

that once again this administration is failing to send the money so that these women who have been certified at high nutritional risk, at great risk of giving birth to a less than perfect child, are once again being thrown off of the rolls. Their pregnancy will not stop because this administration decided not to put forth the money. Their pregnancy does not know fiscal years, it does not know continuing resolutions.

So what we now have is this administration taking direct actions to increase the number of children in this country who will be born with birth defects, who will be born at low birth weight, children who will not have the same opportunity at success in the American society as others. This is a direct onslaught. They make it with absolute foreknowledge of the detrimental impact that they will provide to these women and to these children.

I would hope again that the Congress would rally, as it has in the past, both Republicans and Democrats, to tell Mr. Stockman, who is also waiting for his first child. He is hoping for a healthy pregnancy. I would hope he would understand that each and every mother and father of these children is hoping for that, but they will have a far greater risk of their child dying, of their child being handicapped, of their child being retarded, than Mr. Stockman's newborn baby will.

#### MAKING APPROPRIATIONS FOR AID TO NICARAGUA

**THE SPEAKER** pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 136 and rule XXIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 247).

□ 1318

#### IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 247) to provide U.S. assistance to foster peace and nurture democratic institutions throughout Central America with Mr. Brown of California in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

□ 1320

The **CHAIRMAN**. Pursuant to House Resolution 136, the first reading of the joint resolution is dispensed with, and the joint resolution is considered as having been read for amendment under the 5-minute rule.

The text of House Joint Resolution 247 is as follows:

H.J. Res. 247

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

#### SECTION 1. UNITED STATES SUPPORT FOR PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

The Congress finds and declares the following:

(1) The United States desires peace in Nicaragua and throughout Central America. United States policy toward Nicaragua should encourage all combatants to establish a ceasefire and come together in peace negotiations in order to resolve the internal Nicaraguan conflict, nurture democratic institutions in that country, and promote peace and stability, as part of a regional settlement through the Contadora process or the Organization of American States.

(2) The countries of Central America, working through the Contadora process, have agreed to 21 principles (set forth in the Contadora Document of Objectives issued on September 9, 1983) which provide an appropriate framework for achieving peace and security in the region.

(3) Combatants on both sides of the conflict in Nicaragua have expressed in words their goals for peace and democracy in Nicaragua and throughout the region. United States policy should be designed to encourage these goals, including through the resumption of bilateral talks between the United States and Nicaragua.

(4) There are disturbing trends in Nicaragua's foreign and domestic policies, including—

(A) the Sandinista government's curtailment of individual liberties, political expression, freedom of worship, and the independence of the media;

(B) the subordination of military, judicial, and internal security functions to the ruling political party;

(C) the Sandinista government's close military ties with Cuba, the Soviet Union, and its Warsaw Pact allies, and the continuing military buildup that Nicaragua's neighbors consider threatening; and

(D) the Sandinista government's efforts to export its influence and ideology.

(5) The Congress will continue to monitor developments in Nicaragua to determine whether progress is being made to curtail these disturbing trends. Such progress will be a key element in congressional consideration of future economic and security assistance requirements in the region.

(6) If the Congress determines that progress is being made toward peace and development of democratic institutions in Nicaragua, consideration will be given to initiating a number of economic and development programs, including but not limited to—

(A) trade concessions,

(B) Peace Corps programs,

(C) technical assistance,

(D) health services, and

(E) agricultural development.

(7) Should Nicaragua not address the concerns described in paragraph (4), the United States has several means to address this challenge to peace and stability in the region, including political, diplomatic, and economic means. In addition, the United States—

(A) should through appropriate regional organizations, such as the Organization of American States, seek to maintain multilateral pressure on Nicaragua to address these concerns;

(B) should, if called upon to do so, give serious consideration to supporting any sanctions adopted by such an organization; and

(C) should consider the imposition of trade sanctions.

(8) In assessing whether or not progress is being made toward achieving these goals, the Congress will expect, within the context of a regional settlement—

(A) the removal of foreign military advisers from Nicaragua;

(B) the end to Sandinista support for insurgencies in other countries in the region, including the cessation of military supplies to the rebel forces fighting the democratically elected government in El Salvador;

(C) restoration of individual liberties, political expression, freedom of worship, and the independence of the media; and

(D) progress toward internal reconciliation and a pluralistic democratic system.

(9) The Congress is deeply concerned about human rights violations by both the Sandinista government and the armed opposition groups.

#### SEC. 2. PROHIBITION ON FUNDING FOR MILITARY OR PARAMILITARY OPERATIONS IN NICARAGUA.

The prohibition contained in section 8066(a) of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1985 (as contained in section 101 of Public Law 98-473) shall continue in effect without regard to fiscal year until the Congress enacts a joint resolution repealing that prohibition.

#### SEC. 3. ASSISTANCE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF A CONTADORA AGREEMENT AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES.

(a) **IMPLEMENTATION OF CONTADORA AGREEMENT.**—During fiscal year 1985, the President may allocate \$4,000,000, which shall remain available until expended, for payment to the Contadora nations (Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela) for expenses arising from implementation of an agreement among the countries of Central America based on the Contadora Document of Objectives of September 9, 1983, including peacekeeping, verification, and monitoring systems.

(b) **HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES.**—During fiscal year 1985, the President may make available up to \$10,000,000 for the provision of food, medicine, or other humanitarian assistance for Nicaraguan refugees who are outside of Nicaragua, regardless of whether they have been associated with the groups opposing the Government of Nicaragua by armed force. Such assistance may be provided only through the International Committee of the Red Cross or the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and only upon its determination that such assistance is necessary to meet humanitarian needs of those refugees. To the maximum extent feasible, such assistance should be provided to those organizations in kind rather than in cash. Assistance may not be provided under this subsection with the intent of provisioning combat forces.

(c) **WAIVER OF LAWS.**—Assistance under this section may be provided notwithstanding any other provision of law, except that section 531(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (prohibiting the use of funds for military or paramilitary purposes) shall apply to any assistance under subsection (b).

(d) **SOURCE OF FUNDS.**—Funds used pursuant to this section shall be derived from the funds appropriated to carry out chapter 1 of part I (relating to development assistance) or chapter 4 of part II (relating to the economic support fund) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 or section 2(b) (relating to the "Migration and Refugee Assistance" account) or section 2(c) (relating to the Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962.

#### SEC. 4. REPORTS TO THE CONGRESS.

No less frequently than once every 3 months, the President shall submit to the Congress a written report—

(1) describing any actions by the Sandinista government, and the groups opposing that government by armed force, which have contributed to or hindered efforts to establish a political dialogue in Nicaragua, to find a peaceful solution to the conflict, and to nurture democratic institutions in Nicaragua;

(2) describing the status of the Contadora process and United States efforts to begin the political dialogue in Nicaragua and to find a peaceful solution to the conflict;

(3) containing an accounting of any funds used under section 3 for implementation of a Contadora agreement or for humanitarian assistance for refugees; and

(4) containing such recommendations as the President deems appropriate with respect to future United States policies regarding Nicaragua.

#### SEC. 5. PRESIDENTIAL REQUEST FOR AUTHORITY WITH RESPECT TO NICARAGUA.

(a) **PRESIDENTIAL REQUEST.**—On or after October 1, 1985, the President may submit to the Congress a request for authority to take specified actions with respect to Nicaragua.

(b) **CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON PRESIDENTIAL REQUEST.**—A joint resolution which grants the President the authority to take those actions specified in the request submitted pursuant to subsection (a) shall be considered in accordance with the procedures contained in section 8066(c) of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1985 (as contained in section 101 of Public Law 98-473), except that references in that section to the Committee on Appropriations of each House shall be deemed to be references to the appropriate committee or committees of each House. For purposes of this subsection, the term "joint resolution" means only a joint resolution introduced after the Congress receives the President's request pursuant to subsection (a), the matter after the resolving clause of which is as follows: "That the Congress hereby authorize the President, notwithstanding any other provision of law, to take those actions with respect to Nicaragua which are specified in the request submitted to the Congress pursuant to Public Law 99-...", with the public law number of this joint resolution inserted in the blank.

The CHAIRMAN. No amendments are in order except the following amendments, which shall be considered as having been read, shall be considered only in the following order, and shall not be subject to amendment: First, the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 22, 1985, by, and if offered by, Representative HAMILTON of Indiana; and said amendment shall be debatable for not to exceed 2 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by Representative HAMILTON and a member opposed thereto; and second, the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 22, 1985, by, and if offered by, Representative MICHEL or his designee, and said amendment shall be debatable for not to exceed 2 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by Representative MICHEL or his designee and a Member opposed thereto.

For what purpose does the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] rise?

#### AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MR. HAMILTON

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, pursuant to the rules, I offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The text of the amendment in the nature of a substitute is as follows:

Amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. HAMILTON: Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

#### SECTION 1. UNITED STATES SUPPORT FOR PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The Congress finds and declares the following:

(1) The United States desires peace in Nicaragua and throughout Central America. United States policy toward Nicaragua should encourage all combatants to establish a ceasefire and come together in peace negotiations in order to resolve the internal Nicaraguan conflict, nurture democratic institutions in that country, and promote peace and stability, as part of a regional settlement through the Contadora process or the Organization of American States.

(2) The countries of Central America, working through the Contadora process, have agreed to 21 principles (set forth in the Contadora Document of Objectives issued on September 9, 1983) which provide an appropriate framework for achieving peace and security in the region.

(3) Combatants on both sides of the conflict in Nicaragua have expressed in words their goals for peace and democracy in Nicaragua and throughout the region. United States policy should be designed to encourage these goals, including through the resumption of bilateral talks between the United States and Nicaragua.

(4) There are disturbing trends in Nicaragua's foreign and domestic policies, including—

(A) the Sandinista government's curtailment of individual liberties, political expression, freedom of worship, and the independence of the media;

(B) the subordination of military, judicial, and internal security functions to the ruling political party;

(C) the Sandinista government's close military ties with Cuba, the Soviet Union, and its Warsaw Pact allies, and the continuing military buildup that Nicaragua's neighbors consider threatening; and

(D) the Sandinista government's efforts to export its influence and ideology.

(5) The Congress will continue to monitor developments in Nicaragua to determine whether progress is being made to curtail these disturbing trends. Such progress will be a key element in congressional consideration of future economic and security assistance requirements in the region.

(6) If the Congress determines that progress is being made toward peace and development of democratic institutions in Nicaragua, consideration will be given to initiating a number of economic and development programs, including but not limited to—

- (A) trade concessions,
- (B) Peace Corps programs,
- (C) technical assistance,
- (D) health services, and
- (E) agricultural development.

(7) Should Nicaragua not address the concerns described in paragraph (4), the United States has several means to address this challenge to peace and stability in the region, including political, diplomatic, and

economic means. In addition, the United States—

(A) should through appropriate regional organizations, such as the Organization of American States, seek to maintain multilateral pressure on Nicaragua to address these concerns;

(B) should, if called upon to do so, give serious consideration to supporting any sanctions adopted by such an organization; and

(C) should consider the imposition of trade sanctions.

(8) In assessing whether or not progress is being made toward achieving these goals, the Congress will expect, within the context of a regional settlement—

(A) the removal of foreign military advisers from Nicaragua;

(B) the end to Sandinista support for insurgencies in other countries in the region, including the cessation of military supplies to the rebel forces fighting the democratically elected government in El Salvador;—

(C) restoration of individual liberties, political expression, freedom of worship, and the independence of the media; and

(D) progress toward internal reconciliation and a pluralistic democratic system.

(9) The Congress is deeply concerned about human rights violations by both the Sandinista government and the armed opposition groups.

#### SEC. 2. PROHIBITION OF FUNDING FOR MILITARY OR PARAMILITARY OPERATIONS IN NICARAGUA.

The prohibition contained in section 8066(a) of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1985 (as contained in section 101 of Public Law 98-473) shall continue in effect without regard to fiscal year until the Congress enacts a joint resolution repealing that prohibition.

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(b) **HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FOR REFUGEES.**—During fiscal year 1985, the President may make available up to \$10,000,000 for the provision of food, medicine, or other humanitarian assistance for Nicaraguan refugees who are outside of Nicaragua, regardless of whether they have been associated with the groups opposing the Government of Nicaragua by armed force. Such assistance may be provided only through the International Committee of the Red Cross or the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and only upon its determination that such assistance is necessary to meet humanitarian needs of those refugees. To the maximum extent feasible, such assistance should be provided to those organizations in kind rather than in cash. Assistance may not be provided under this subsection with the intent of provisioning combat forces.

(c) **WAIVER OF LAWS.**—Assistance under this section may be provided notwithstanding any other provision of law, except that section 531(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (prohibiting the use of funds for military or paramilitary purposes) shall apply to any assistance under subsection (b).

(d) **SOURCE OF FUNDS.**—Funds used pursuant to this section shall be derived from the funds appropriated to carry out chapter I of part I (relating to development assistance) or chapter 4 of part II (relating to the economic support fund) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 or section 2(b) (relating to the "Migration and Refugee Assistance" account) or section 2(c) (relating to the Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund) of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962.

#### SEC. 4. REPORTS TO THE CONGRESS.

No less frequently than once every 3 months, the President shall submit to the Congress a written report—

(1) describing any actions by the Sandinista government, and the groups opposing that government by armed force, which have contributed to or hindered efforts to establish a political dialogue in Nicaragua, to find a peaceful solution to the conflict, and to nurture democratic institutions in Nicaragua;

(2) describing the status of the Contadora process and United States efforts to begin the political dialogue in Nicaragua and to find a peaceful solution to the conflict;

(3) containing an accounting of any funds used under section 3 for implementation of a Contadora agreement or for humanitarian assistance for refugees; and

(4) containing such recommendations as the President deems appropriate with respect to future United States policies regarding Nicaragua.

#### SEC. 5. PRESIDENTIAL REQUEST FOR AUTHORITY WITH RESPECT TO NICARAGUA.

(a) **PRESIDENTIAL REQUEST.**—On or after October 1, 1985, the President may submit to the Congress a request for authority to take specified actions with respect to Nicaragua.

(b) **CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON PRESIDENTIAL REQUEST.**—A joint resolution which grants the President the authority to take those actions specified in the request submitted pursuant to subsection (a) shall be considered in accordance with the procedures contained in section 8066(c) of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1985 (as contained in section 101 of Public Law 98-473), except that references in that section to the Committee on Appropriations of each House shall be deemed to be references to the appropriate committee or committees of each House. For purposes of this subsection, the term "joint resolution" means only a joint resolution introduced after the Congress receives the President's request pursuant to subsection (a), the matter after the resolving clause of which is as follows: "That the Congress hereby authorizes the President, notwithstanding any other provision of law, to take those actions with respect to Nicaragua which are specified in the request submitted to the Congress pursuant to Public Law 99-...", with the public law number of this joint resolution inserted in the blank.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Pursuant to House Resolution 136, the amendment in the nature of a substitute is considered as having been read.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] will be recognized for 1 hour, and a Member opposed will be recognized for 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON].

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 6 minutes.

(Mr. HAMILTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this amendment. This amendment seeks to move toward a negotiated solution which will protect the national interests of the United States in Central America:

It deemphasizes a military approach. It encourages a ceasefire.

It prohibits military aid to the Contras, until Congress acts otherwise.

It encourages a regional approach to peace. It encourages the Contadora process and the use of the OAS.

It encourages diplomacy. It encourages bilateral talks between the United States and Nicaragua.

It offers incentives to Nicaragua if it conducts itself in a way which promotes peace and development.

It promises sanctions if it does not.

It makes available humanitarian aid for the refugees of the conflict through international groups.

It provides for a Presidential report, congressional monitoring, and an assured reconsideration of policy in light of changing circumstances.

All of us in the House share common goals. We want peace in Central America. We want national reconciliation in Nicaragua. We want the removal of Soviet and Cuban military advisers. We want Nicaragua to stop its excessive military buildup, and its destabilization of the region.

The question before us is how best to achieve these goals. Until recently, the President has favored military assistance to the Contras. Now the President has changed his views and favors U.S. assistance for economic and humanitarian aid to the Contras. That is a significant change and the President is to be commended for it. That change has altered the entire nature of the debate, and, in my judgment, for the better.

The question before us today, thus, is no longer about continuing military assistance, it is about what form this economic and humanitarian assistance will take:

What agencies will administer this aid;

What kinds of oversight and accountability provisions will exist to insure that this assistance is for truly humanitarian purposes; and

Whether funds shall be available for the Contadora process.

These are narrower questions than the previous issue before us concerning whether the United States would continue to fund a covert action against Nicaragua.

The \$14 million under discussion today is a relatively small sum of money, but the shift in policy by the President away from military and toward economic and humanitarian assistance, can be a key signal of the future direction of U.S. policy.

This amendment would:

Provide \$4 million for expenses arising from the implementation of a Contadora agreement, such as expenses for peacekeeping, verification, and monitoring systems;

Provide \$10 million humanitarian assistance for refugees who are outside of Nicaragua, regardless of whether they are associated with the Contras. This assistance may be provided only through the International Committee of the Red Cross or the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees upon the determination of such organizations that the assistance is necessary for humanitarian purposes and may not be provided for the provisioning of combat units;

Require that the President must report to the Congress every 3 months on progress made in achieving the objectives of the resolution and on any expenditure of funds under the resolution and may, under expedited procedures, request further action by the Congress any time after October 1, 1985;

Continue in effect the prohibition of funding for military or paramilitary operations in Nicaragua;

Support a cease-fire in Nicaragua, peace negotiations and a regional settlement of the conflicts in Central America through the Contadora process or the Organization of American States;

Notes the disturbing trends in Nicaragua's domestic and foreign policies, set up a procedure for monitoring those trends and make curtailment of them a key element in future congressional decisions;

Call for consideration of economic and development programs for Nicaragua and technical and trade assistance should progress be made in bringing peace and democracy to that troubled nation; and

Call for consideration of political, diplomatic, and economic steps by the United States unilaterally and through the OAS should progress not be made by Nicaragua in addressing these concerns.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment, embodying a constructive new policy for peace in Central America, deserves strong support for several reasons:

First, this proposal is bipartisan proposal. It is cosponsored by three Democrats and four Republicans. We contend today over the one major aspect of U.S. policy toward Central America on which there is no consensus. But that obscures the progress that has been made in recent months toward a consensus on Central American policy. Following the constructive contribution of the Kissinger Commission and of others, there is today a growing recognition of the importance of Central America to the United States, of the social and economic deprivation which has existed there, of the external threat, and of the need to provide both economic and security assistance to friends in the area.

Yet, on Nicaragua there are deep divisions.

This amendment is sponsored by Members with a variety of views and approaches to the problems of Central

Stratton	Taylor	Wilson
Stump	Thomas (CA)	Wolf
Sundquist	Vander Jagt	Wortley
Sweeney	Vucanovich	Wyllie
Swindall	Walker	Yates
Tallon	Weber	Young (AK)
Tauke	Whitehurst	Young (FL)
Tauzin	Whittaker	

## ANSWERED "PRESENT"—3

Mitchell	Savage	Towns
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## NOT VOTING—5

Badham	Daniel	Trafficant
Byron	Rodino	

□ 1610

The Clerk announced the following pair:

On this vote:

Mr. Rodino for, with Mr. Badham against.

Mr. TOWNS changed his vote from "aye" to "present."

So the amendment in the nature of a substitute was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE  
OFFERED BY MR. MICHEL

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, pursuant to the rule, I offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The text of the amendment in the nature of a substitute is as follows:

Amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. MICHEL. Strike all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

That the following sums are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the Agency for International Development for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1985, namely:

Agency for International Development, for food, clothing, medicine and other humanitarian assistance for the Nicaraguan democratic opposition, \$14,000,000, *Provided*, That none of the funds made available by this resolution may be used to provide arms, munitions or other weapons of war to any person, group or organization, directly or indirectly.

SEC. 2. The Administrator of the Agency for International Development shall have such powers as may be necessary and proper to carry out section 1 of this joint resolution, notwithstanding any other provision of law relating to the administration, disbursement or use of appropriated funds.

SEC. 3. The President is strongly urged and encouraged to take the steps necessary to impose an embargo on trade between the United States and Nicaragua if the government of Nicaragua does not enter into good faith negotiations with the Nicaraguan democratic opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to House Resolution 136, the amendment is considered as having been read.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL] will be recognized for 1 hour, and a Member opposed will be recognized for 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL].

□ 1620

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Chairman, I should like to designate the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] to

make the allocation of time on our side of the aisle.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] is designated to control the time for the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL].

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, at this time I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. McDADE].

(Mr. McDADE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment of my good friend, the distinguished Republican leader, BOB MICHEL.

Winston Churchill once described Russian foreign policy as an enigma wrapped inside a riddle. Mr. Chairman, by a margin of just five votes the House passed a resolution which I believe is riddled with contradictions, full of enigmas.

There is much in it that we can agree with and I would urge my colleagues to look at the resolution that was just passed because there are parts of it, indeed as we seek to reach a resolution of this problem, that we can all agree with.

The first paragraph says we desire peace. The Government of the United States desires peace. Of course we do.

Look at paragraph 4 on page 2 of the resolution. It says that there are, and I quote, "disturbing trends in Nicaragua's foreign \* \* \* policies."

I would scratch "disturbing trends" and I would insert the words "appalling trends in Nicaragua's foreign \* \* \* policies."

Look at the resolution you just passed and read what it says. "The Sandinista government's curtailment of individual liberties, political expression, freedom of worship, and the independence of the media." That is what the resolution says. Of course we agree.

It says it subordinates "military, judicial, and internal security functions to the ruling political party," and we agree.

It says, and I quote that resolution again, "The Sandinista Government's close military ties with Cuba, the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies, and the continuing military buildup that Nicaragua's neighbors consider threatening" and we agree.

And, Mr. Chairman, it says finally, if you read paragraph (4)(D) of the resolution that just passed, it condemns the Sandinista government's efforts to "export its influence and ideology," and, my friends, we agree.

We would stipulate in this House on both sides of the aisle to all of those proposals, I believe.

Then we come to the operative section, after the words, after the stipulations, to the effective language of the resolution that by a five-vote swing passed the House. And what did it do? It attempts to fly under the heading of humanitarian aid.

And what does it say? It says if you oppose, oppose the very government

they have just condemned in order to get aid, you must leave your country. You must become a refugee or you are not eligible to receive 1 cent of the so-called humanitarian aid. That is a riddle and an enigma in this resolution. There is absolutely no way for one of those citizens who wishes to put his life on the line and fight for freedom of the press, and fight for freedom of religion, and fight for freedom of assembly to receive humanitarian aid unless he agrees to become a refugee.

Mr. Chairman, the resolution that this House just passed denies aid to the victims of oppression. The victims are the ones who are cut off from humanitarian assistance.

That ought not to be the policy of this Government. That ought not to be the policy of this House. That ought not to be what you go home and say to your constituents that you voted to do.

Do you really want to cut off humanitarian assistance to the victims of the Sandinista regime? That is what you just voted to do.

We can correct that in the next vote by voting for the amendment offered by my friend from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL]. I hope the House will do so in a broad bipartisan way. It is a straight-out effort at humanitarian aid, only humanitarian aid to those who would fight for the principles of democracy embodied in the Contadora documents which the Sandinista government repudiated, embodied in the charters that we believe in, embodied in what this Nation stands for.

I urge my colleagues to help the victims of oppression and vote for the Michel amendment.

□ 1630

Mr. BARNES. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to my friend, the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR].

Mr. BONIOR of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, last night, the House upheld what has now become a proud tradition of courageous leadership in this body. We dealt U.S. involvement in the war in Nicaragua a resounding defeat—its largest defeat ever, yesterday's vote was a significant step, but surely not the last step, in the long and difficult process of bringing peace to Central America.

Today we must face that issue again on two more tough votes. And make no mistake about it—we face the very same issue today as we faced yesterday. The Michel substitute is cloaked in the soothing language of humanitarian aid but it is nothing less than continued aid to the Contras.

The Michel substitute is more direct aid to a brutal army waging a terrorist campaign against the people and Government of Nicaragua. Its funds can be used for communications equipment, trucks, uniforms, boots, and other materials essential to the war