospects for peace
24 in many areas of the globe - a basic change in the level of
25 resources available in developing countries for food, clothes,

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1 housing, education and health.

2 What we do about the worldwide trade in arms will also set
3 major precedents for the U.S. role abroad for many years. In
4 many cases, arms sales have already become the most important
5 relationship between us and other countries. And they risk even
6 deeper U. S. involvement in regional security - and possibly
7 regional conflict - than any of us are prepared to accept today.
8 We will gain little from withdrawing from areas that are not in
9 our vital interest, if we then turn around and raise the spectre
10 of "Vietnams by proxy" in many parts of the world.

11 Mr. Chairman, from a figure of only \$300 million in 1952,
12 the worldwide trade in arms has grown to more than \$18 billion
13 annually - an increase of over 6,000 percent - with four nations
14 controlling 95 percent of the traffic. Clearly, this is a global
15 problem. But by any measure, the United States is far and away
16 the world's chief arms merchant.

17 In fiscal year 1970, U.S. sales under the Foreign Military
18 Sales program totalled just over \$900,000. The next year, it
19 rose to \$1.6 billion. It doubled within two years, and more than
20 tripled again in the next two-year period - rising to nearly \$11
21 billion by fiscal year '74. And more than half of those arms
22 sales were to the Persian Gulf - one of the most vital and
23 volatile areas of the world.

24 At the same time, U.S. commercial arms deliveries have
25 quadrupled in the past two years, and are expected to reach over

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1 \$2 billion this fiscal year. This year, therefore, we will be
2 accepting FMS orders, and delivering commercially-sold weapons
3 to the tune of \$11.9 billion - including a staggering \$8.3 billion
4 to the Gulf alone. Few aspects of our foreign or military
5 policies have witnessed a more dazzling rise. Yet, few have
6 received less reasoned scrutiny and review from the Congress.

7 Mr. Chairman, these decisions should not be made on the
8 spur of the moment, out of the hip-pocket of traveling leaders,
9 or outside a set of procedures that would show that all factors
10 are taken into account. Despite all my efforts, I have still
11 not been able to learn of any such procedures, either from the
12 State or Defense Department, that make any sense.

13 Today, we are seeking to gain that review and control, as
14 part of our constitutional responsibility in foreign policy.

15 We first need, Mr. Chairman, precise guidelines for under-
16 standing in action, not to stop all arms sales, but to intro-
17 duce a sense of proportion.

18 First, we must stop accepting uncritically the notion that
19 the sale of arms is an effective way to buy influence with
20 foreign governments. No one understands this better than the
21 Members of this Committee, it didn't help us in the particular
22 issues that brought about the conflict between India and Pakistan,
23 Turkey and Greece; and it has not provided us any substantial
24 influence in Chile, a situation you are extremely familiar with.
25 That, I believe, is an empty argument.

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1 Second, we in the United States must understand and limit
2 the role that our military personnel play in the definition that
3 any state makes of its own security needs. This is an essential
4 bar to the inclusion of your own legislation.

5 Third, we must make our own independent assessments of
6 the military needs of buyer states, and of potential contra-
7 dictions involved in the supply of arms to different countries
8 in the same region. I point out here, Mr. Chairman, this is
9 a very essential aspect of this program. In spite of the
10 statements of many of the leaders, including the Shah of Iran,
11 that they have the complete right and opportunity to make any
12 of these decisions and state that any seller nations should not
13 interfere in these various choices. But, quite clearly, we
14 have a clear responsibility in these areas.

15 Fourth, we must separate how we pay for oil, from our
16 policy on arms policy. The price is not worth it if we are
17 only buying an increased risk of tensions, instability, and
18 even conflict; conflict from which we could only with difficulty
19 remain aloof.

20 And I might mention here, Mr. Chairman, that all you have to
21 do is look at the increase in costs of fuel oil, or the price
22 of oil generally, and the increase in purchase of various arms
23 by these respective countries, and you will find out that it's
24 the consumer, the home owner that is purchasing the home heating
25 oil, purchasing the gasoline, on either the farms of Minnesota,

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1 or Vermont, or Massachusetts, to find out that we are effectively
2 providing the resources for these arms programs, which I think
3 are failing to achieve any sensible, responsible policy objectives.
4 Let us therefore challenge the Administration, is it selling
5 arms simply to give us a positive balance of payments? Is it
6 risking peace in the world as a way of masking its economic
7 failure at home; and is it blindly encouraging the oil-producing
8 states to push the oil price up and up, to pay for arms? I
9 think the people of the United States want clear answers to
10 these questions.

11 Fifth, the United States must work directly with the buyer
12 nations, both individually and on a regional basis, in seeking
13 to reach common understanding on their future political and
14 military security - within and among states.

15 Sixth, the United States should begin now to try working
16 with both major arms sellers and buyers to try developing
17 guidelines on the control of arms, particularly on a regional
18 basis. We are often told that other seller states would not
19 join us in such limitations, but, there are few indications
20 that this approach has even been tried. Too often it is
21 condemned as unworkable without being tested; and too often
22 congressional efforts in this area are simply ignored, evaded.

23 You, Mr. Chairman, are extremely aware of amendments
24 that have been offered by myself and other Members of this
25 body, writing this particular provision in legislation, to put

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1 the whole question of arms on the agenda in Geneva. And despite
2 of the fact that that has been legislated in the statute, we
3 have found few initiatives by the Administration in this area.

4 Not long ago we had the Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger,
5 before our Energy Subcommittee. - you are the Chairman of the
6 Joint Economic Committee - the Energy Subcommittee of the Joint
7 Economic Committee, and raised this particular issue with him.
8 He feels that it is worthy, it's a valuable idea and suggestion,
9 but still, I must say, I have been disappointed that we have not
10 had a higher sense of priority for putting that on the agenda
11 of important items with our allies and our adversaries, particular-
12 ly the Soviet Union.

13 Finally, we must face the prospect that the flow of arms
14 may not stop with conventional weapons. It is increasingly
15 unlikely that traditional inhibitions on building nuclear
16 weapons will hold much longer unless serious efforts are made to
17 reduce sources of conflict in various parts of the world, and to
18 regulate conventional arms races between powers that have the
19 ability to produce the bomb.

20 Mr. Chairman, S. 2662 fulfills several of these guidelines,
21 relating to arms sales, in specific ways; and I commend you
22 for your comprehensive approach. However, may I suggest some
23 areas in which I believe this valuable bill could be strengthened.

24 First, I believe that Section 210 of this bill would be
25 greatly strengthened by adopted an approach similar to that

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1 suggested by our colleague from Wisconsin, Mr. Nelson, in S. 854.
2 In addition to requiring estimates and explanations for arms
3 sales, Congress should take the responsibility to authorize at
4 the start of each fiscal year the specific level of arms sales,
5 credit sales, or guarantees, to individual countries. No sales
6 for the next year could then exceed these approved figures
7 without presidential waiver for emergency situations.

8 Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the difficulties of Congress
9 legislating on arms sales, but I believe it is a responsibility
10 that we should be willing to bear, as we seek to play a positive
11 and constructive role in this area. It would ensure that the
12 Administration has thought through its own intentions even
13 more clearly than under a provision requiring only non-binding
14 estimates. And it would ensure that we fully understand all
15 the implications of arms sales.

16 These stronger provisions would also help to solve a
17 practical problem. Even though we now have authority to reject
18 arms sales over \$25 million - within 20 days - it is difficult
19 to know which straw will break the camel's back - which arms
20 sale is the one where we should say, "enough is enough". It is
21 also difficult for us to see the emerging pattern of arms sales
22 to particular countries, or to a region as a whole, when we
23 can only see and act on them in bits and pieces. Your Section
24 212, on reporting authority, will help, but I believe it is
25 still essential to tie that in with annual, positive authorizations,

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1 rather than a piecemeal veto on individual sales.

2 I think the record on this, Mr. Chairman, is quite clear,
3 the Congress has only exercised the Nelson amendment one time.
4 And even though it's comprehensive in terms of its approach,
5 it just makes the point which I observed there, it's awfully
6 difficult for us by piece-by-piece measure, to find out which
7 will be the matter which we should object to.

8 And I must say, when we are talking about the magnitude
9 of this problem, it does seem to me that it does require the
10 best estimates of our foreign policy and Defense Department
11 officials to be able to, on an issue which is as important
12 and significant as this, to really make the kind of careful
13 estimation which we can, from a policy point of view, evaluate
14 for a period of at least a year ahead.

15 And then, if the President has made a particular judgment
16 for whatever particular reason, that additional kinds of sales
17 are necessary, he can come back with some kind of a supplemental
18 and bring this again up to Congress to make a judgment. I would
19 certainly support any kind of a proposal such as that.

20 Secondly, the Administration should at least be required
21 to come to the Congress for positive authorization, not just
22 subjecting sales to Congressional veto, when the level of arms
23 sales reaches a particular level for any country. Therefore,
24 if my more comprehensive approach is not accepted, I urge you
25 to consider a requirement for positive Congressional action

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1 after the first \$250 million sales to any country in any one
2 year, or every \$250 million increment thereafter.

3 Now, I know the point can be made to say, "Well, what are
4 we going to do with a country like Iran, where we have \$8.3 billion
5 that is going to be sold over this particular year, does this
6 mean a series of requests?" Well, it may very well, if the
7 decision is to go this particular route. That would apply
8 perhaps in a more exaggerated way to Iran than perhaps the
9 other arms sales to other countries. It wouldn't be as desirable
10 as our first suggestion, but it is one that I hope would be
11 given consideration.

12 Third, I urge you to reinforce Sections 105 and 203 of
13 the bill, by requiring arms control impact statements from the
14 Arms Control and Disarmament Agency at the beginning of each
15 year.

16 Senator Humphrey. You know, we have that impact statement
17 on new weapons systems in the State Department authorization
18 now. You are suggesting that we have the impact statement as
19 to sales, as to the effect of sales in particular areas.

20 Senator Kennedy. Exactly, Mr. Chairman, for similar kinds
21 of reasons that the other is so included. It's to bring that
22 particular dimension to this problem. It seems to me that in
23 the attempt to try and get the arms control concept built into
24 this whole kind of practice and procedure is one which I think
25 would have benefits for our national interest; to get the ACDA's

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1 views and not just indirectly. We know we get it in an indirect
2 way, the Administration states that; but to get the direct
3 input, I think, would be of value.

4 Fourth, S. 2662 expresses "the sense of the Congress that
5 the President should seek to initiate multilateral discussions
6 among the principal arms suppliers and other countries with
7 respect to the control of the worldwide trade in armaments."

8 As I have indicated earlier, Mr. Chairman, it is important
9 to include both sellers and buyers in efforts to control the
10 sale of arms. One group without the other will not suffice.
11 Therefore, I believe the bill should be quite specific on this
12 point. It should also stress bilateral, as well as multilateral
13 efforts at arms control, and regional efforts among arms buyers
14 themselves.

15 I believe that we should also set a timetable for initiating
16 these efforts - say, within six months - and require precise
17 and detailed reports to the Congress.

18 Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to raise one particular
19 example that I believe should be given special consideration -
20 although it may be outside the compass of this bill itself. That
21 is military aid to Chile. I believe that the continuing facts
22 of repression in that country make clear the responsibility
23 of the United States to cease all military aid to the junta. I
24 have introduced an amendment to S. 1816 that would do so. I
25 raise the issue here, as an example of the need for the Congress

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1 to be able at the beginning of every fiscal year to legislate
2 on arms sales, as well.

3 I know Senator Cranston has appeared earlier, talking
4 about the issue of halting arms sales to those countries that
5 are violating basic human rights, and has raised this whole
6 question of human rights, which I think is extremely important.
7 So, I know the Committee is sensitized to this issue.

8 In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I know that you have thought
9 long and hard about the implications for the Congress of seeking
10 to take on the responsibilities contained in S. 2662 in such
11 a precise and comprehensive manner. There will be little value
12 in legislating new powers for the Congress, if we than fail to
13 act on them. There will be little value in all the estimates,
14 reports and justifications we are asking from the Administration
15 if we fail to do the work required to understand our arms sales
16 policies - and to take appropriate action. Although the law
17 now gives us 20 calendar days to veto proposed arms sales
18 over \$25 million, we have sought to exercise that authority, as
19 I mentioned, only on the Hawk missile for Jordan; and to my
20 knowledge we took a careful look only at one or two other
21 proposed sales.

22 Does that mean we agree with all the arms sales made in
23 the past year - nearly \$10 billion worth? Or does it mean that
24 we have simply not been using effectively the authority we
25 already have? Whatever the answer, we must take seriously the

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1 new responsibilities asked for under this legislation.

2 Mr. Chairman, I know that we in the Senate can look to you
3 and to the Subcommittee, to continue your leadership in seeing
4 we do this. You will have my firm support, and I know that of
5 our other colleagues in the Senate.

6 I appreciate the chance to present these views to you this
7 afternoon.

8 In my complete statement we elaborate on a number of these
9 points. I also indicate some of the exchanges that we have had
10 with the Secretary of Defense on the particular issue of the
11 arms, Persian arms sales that I know you are familiar with,
12 the various legislative approaches we have taken, and what
13 I consider to be the really woeful failure of the Administration
14 to respond to these questions in terms of the Persian arms
15 sales at this time.

16 Senator Humphrey. Senator Kennedy, we are very grateful,
17 not only for your statement, but I must say for your specific
18 suggestions and proposals relating to the bill before us; and
19 the amendment that you have offered in lieu of the proposal
20 offered by the Administration.

21 I can assure you that each of the proposals that you out-
22 lined, that you gave us, four or five of them in the concluding
23 part of your statement, will be given the most serious
24 consideration. Many of them, I feel very strongly, ought to be
25 incorporated.

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1 I think you will be pleased to know that the Act of the
2 Arms Control and Disarmament Agency now is directly involved -
3 not indirectly - in the review of arms sales policy, only now
4 because within the last couple of weeks the President has signed
5 a new State Department Authorization Act. We had strong
6 resistance from the Department of Defense on this matter, and
7 we were worried for a while it might be vetoed, the whole bill;
8 but we were able to overcome that.

9 Likewise, I find myself impressed with your proposal to
10 having ceilings for total annual authorizations of sales, and
11 then, if there are specific demands beyond that, to consider
12 them individually.

13 We have taken a different approach, as you know, in the
14 bill, in our amendment, where we can in a sense act in a negative
15 way. I think that your proposal is a very sound one. I won't
16 take any more of your time to go over it, except to tell you
17 that while you were testifying I have spoken to Mr. Moose, the
18 staff director of our Subcommittee, to take a very hard look at
19 all of your proposals, and to work with whoever you want to
20 designate to work with us, to see if we can't incorporate some
21 of these features. Mr. Norvill Jones was very instrumental,
22 from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff, in preparing
23 the legislation that I have introduced; I want to compliment
24 him, again, publicly.

25 This is to me the most vital piece of legislation that we

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1 will handle in this Subcommittee for a long time because as I
2 see it, today the arms sales policy is nothing but business;
3 it doesn't seem to relate to any moral purpose, national security
4 policy, or any political objective. It's just a way to pay
5 for goods and make sales. I believe what you are trying to do
6 is get a handle on it from a policy point of view.

7 Senator Kennedy. Exactly.

8 Senator Humphrey. Senator Leahy?

9 We have asked members of the Armed Services Committee to
10 join with us here. While we have the jurisdiction, needless
11 to say, the Members of the Armed Services Committee are very
12 concerned. Senator Leahy?

13 Senator Leahy. Mr. Chairman, I just want to applaud
14 the statement of our colleague, Senator Kennedy. I'm especially
15 interested in his comment about "the possible creation of
16 Vietnams by proxy". That is a matter of a great deal of concern
17 to me, and I know a matter of a great concern both to the
18 Chairman and Senator Kennedy for even a longer time.

19 Aside from the human questions in this in this, it applies to
20 the Armed Services. We have these sales, and they bear no
21 relationship to any kind of policy that anybody could point to,
22 where anybody could say, "Is that the policy of this country".
23 There seem to be economic interests, or sometimes almost
24 transcend foreign policy interests, "Who do we owe a favor to
25 at the moment, who do we want to impress at the moment?"

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1 We have many times, in our own greed, in our own passing
2 interest, we have been pushing some countries 50 years, in some
3 instances 100 years beyond their technological capability; many
4 times beyond our own military capabilities in this country.

5 But at the time, if there is ever a time, the United States
6 should be exercising moral leadership, we fall way away from
7 that in so many aspects, time and time again, in our military
8 sales.

9 Mr. Chairman, I'm pleased that we can be associated with
10 this Subcommittee; I agree with you, that is the most important
11 issue that has come before it because it is setting some kind
12 of a policy, some kind of an oversight that we can actually
13 do here in Congress because from a military point of view, there
14 seems to be very little overall policy - from an economic
15 point of view, or from the foreign policy view itself - at
16 least at the Executive level.

17 Senator Humphrey. Senator, I think the point you made about
18 the lack of oversight under the Nelson amendment is well taken.
19 I would like to tell you that it's only been within the last
20 months that we have had the Subcommittee - staff specifically -
21 assigned.

22 Senator Kennedy. That's right.

23 Senator Humphrey. But that Nelson amendment needs to be
24 exercised, the oversight function that we have here.

25 Senator Kennedy. I would hope that with the review on

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1 oversight they would also consider, perhaps, the proposition
2 where some of these sales may be somewhat below the Nelson, but
3 there may be a sequence of them, two or three different sales
4 of \$25 million, in order to perhaps in some way circumvent
5 what is the clear intention of the Congress.

6 Senator Humphrey. I think we'll be aware of that.

7 Senator Cranston, do you have any questions?

8 Senator Cranston. I have no questions.

9 Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much, Senator Kennedy.

10 Senator Kennedy. Thank you, sir.

11 (The written statement of Senator Edward M. Kennedy is
12 as follows:)

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Page determined to be Unclassified
Reviewed Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
IAW EO 13526, Section 3.5
Date: Oct 23, 2018

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1 Senator Humphrey. Is Reverend Wilson here? I understand
2 you have to catch a plane. We have your statement here, Reverend
3 Wilson. I'm going to ask Mr. Sternstein to bear with us and
4 let Reverend Wilson have just a few minutes. Will you do that?

5 Mr. Sternstein. Certainly.

6 Senator Humphrey. I'm not going to ask you to read the
7 statement, I know that you have to get on that plane.

8 STATEMENT OF REVEREND PAUL WILSON

9 Reverend Wilson. Thank you very much for the privilege of
10 being here.

11 I am an employee of the International Association of the
12 Christian Church, Disciples of Christ, in Indianapolis. In
13 September, 1973, I entered the Philippines at the invitation of
14 the Philippine National Council of Churches to serve as a
15 missionary on their staff.

16 After less than ten months as part of a general round-up
17 of the National Council of Churches of the Philippine Leadership,
18 I, my wife, and our ten-year old son were arrested and detained.
19 Our ten-year old son was allowed to leave the jail after two
20 days; my wife after ten days, and at the end of 16 days I was
21 forced to accept voluntary departure. I was put on a plane out
22 of the country.

23 While a political prisoner in the Philippines I heard the
24 screams of men and women; I saw and felt the wounds, the
25 abrasions, the bruises on the bodies. I was told by political

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1 prisoners in their own words of the torture that they had
2 experienced and felt, of rape, truth serum, hypnosis, beatings,
3 burnings, electrical shocks to various parts of the body, and
4 even the use of hard drug addiction and withdrawal in the effort
5 to get political prisoners to confess to crimes they had not
6 committed.

7 There are today, by an estimate of an international
8 organization that is studying the Philippines, since the imposition
9 of martial law some 52,000 Philipinos who have been arrested
10 for political reasons. Today, it is my best estimate that there
11 are over 12,000 Philipinos who are being held, for the most
12 part, without charge, without trial, hearings, without a lawyer,
13 without due process. They have been tortured, are being tortured,
14 or will be tortured.

15 It is my belief that the United States is, in part at least,
16 responsible for the Philippine political prisoners in that it
17 seems to me, we have given the appearance of encouraging and
18 supporting the repressive government in the Philippines.

19 The foreign military assistance bill now being recommended
20 by the Administration calls for \$55 million in military assistance
21 to the Philippines. This asking will mean that in the last four
22 years, since the declaration of martial law in the Philippines,
23 as compared with the four years prior to martial law in the
24 Philippines, the military asking in assistance to the Philippines
25 has been increased by over one hundred percent.

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1 The sharp increase of over 150 percent this year over last
2 year of the foreign military sales credits with virtually no
3 decrease, let me add, in the "MAP" budget, will lead to a greater
4 dependency of the Philippine military upon the United States.
5 It is interesting to know that prior to the declaration of
6 martial law the Philippine government had no access to FMS
7 credits.

8 It appears to me that the present situation in the
9 Philippines, and this present military assistance asking for
10 the Philippines directly violates the consensus of Congress,
11 Section 502B; and I therefore would strongly urge and hope that
12 in any kind of a human rights amendment generally, that that
13 kind of amendment could be attached to the foreign military
14 assistance bill that would include such countries as the
15 Philippines, South Korea, Indonesia.

16 I would further hope that in the interim, while a human
17 rights amendment is being implemented, that an immediate cut-off
18 of military assistance to the Philippines would be accomplished
19 through legislation; and I would certainly hope that as long
20 as the Philippine government persists in the repression of
21 45 million Filipinos, that in any list of the countries denying
22 human rights, in the enforcement of human rights amendments to
23 foreign economic aid, and hopefully military assistance, that
24 the Philippines would be on that list.

25 To approve the Administration's asking of \$55.8 million

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1 in military assistance to the Philippines will be to say to
2 the present government of the Philippines that we condone and
3 will continue to support the repressive measures of the
4 Philippines; and will say to the world that the United States
5 will continue to support that kind of government.

6 It is my hope and the hope of Church people at the National
7 Council of Church's level, and across this nation that, as we
8 celebrate two hundred years of freedom, and justice, and
9 liberty, that we will say to the world that we will no longer
10 be in the business of exporting to other governments the
11 capabilities to perpetuate tyranny, torture and terror in the
12 world.

13 Senator Humphrey. Reverend Wilson, do I understand that
14 you are not only speaking in your own, individual capacity,
15 but as a representative of the National Council of Churches?

16 Reverend Wilson. I am working under the auspices of the
17 National Council of Churches, and also on the staff of the
18 Christian Church, Disciples of Christ.

19 Senator Humphrey. Does your statement represent your
20 views, or their views?

21 Reverend Wilson. It represents my views, but I would like
22 to append my statement by the inclusion of two resolutions, one
23 from the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches
24 regarding human rights; and the second a resolution from the
25 International Assembly of the Christian Church this past summer,

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1 regarding human rights in Asia, particularly the Philippines.

2 Senator Humphrey. We welcome these additional resolutions
3 to your testimony, they will be very helpful. We will have
4 printed, of course, in the record your entire statement, as we
5 do all witnesses'.

6 Reverend Wilson. Thank you.

7 Senator Humphrey. I took the initiative of contacting the
8 government of the Philippines, to seek permission for entrance
9 by Amnesty International, so that they could make some inquiry
10 into that area. Are you at all familiar with the findings of
11 Amnesty International on the Philippines?

12 Reverend Wilson. It is my understanding that the team is
13 still there, in the Philippines.

14 Senator Humphrey. They are still there.

15 Reverend Wilson. It is my hope that they have received
16 the cooperation of the government of the Philippines. It is
17 my understanding that on previous occasions they have not received
18 cooperation.

19 Senator Humphrey. I think they were having considerable
20 difficulty. We took that up with the government, and I hope
21 they are receiving cooperation.

22 Well, I know you have to catch a plane. I want to thank you
23 very much. Do my colleagues, either Senator wish to make any
24 comments?

25 Senator Javits. No, I appreciate the testimony very much.

1 Reverend Wilson. I would like to introduce my colleague,
2 Severine Rivera.

3 Senator Humphrey. Is your associate working with you?

4 Reverend Wilson. She is working here in Washington, yes.

5 Senator Humphrey. In the Washington office.

6 Reverend Wilson. Friends of the Filipino People. It's a
7 national organization of individuals around the country who are
8 concerned about the denial of civil liberties and human rights
9 in the Philippines, and particularly the United States involvement
10 in that.

11 Senator Humphrey. Very good.

12 Reverend Wilson. We have a long and warm friendship with
13 that country and the people in the Philippines are democracy
14 loving, and hopefully will be able to enjoy that freedom soon.

15 Senator Humphrey. We thank you, and we surely join in
16 the expression of your concern. I asked you the question because
17 I want to document more fully your relationship here because I
18 think your testimony is very important.

19 Reverend Wilson. Thank you very much.

20 Senator Humphrey. Thank you, sir.

21 (The written statement of Reverend Paul Wilson is as
22 follows:)

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1 Senator Humphrey. Now, I do thank the other witnesses for
2 their consideration of all these adjustments in our hearing
3 schedule.

4 Mr. Sternstein, we have you here, and we want to welcome
5 you. Joseph P. Sternstein, President of the Zionist Organization
6 of America with headquarters in New York.

7 Mr. Sternstein, may I first say how much I regret that
8 I didn't have a chance to visit with you.

9 Mr. Sternstein. I understand very well.

10 Senator Humphrey. The work in the Senate didn't permit
11 it.

12 STATEMENT OF JOSEPH P. STERNSTEIN

13 Mr. Sternstein. I understand very well, Senator, and I
14 appreciate the fact that even in the brief time we had time to
15 exchange greetings.

16 Mr. Chairman, my name is Rabbi Joseph P. Sternstein, and
17 I am appearing here in my capacity as President of the Zionist
18 Organization of America. I merely want to append to my written
19 statement my own pride at the fact that I do represent the
20 Zionist Organization, an illustrious name in the history of
21 liberation movements of the world; contrary, alas, to the
22 infamous notorious act of the United Nations during the past
23 days.

24 With me is Mr. Beinesh Epstein, who is a consultant to the
25 Zionist Organization of America.

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1 Does that red light mean something for me?

2 Senator Humphrey. Go right ahead, that just means something
3 for me.

4 Mr. Sternstein. The Zionist Organization of America was
5 founded here in 1897 with the objectives of intensifying American
6 Jewry's commitment to the Zionist ideal of a creative Jewish
7 community, and to forge living fraternal bonds with the people
8 of Israel and Jewish communities throughout the world, while at
9 the same time encouraging our people to be cognizant of their
10 historic past and active participants in American life.

11 It is a great pleasure to be able to testify before this
12 Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance in support of the Security
13 Assistance Program. I would like especially to discuss the
14 vital place of Israel in this program and the importance of
15 supporting the full amount of military and economic aid requested
16 for Israel.

17 As Americans, we are intensely concerned with the best
18 interests of our beloved country. As Zionists who are proud that
19 we were among the first to seek and work for the establishment
20 of a Jewish state, we are profoundly involved with Israel's
21 survival and viability. These two concerns are not contradictory.
22 In fact, they are complementary because we believe that the best
23 interests of the United States in the Middle East are served
24 by being able to rely upon a strong and positive friend, which
25 Israel has proved to be since its establishment.

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1 The interim agreement between Israel and Egypt, which was
2 brought about by the United States, was made possible by the
3 far-reaching concessions made by Israel. These included the
4 yielding of vital oil supplies as well as substantial territory,
5 comprising highly strategic military positions. In this regard,
6 Mr. Chairman, I want to note that Israel left the "Aborodais"
7 Oil Field in the best of conditions, living up fully and
8 completely to her part of the bargain.

9 In this effort for peace, Israel paid a heavy price by
10 agreeing to steps that affected her economy and security adversely.
11 On balance, it should be emphasized that Egypt brusquely
12 rejected appeals to renounce the state of belligerency, much
13 less take any major steps toward peace. The interim agreement
14 thus has resulted in substantial gains for Egypt at the expense
15 of Israel.

16 The fact that Israel gave up the critical Gidi and Mitla
17 passes in the Sinai, which formed part of Israel's defense
18 line, and thus by retreating to a less strategic position, made
19 herself more vulnerable to Arab attack - all this at the
20 insistence of the United States - places this Administration,
21 we submit, under a strong moral obligation to carry out its
22 commitment to provide Israel with the economic assistance and
23 military equipment necessary to sustain her security and viability.

24 In this connection, it is important to note for the record
25 that the written commitments made to Israel as part of the Sinai

1 agreement are entirely in line with existing U. S. policy.

2 The keystone of that policy, Mr. Chairman, is Israel's
3 ability to defend itself and maintain its independence, and
4 over the years we have consistently and generously provided
5 economic and military support. The current request before you
6 is essential not only to maintain the objectives of our policy,
7 but also to compensate Israel for the sacrifices she has made
8 in the interests of peace.

9 Israel is a de facto ally of the United States and her
10 policies are closely aligned with American strategic, economic
11 and political interests. One important American goal is the
12 unobstructed flow of oil to the West; another is free and ready
13 access to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Israel stands as
14 a guardian over these vital routes, and a strong Israel serves
15 as a deterrent to attempts to dominate the Middle East by
16 countries not friendly to the United States, and whose policies
17 are hostile to our interests.

18 In this connection we dare not overlook the fact that the
19 Soviet Union has entrenched itself in Syria, Iraq, Libya, South
20 Yemen and Somaliland. And in spite of Egyptian statements to
21 the contrary, the Soviet Union is renewing its hold over Egypt
22 by resuming the shipments of arms and extending the period of
23 repayment of Egypt's huge debt to Russia. Moreover, Moscow has
24 made a firm ally of the Palestine Liberation Organization - the
25 PLO - and provides these terrorists with the arms they need to

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1 subjugate Lebanon and to commit terrorist acts against Israel.
2 The PLO today, incidentally, Mr. Chairman, I want to submit, is
3 developing an extensive campaign of elimination of the Christian
4 community in Lebanon as well. It has also provided the PLO
5 with the diplomatic support it needed to gain United Nations
6 recognition and a voice in the upcoming Security Council debate
7 on the Middle East.

8 The victory of the Moscow-Syria-PLO alliance at the United
9 Nations has undermined the position of Egypt, Jordan and Saudi
10 Arabia, on whom the United States now is relying in its efforts
11 for peace. It is therefore puzzling why the United States voted
12 for the Security Council resolution instead of using the veto,
13 especially since this was promised to Israel by Secretary
14 Kissinger.

15 We view these developments with grave concern because they
16 are as hostile to the United States as they are to Israel. The
17 only stable government, the only country the United States can
18 rely on in the Middle East in the effort to counter Soviet
19 expansionist policies is Israel. We are also disquieted by the
20 pressures imposed on Israel regarding demands made by Syria and
21 the PLO. It is not in America's global interest to ask a
22 committed ally like Israel to make further sacrifices that will
23 place her in a position of weakness.

24 Israel today is one of the most heavily taxed nations in
25 the world in order to maintain her security. Since the Yom Kippur

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1 war, however, inflation has pushed Israel's defense bills to
2 new peaks at a time when economic recession has slowed the pace
3 of her exports. Thus Israel has had to pay its import-export
4 deficit with its reserves of foreign currency. To reverse the
5 trend Israel has devalued its pound by more than 43 percent.
6 That sent prices up - gasoline, for example, now costs \$1.83 a
7 gallon - wages have gone up and so have taxes.

8 We are deeply concerned also about requests for American
9 economic aid from Arab countries which are continuing to buy
10 weapons and other military supplies from the Soviet Union and
11 also from the United States, Great Britain and France. Egypt,
12 Syria and Jordan, for example, plead poverty and appeal for
13 American food and soft loans for economic development at the
14 same time that they are devoting their funds and credits for
15 increasing quantities of arms purchases. We cannot close our
16 eyes to the fact that these nations are not facing war from
17 any nation and that they are arming themselves only for war
18 against Israel. We should be asking ourselves why the U. S.
19 should provide the Arab countries with economic assistance if
20 they can find the means to purchase billions of dollars worth of
21 deadly weapons.

22 Today's weapons systems are highly mobile, and the State
23 Department has confirmed in a letter to Senator Clifford Case
24 that it could not prevent the unauthorized transfers of U. S.
25 military equipment from one Arab country to another. We have

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1 seen how Saudi Arabia has circumvented the ban on weapons
2 transfers by deploying a squadron of American F-5 jets in Syria
3 to take part in military maneuvers on the front with Israel.
4 The Saudis simply sent their American-trained pilots along with
5 the planes. The State Department has also confirmed the fact
6 that "senior Egyptian air force officers" were trained by Iran
7 to fly American-built F-4 fighter bombers. And we should not
8 be surprised to find one day that the battalion of Hawk missiles
9 which we recently sold to Kuwait are being deployed in Jordan.

10 Israel's Chief of Staff, Lt. General Mordecai Gur recently
11 expressed deep concern over the military imbalance caused by
12 the arming of the Arabs. He noted that the Arab states now have
13 6,000 tanks, a greater number than the Germans and Russians
14 combined had in World War II. And Israel's Defense Minister,
15 Simon Peres, pointed out that Egypt, Syria, Libya, Jordan and
16 Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have contracted for arms purchases
17 totalling more than \$12 billion, of which \$4.5 billion is from
18 the Soviet Union and its satellites, and over \$7.8 billion
19 from the West.

20 This enormous arms escalation has placed an unconscionable
21 burden on the people of Israel in their efforts to maintain an
22 adequate defense posture. Under these circumstances it is
23 impossible to talk of an arms "balance" as U.S. policy tried
24 in the past to attain.

25 We respectfully and strongly urge this Committee to grant

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1 the full amount of assistance to Israel. I thank you very much.

2 Senator Humphrey. I thank you very much, Dr. Sternstein.

3 Let me say that the testimony you heard before from Senator
4 Kennedy, and the colloquies between the Senator and myself
5 and others was related to this matter of arms transfers; and the
6 lack of what I consider a coherent policy in the Middle East,
7 with the vast sales of these highly sophisticated arms and
8 weapons systems on the one hand to the Arab countries, and on
9 the other hand our assistance to Israel. If we are going to
10 help one to maintain a balance, and at the same time are helping
11 and selling to others to put the situation out of balance, it
12 doesn't make a great deal of sense. This is why we have
13 insisted upon taking a more careful review.

14 I have to go cast a vote, as you know. We want to thank
15 you for your testimony, which you know is very welcome. We
16 know your Director, Mr. Lesser, very well, who speaks for your
17 organization. You have every right to be proud of both the
18 organization and Mr. Lesser.

19 Mr. Sternstein. Thank you very much.

20 Senator Humphrey. I'll be back. Mr. Amitay, if you will
21 wait, I'll be waiting for you. I'll be right back.

22 (Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

23 Senator Humphrey. We will reconvene the Subcommittee on
24 Foreign Assistance.

25 Mr. Amitay, we welcome you. Mr. Morris Amitay is the

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1 Executive Director of the American Israel Public Affairs
2 Committee, Washington, D. C..

3 STATEMENT OF MORRIS J. AMITAY

4 Mr. Amitay. Mr. Chairman, I welcome the opportunity to
5 appear. Also, as someone who has worked on the Hill for a number
6 of years, I recognize the lateness of the hour and the kind of
7 day you must have had. What I propose to do is merely summarize
8 to a great extent my remarks; I know that they will be included
9 in the record.

10 Senator Humphrey. They will be, the full text.

11 Mr. Amitay. I have on my left Ken Wollack, our Legislative
12 Director; and on my right Aaron David Rosenbaum, our Director
13 of Legislation.

14 I would like to emphasize, the views represented in this
15 testimony are also the views of the Conference of Presidents
16 of Major American Jewish Organizations. This is the coordinating
17 body for the activities of the major American Jewish organizations
18 as they relate to American-Israeli affairs. The Conference of
19 Presidents embraces 32 national organizations, representing
20 almost the totality of the American Jewish community, four
21 million people.

22 Senator Humphrey. Yes.

23 Mr. Amitay. Mr. Chairman, I think you can probably make
24 the arguments for aid to Israel more eloquently than I can. So,
25 what I will talk about is really what we are asking this Committee

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1 to do. We are supportive of the sums asked for, for Israel
2 by the Administration in their entirety; and what we hope that
3 the Committee would do - as it has done in recent years - is to
4 earmark all of the programs in the bill for Israel, thereby
5 making certain that the funds proposed by the Administration will
6 actually be allocated to Israel.

7 First, to earmark the \$125 billion for military sales
8 credits, and the forgiveness of one-half of that amount on a
9 mandatory basis.

10 Second, to earmark the supporting assistance program; and,
11 third, the determination that military credits shall be obligated
12 without regard to limitations contained in Section 23 of the
13 Foreign Military Sales Act, relating to terms of payment.

14 This is basically, this along with expeditious consideration
15 of the bill, are the specific things we would like to see.

16 I would just like to say in concluding, the text of my
17 statement says, support of Israel has accompanied an improvement
18 of the U. S. position in the Middle East. As you recall,
19 following the approval of the emergency \$2.2 billion aid by
20 Congress, the United States has resumed diplomatic relations
21 with Egypt and Syria, and has become the sole party trusted to
22 mediate the Arab-Israeli dispute.

23 We very fully realize that during this time of economic
24 uncertainty in our own country, foreign aid is generally un-
25 popular. But public opinion polls continue to demonstrate under-

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1 standing and support for Israel's needs - with Israel traditionally
2 the most popular foreign aid recipient.

3 We feel that aid for Israel is an integral part of U. S.
4 Middle East policy. You know, the Secretary of State recently
5 testified, "The keystone of our policy in the Middle East has
6 always rested on the ability of Israel to persevere in its own
7 defense."

8 We feel that aid to Israel demonstrates continuing support
9 for a reliable, democratic ally, and reinforces the common
10 bonds between the American and Israeli peoples. Only a viable
11 and secure Israel can convince the Arab states that negotiation,
12 not confrontation, is the only means of solving the Arab-Israeli
13 conflict. Only then can it be hoped that Israel's neighbors
14 will recognize the mutual benefits which may be attained
15 from normalized relations, communication and cooperation.

16 I think aid to Israel should be seen as an investment in
17 Israel's future, in America's future, and most important, it
18 is an investment in peace.

19 We do hope that the Committee will move ahead as quickly
20 as possible in its consideration of this bill.

21 Senator Humphrey. We hope to be able to do that. And,
22 may I say, I will be visting with the Majority Leader in the
23 hopes that we can mark up this bill between now and the holiday
24 recess period; that we will be able to get it on the Floor and
25 get action in the Senate.

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1 I want to particularly note one paragraph in your testimony
2 on page 5 - I think the public needs to know this. I mention
3 it separately here simply because this record will be read by
4 a number of the Members of Congress.

5 The amounts of military and security assistance that we
6 will have to deal with here in the coming six months are not
7 only rather substantial, they are very substantial because of
8 the nature of our budgeting process now, having changed our fiscal
9 year, we will be getting, really, two or three packages of foreign
10 assistance, economic and military, in a period of just a few
11 months. So, it will be adding up to a very large figure, which
12 in a sense distorts the truth. But nevertheless, it's the
13 dollars that are there, and the Congress is going to have to
14 face a very tough decision.

15 You say - and I commend you for it - "Although more than
16 90 percent of all U.S. worldwide military assistance since 1946
17 has been in the form of grants, Israel never received any grant
18 military aid until 1973. Israel has, therefore, gone deeply
19 into debt to pay for her security. Israel's foreign debt will
20 be \$7.9 billion in 1975, and \$9.8 billion in 1976 - over \$2,800
21 per capita, more than five times that of any other nation."
22 That obviously refers to the United States of America, its
23 citizenry being deeply concerned about its indebtedness.

24 "Israel's defense expenditures already consume 30 percent
25 of the country's GNP, compared with six percent in the United

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1 States."

2 I make this reference because so many times criticism has
3 been made of our assistance to countries on the basis that they
4 will carry their own load. I have supported aid to Israel for
5 many reasons, and I feel they have been good reasons. But one
6 of the reasons is, Israel has really been willing to put its
7 life on the line, to mobilize its economy for its own security;
8 to really tax its own people more than any other people in the
9 world, and to make tremendous sacrifices for its independence
10 and security.

11 I think this has had a very favorable impression on the
12 American public. I think that is one of the reasons, I really
13 believe that is one of the main reasons that there is a very
14 large body of support for the type of economic and military
15 assistance that this bill calls for, for the State of Israel.

16 Mr. Amitay. I certainly agree, Mr. Chairman. Let me also
17 add, we have the figures here, \$230 million, that Israel is
18 repaying this year to the United States. As you know, quite
19 a few other foreign nations who have been the recipients of
20 American foreign aid on a loan basis, have not been repaying
21 this debt.

22 So, I think we can count on Israel in the future making
23 the best effort possible to repay these debts.

24 Senator Humphrey. In the tradition of Finland, I might add.

25 Mr. Amitay. Yes.

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1 Senator Humphrey. I mention that because sometimes things
2 go relatively unnoticed, we skip across them and all you see is
3 the big figure, \$2 billion, or \$300 million, or \$750 million,
4 whatever the figure may be, without the public understanding that
5 much of this is repaid; that the parts that are loans are
6 included in Israel's debt structure. That Israel does handle
7 its debts; it does make its payments according to schedule and
8 has made its payments; and the first time we gave any grant
9 aid was after the Yom Kuppur war, in 1973. I moved that bill
10 in the Senate.

11 Mr. Amitay. We know that, sir.

12 Senator Humphrey. I really feel what we did then was not
13 only right, but very necessary. And now, in this bill, we
14 provide for both loan - military assistance in the form of
15 credits - as well as military assistance in the form of grants.
16 Now, you get some P.L. 480 funds, also.

17 Mr. Amitay. Yes. In fact, the House International Relations
18 Committee in its mark-up just this week has added to the \$740
19 million in supporting assistance \$15 million in P.L. 480 aid,
20 that was deducted by the Administration originally, coming in
21 with its figures. Actually, the figure that the House is working
22 on now is \$755 million in security support.

23 Senator Humphrey. I am pleased that the House has taken
24 that action. I have asked a number of times from the Administration
25 people and others why we didn't do better in our P.L. 480 because

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1 I know your food costs are very high; and Public Law 480, these
2 sales are the Title I sales, long-term credits. They are, again,
3 not gifts, but long-term credits, and can be very helpful in
4 combating inflation in the food sector in the State of Israel.

5 I want to compliment your organization. I can unabashedly
6 say, without apology, that it represents one of the finest groups
7 of people in America. And the Conference of Presidents, I am
8 very familiar with the Conference of Presidents; I met with that
9 conference at the time of the '68 war, when representatives
10 were here from many Jewish organizations -- I mean in 1967 I
11 met with the Conference, I should say. I was greatly impressed
12 at that time, as I have been since.

13 Well, we are not going to keep you any longer. We have
14 your testimony. You have identified your associates.

15 Mr. Amitay. Yes.

16 Senator Humphrey. We welcome what you have had to say,
17 and I hope that you will take back to the organizations you
18 represent the feeling that has been expressed by some of our
19 Members here, of great sympathy for the needs of Israel.

20 Mr. Amitay. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

21 (The written testimony of Morris J. Amitay is as follows:)
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1 (Whereupon, at 4:30 p.m., the Subcommittee adjourned, to
2 reconvene at 2:30 p.m., Friday, December 5, 1975.)
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