

HUMAN RIGHTS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

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ISSUE DEFINITION

A central issue in U.S. foreign policy is how much attention we should pay in our dealings with foreign governments to their treatment of their own citizens. This issue has provoked controversy during the past decade despite a wide range of incremental legislative and policy initiatives by Congress and the Executive. At one extreme are those who feel that the U.S. Government should define the human rights conditions of individuals in foreign countries as being essentially within the internal affairs of that country and therefore outside the appropriate consideration of U.S. foreign policy. At the other extreme are those who favor strict sanctions against governments that violate the basic human rights of their citizens. For those who take intermediary positions, several questions shape current controversies:

- Should human rights policy initiatives focus on U.S. adversaries? Supporters of this approach argue that violations in "totalitarian" Communist regimes are especially pervasive and severe because those regimes attempt to control a wide range of their citizens' lives.
- Should U.S. human rights initiatives be focused on U.S. friends? Those who support this perspective argue that we are associated with their violations of our friends and have more effective leverage with them.
- In what circumstances does U.S. interest in the humane treatment of foreign citizens by their governments take priority over other U.S. foreign policy interests?
- Is a "quiet diplomacy" human rights policy likely to be more effective than public actions in reducing violations, or is it simply a subterfuge for a "do nothing" approach?

Following a review of such broad policy issues, this brief treats specific human rights issues of current interest. Discussions of controversy over the selection of an Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs and of human rights policy at the international financial institutions are followed by reviews of U.S. human rights policy toward Argentina, El Salvador, Nicaragua, South Africa, and the Soviet Union.

BACKGROUND AND POLICY ANALYSIS

GENERAL POLICY ISSUES

International human rights has been a pervasive theme in congressional debate and action in recent years. Congress has used hearings to draw attention to the violation of human rights in other countries and has instituted legislative mechanisms aimed at assuring that human rights are

considered in U.S. foreign policy decisions. Legislation established an Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate, and a separate Bureau for Human Rights within the Department of State. Congress has written human rights provisions into bilateral and multilateral economic and security assistance laws, including requirements for annual reports on the status of human rights in all other member states of the United Nations. Congress has limited or prohibited assistance to a number of countries on human rights grounds. (See archived issue brief IB77056 for background and a synopsis of enacted human rights legislation through 1980; a chart and text of human rights laws currently in force can be found in CRS report, "U.S. Legislation Relating Human Rights to U.S. Foreign Policy, Currently in Force".)

Congress and the executive branch have frequently criticized each other's human rights actions. Following the wave of congressional and public interest in the early 1970s, President Jimmy Carter unquestionably gave greater attention to human rights in foreign policy than did his predecessors. Carter's actions also raised doubts about the wisdom of vigorously promoting human rights and were criticized for inconsistent or harmful policy application. The outspokenness of Carter officials about violations of human rights in particular countries has been viewed by critics of such actions as threatening U.S. national security, economic, political and other interests. While the promotion of human rights is accepted by many as a serious moral concern, Members of Congress disagree as to whether it is feasible to give substantial weight to these concerns in U.S. foreign policy. In the view of many critics of the Carter approach, U.S. interests were not served by intervening in the domestic affairs of friends and allies.

President Ronald Reagan's Administration has made clear that human rights will receive much lower priority in foreign policy considerations than under the Carter Administration, and human rights policy will be implemented through quiet diplomacy rather than through public official actions. In a speech to the Trilateral Commission in Washington on March 31, 1981, Secretary of State Haig stressed the need to distinguish between totalitarian and authoritarian regimes in U.S. human rights policy. He outlined the imperatives of Reagan human rights policy in the following terms:

The first imperative is to strengthen the United States, its allies and friends, the main safeguard against the spread of totalitarian aggression.

Second, we must improve our own example as a society dedicated to justice.

Third, we should adopt a sense of proportion in dealing with violators -- the authoritarian versus the totalitarian regime.

Fourth, and finally, it is imperative that we examine the credentials and program of the opposition as well as the government -- we must see clearly what change portends for human rights in the future....

Critics of this approach view it as a cover to solidify ties to repressive right-wing governments. How, they ask, are U.S. protests over Soviet violations of human rights to be credible if the Administration is silent

about violations of rights in Argentina or the Philippines, for instance? Will outspokenness about only Communist violations not be seen as cold war rhetoric rather than concern about human rights?

Perhaps in response to such criticism the Reagan Administration began to downplay the authoritarian-totalitarian dichotomy, stressing instead its commitment to human rights and the even-handedness of its policy. Thus, in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on July 14, 1981, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Walter Stoessel, Jr. said:

Under this Administration, the protection and enhancement of human rights is a principal goal of our foreign policy. Indeed, it shapes the fundamental purposes and helps define the context of our international relationships....

We believe that human rights practices are an important factor in our relationship with other countries, and we Americans believe that when things are wrong, they should be set right -- that is our duty to help. Our law and our policy reflect these deep feelings and draws strength and inspiration from them.

As the spokesman for the American people, this Administration opposes the violation of human rights whether by ally or adversary, friend or foe. Ours is not a policy of "selective indignation." Rather it is one of balanced and even-handed condemnation of human rights violations wherever they occur.

With the nomination of Elliott Abrams as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, the Reagan Administration appears to be modifying its public statements on human rights policy. In announcing Abrams nomination on Oct. 30, 1981, President Reagan acknowledged that "the promotion of liberty has always been a central element of our Nation's foreign policy. In my administration, human rights considerations are important in all aspects of our foreign policy."

Excerpts from an internal State Department memorandum published in the New York Times on Nov. 5, 1981 (and whose contents were described by Elliott Abrams on Nov. 17, 1981, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as "authenticated by the White House") indicate that public and congressional dissatisfaction with past Reagan human rights policy may have induced the Administration to enunciate a stronger human rights stand.

Congressional belief that we have no consistent human rights policy threatens to disrupt important foreign policy initiatives. Human rights has been one of the main avenues for domestic attack on the Administration's foreign policy.

The memorandum describes human rights as "not something we tack on our foreign policy but is its very purpose." It continues by describing the difficulty and also the necessity for pursuing an even-handed policy:

A human rights policy means trouble, for it means hard choices which may adversely affect certain bilateral relations. At the very least, we will have to speak honestly about our friends' human rights violations and justify any decisions wherein other considerations economic, military etc., are determinative. There is no escaping this without destroying the credibility of our policy, for otherwise we would simply coddling friends and criticizing foes. Despite the costs of such a human rights policy, it is essential.

At the same time, the memorandum indicated a narrowing in the scope of human rights as it is to be employed by the Reagan Administration. The memorandum does not speak of "internationally recognized human rights," but rather defines human rights as "meaning political rights and civil liberties." Elliott Abrams during his nomination hearings repeatedly used the term "liberties" rather than human rights. He expressed serious reservations about economic "rights" which he viewed as aspirations. Civil and political rights were, however, described as freedoms from the state which were immediately realizable in all states.

Views of U.S. decision-makers on human rights policy cover a wide spectrum, ranging from advocacy of complete non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries to the other extreme of belief in the strictest sanctions against governments that violate the rights of their citizens. Those advocating the latter position believe that betterment of the human condition is a fundamental concern of governments and a basis for U.S. international activity. They support the use of all possible means to implement human rights policy including withholding of diplomatic relations, economic and military assistance, trade, and all forms of international cooperation with the offending government.

Most views seem, however, to lie between these two extremes -- acknowledging the importance of human rights considerations, but also acknowledging that there are sometimes more important U.S. security and economic interests. The problem with this middle-ground approach is that there is serious disagreement over the specific implementation of such a policy. Some feel that U.S. human rights advocacy from 1977-80 was too selective; that rightist governments friendly to the United States often received a disproportionate share of criticism, while human rights violations in Communist countries were hardly mentioned. In this view U.S. human rights policy has been preoccupied with relatively minor abridgements of certain rights in authoritarian states while overlooking massive violations in Communist states.

Others are troubled that U.S. concern for human rights in particular countries recently appears most vociferous toward "adversary" countries with which U.S. relations are tenuous and over whose internal policies the United States has virtually no influence or leverage. Thus, in this view, it is easy to express concern for the human rights of individual dissidents and of Jewish and other minorities in such a traditional "enemy" state as the Soviet Union, while little public concern is expressed about human rights situations in friendly client or allied states.

There is disagreement as well on how much leeway the executive branch should be allowed in implementing the human rights policy legislated by Congress. Some Members feel that Congress should give the Executive no

option in implementing its intentions by requiring, for example, a mandatory "no" vote in the international financial institutions on loans to countries that are deemed serious human rights violators. Others feel that the executive branch should be given considerable discretion in implementing human rights policy.

The congressional coalition that enacted strong and encompassing human rights provisions was a very disparate group made up of Members with conflicting perceptions and goals. Some were interested in cutting back on what they saw as excessive and unproductive foreign aid programs. Others were concerned primarily about the condition of human rights in left-wing or communist countries. Still others wanted to end U.S. association with and aid for right-wing repressive regimes. These various and often contradictory goals may exert increasingly divisive pressures as to when and how human rights considerations ought to be brought into U.S. foreign policy formulation and practice.

A brief review of specific human rights issues of current interest follows: the appointee to the position of Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs; human rights initiatives in the international financial institutions; and U.S. policy toward Argentina, El Salvador, Nicaragua, South Africa, and the Soviet Union.

Position of Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs

In 1977 Congress established the position of Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, to be appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate (P.L. 95-105). This action upgraded the position of Coordinator for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs which Congress created in 1976. Section 624(f) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, requires the Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs to "maintain continuous observation and review of all matters pertaining to human rights and humanitarian affairs" and to be responsible to the Secretary of State for such matters in the conduct of foreign policy. Consistent with the upgrading in rank of the human rights coordinator, the State Department established a Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. The first -- and to date the only confirmed -- head of this Bureau and first occupant of the Assistant Secretary position was President Carter's appointee, Patricia Derian.

President Reagan's first nominee for that position, Ernest W. Lefever, aroused bitter controversy. Lefever had been an outspoken critic of both the existence of the bureau that he had been designated to head as well as of the human rights laws which he was to implement. He had been an outspoken critic of human rights violations in "totalitarian" (Communist or left-wing) states, but quite restrained concerning abuses in authoritarian (right-wing) states. Critics of his nomination feared that Lefever would have little credibility as a human rights advocate who would pursue a balanced human rights policy. In addition, serious controversy arose during Lefever's nomination because of his public policy center's financial relationships with U.S. infant formula manufacturers. Questions were raised as to whether his attempt to influence U.S. opinion and policy on marketing infant formula in Third World countries was a conflict of interest.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held an almost unprecedented (for an assistant secretary level appointment) two full days of stormy, public

hearings on May 18 and 19, 1981, on Lefever's appointment and continued with a closed hearing on June 4, 1981. On June 5, 1981, the Committee voted 13-4 against confirmation and later that day Lefever withdrew his name from consideration.

Amid unequivocal affirmations of human rights as a central element of U.S. foreign policy, on Oct. 30, 1981, President Reagan nominated Elliott Abrams to be Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. During his confirmation hearings on Nov. 17, 1981, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he stated two rules for his conduct in that position: (1) to tell the truth and (2) to be effective. The hearings were amiable and his nomination was approved by the Committee by a 9 to 0 vote.

International Financial Institutions

Whether human rights considerations should play a role in the operations of the international financial institutions (IFIs) -- the World Bank (IBRD), International Finance Corporations (IFC), International Development Bank (IDB), Asian Development Bank (ADB), and the African Development Fund (ADF) -- has been a controversial problem for Congress and the Executive for several years. At present no IFI makes human rights observance a formal criterion for assistance eligibility. Some Congressmen have advocated attaching conditions to U.S. contributions to various financial institutions to demonstrate the concerns of U.S. human rights policy.

Current U.S. law (P.L. 95-118, as amended by P.L. 96-259) requires U.S. representatives to these institutions to consider human rights conditions in voting for or against a multilateral loan. It also requires the United States to use "its voice and vote" to advance respect for human rights in the IFIs and to "oppose" all assistance to countries engaging in a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights unless such assistance directly served the human needs of the citizens of such countries. The Secretary of the Treasury is also to report quarterly to the chairman and ranking minority member of the House Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, listing each instance when the U.S. executive director of these institutions opposes a loan for human rights reasons. The report is to include: the reasons for such opposition; policy considerations taken into account in reaching the decision to oppose such a loan; a description of the human rights conditions in the country involved; a record of how the United States voted on all other loans to such country during the preceding two years; and information as to how the decision to oppose such a loan relates to overall U.S. policy on human rights in such country. The Secretary of the Treasury is to consult frequently with the designated Congressmen to inform them regarding any prospective changes in policy direction toward countries which have or recently have had poor human rights records.

On July 1, 1981, the Reagan Administration notified Congress of its intent to change U.S. voting policy on multilateral development bank loans to Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. The Carter administration because of human rights concerns had been abstaining or voting against non-basic human needs loans to these countries. The Reagan Administration notice explained that existing human rights legislation did not require U.S. opposition to IFI loans to these countries and, therefore, it intended to instruct U.S. representatives to support loans to those countries.

Some Members of Congress have been alarmed by this action, viewing it not

only as a violation of the spirit if not the letter of the IFI legislation, but certainly as a total disregard of the legislative requirement for frequent and timely congressional consultation before implementing changes in policy direction toward countries with recently poor human rights records.

Argentina

Concerned about serious human rights violations, especially the "disappearances" of thousands of people in Argentina after the 1976 coup, Congress in 1977 added section 620B to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended. This provision prohibited security assistance and arms sales to Argentina after 1978. More recently, observers have noted improvement in the Argentine human rights situation. In early 1980, the military junta, under pressure from civilians, announced guidelines for a gradual return to elected government in the mid-1980s. Reports of disappearances have dropped from thousands during 1976-78 to 44 during 1979 and 28 during 1980. No disappearances have been reported in 1981. The number of prisoners held under the state of siege has dropped from many thousands to some 900 prisoners acknowledged by the government to be under detention.

While nearly all human rights observers acknowledge these improvements in Argentina since the end of 1979, they also argue that serious violations continue to exist. Actions continue to be taken against dissent and peaceful assembly. The state of siege is still in effect, as is the machinery of repression -- the extensive powers of the executive, the secret police, and the controlled judiciary. Trade unions are under government control and strikes are not allowed. Despite domestic and international pressure (such as the recommendation of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission for an accounting of the disappeared), the Argentine government continues to deny any responsibility.

General Viola, who became president of Argentina in March, is viewed as a moderate favoring accommodation with political and social forces against the more hardline faction which favors more extensive military intervention to cleanse the country of its past ills. He was warmly received by the Reagan Administration during his visit to the United States in March.

The Reagan Administration asked Congress to repeal the prohibition against military sales and assistance to Argentina. Congress did repeal this prohibition (P.L. 97-113, sec. 725(a)), however, before any such sales or assistance may be provided the President is to submit to Congress a detailed report. The report is to certify that the government of Argentina has made significant progress in complying with internationally recognized principles of human rights and that the provision of such sales or assistance is in the U.S. national interest. The President is to consider (1) efforts by the government of Argentina to provide information on citizens identified as "disappeared" and (2) efforts by the Argentine government to release or bring to justice those prisoners held at the disposition of the National Executive Power (PEN). (See IB81098, Foreign Aid; Budget and Policy Issues for FY82.)

El Salvador

In the 1970s El Salvador experienced increased demands for reforms against an entrenched oligarchy, and a rising cycle of factional violence that has killed thousands. Since October 1979 both the Carter and Reagan Administrations have supported the Salvadoran government in hopes that it

would institute needed political, social, and economic changes and control both leftist guerillas and right-wing extremists. Many human rights advocates condemn this position, arguing that the human rights record of the regime is not good and that the United States should apply greater pressure for reform. Others praise or grudgingly support the position as the best available choice in a difficult situation. They argue that abandoning the regime would likely result, not in a successor regime that better respected human rights, but in a much more repressive regime, whether of the left or right. Others argue that human rights policy is not the most important foreign policy consideration in determining U.S. policy toward El Salvador.

An on-going issue before Congress is whether U.S. economic and/or military assistance should be provided to the Salvadoran government, the size of such aid, and what conditions, if any, should be placed on its provision. During 1981 Congress enacted sec. 727 of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1981 (P.L. 97-113) which expressed the sense of Congress that economic and military assistance to El Salvador should be used to encourage progress in broad human rights areas. Sec. 728 of that same measure allows military assistance to El Salvador only if the President certifies that the government of El Salvador is: making concerted and significant effort to comply with internationally recognized human rights; is achieving substantial control over the armed forces to bring an end to indiscriminate torture and murder; is continuing implementation of economic and political reforms; is committed to free elections at an early date; and has demonstrated willingness to negotiate with opposition groups for an equitable political resolution of conflict. Certification must be submitted within 30 days after enactment and every 180 days thereafter.

On Jan. 28, 1982, and again on July 27, 1982, President Reagan formally certified that the government of El Salvador was making progress in all the areas requiring certification. Some Members of Congress felt that the Administration certification did not seriously address congressional concerns about the situation in El Salvador. Legislation was introduced declaring the President's certification with respect to El Salvador null and void. [See IB80064, El Salvador: U.S. Interests and Policy Options.]

Nicaragua

Nicaragua's civil war of 1979 deeply affected all aspects of human rights. Since seizing power on July 19, 1979, the largely Sandinista government has been faced with enormous tasks of social, political, and economic reconstruction. Concerned about human rights conditions there and about political fallout elsewhere in Latin America, the United States has closely followed developments in Nicaragua. Some feel that the United States, as a longtime supporter of the Somoza dynasty, should seek to heal past resentments by providing assistance to the new regime. Such aid, it is argued, would serve to moderate the country's future political direction. Others, pointing to reports of continuing human rights abuses and the regime's failure to set a firm date for free elections, feel that aid could be a tragic mistake. Many aid opponents regard Nicaragua's ties to Fidel Castro as evidence of a desire to spread revolution throughout Central America and are concerned that U.S. aid might be used in support of that purpose.

The Special Central American Assistance Act of 1979 (P.L. 96-257) authorized \$75 million in emergency assistance for Nicaragua. Under that legislation, the President could terminate such assistance if he believed any

of three considerations provided cause for doing so: (1) human rights violations within Nicaragua, (2) if Nicaraguan aid or support for acts of violence or terrorism in other countries, or (3) the stationing of Soviet, Cuban or other foreign combat forces in Nicaragua. On April 1, 1981 the Administration formally suspended assistance, citing Nicaragua's aid to the Salvadoran guerillas. It indicated that there was little hard evidence of continuing Nicaraguan aid to the guerrillas and that U.S. assistance might be resumed shortly.

During 1981, Congress enacted legislation (sec. 724 of P.L. 97-113) which required that in furnishing assistance to Nicaragua the President take into account the extent to which the government of Nicaragua has engaged in violations of internationally recognized human rights and has encouraged respect for those rights. The President is also to take into account the fulfillment of Nicaragua's pledge to the OAS in July 1979:

- (1) to establish full respect for human rights;
- (2) to allow free movement in Nicaragua of the Inter-American Commission on human rights; and
- (3) to establish the framework for free and democratic elections giving full and complete opportunity for political activity of the Nicaraguan people.

(See IB81156, Nicaragua: U.S. Interests and Policy Options.)

South Africa

A stated goal of U.S. policy toward South Africa (under both the Carter and Reagan Administrations) is to encourage that country's leaders to move toward ending its apartheid system and granting full political, economic, and social rights to all its people. However, South African opposition and U.S. economic and strategic interests have tempered the emphasis placed on attainment of this goal. The United States presently complies with the mandatory UN arms embargo against South Africa, but has resisted efforts to institute mandatory economic sanctions. The Carter administration encouraged American firms in South Africa to comply voluntarily with such "codes" of corporate conduct as the "Sullivan Principles." Some feel that these measures are inadequate, and that the United States should completely disassociate itself from the South African government, impose full sanctions, and withdraw all American business from the country. Others argue that the United States has a number of vital interests in South Africa that would be injured by such policies. They are concerned about possible Soviet expansion in that area and feel, moreover, that a complete withdrawal of American business might have a detrimental impact on the condition of the non-white population.

The Reagan Administration, while maintaining that its policy is to encourage "evolutionary change in South Africa toward a non-racial society," has also emphasized the priority of other strategic considerations and thus far has pursued more cordial relations with the South African government than existed during the Carter Presidency. Reagan Administration spokesmen claim that the policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa is more likely to result in domestic political reform in South Africa. Critics feel, however, that constructive engagement has had the opposite effect. Black African nations and many Americans have viewed with alarm the 1981 visit of a South African military delegation with U.S. Ambassador to the UN Jeane

Kirkpatrick, the 1981 visit to Washington of the South African foreign minister, relaxation of certain exports to South Africa, expansion of consulates, and increases in the number of military attaches. They argue that these actions show a decided administration tilt toward alignment with white South Africa with its apartheid policies. (See IB80032, South Africa: Issues for U.S. Policy; IB79073, Namibia: UN Negotiations for Independence/U.S. Interests; IB80072, Zimbabwe: U.S. Relations; and IB71063, Angola and the Clark Amendment.)

Soviet Union

Although often overshadowed in the U.S.-Soviet relationship by national security concerns, human rights issues have been constant elements on the bilateral agenda in recent years. The U.S. has been concerned about Soviet treatment of dissidents, failure to abide by the Helsinki Final Act, coercive and punitive use of psychiatric hospitals, and restrictions on free emigration. Aware of the limited effectiveness of certain diplomatic initiatives and economic countermeasures and mindful of the overriding importance of preserving world peace, both Congress and the Executive nevertheless continue to criticize Soviet human rights violations and to make protests on behalf of oppressed individuals and groups.

A general issue in pursuing human rights policies toward the Soviet Union has been the effectiveness and appropriateness of policies of linkage. The Soviet Union along with the United States and 33 other states signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Helsinki in 1975 pledging to respect human rights and to allow freer movement of people and information across international borders. During the CSCE review meeting at Belgrade in 1977-78, and the still on-going meeting in Madrid of 1980-81, the Soviets have stressed the security and economic provisions (Baskets I and II) of the Helsinki Final Act, while the Western nations have emphasized the importance of the Basket I and III provisions concerning human rights and the lowering of barriers between East and West. The U.S. position continues to be that movement in Baskets I and II is inextricably linked to movement on Basket III issues.

Another linkage that Congress attempted to use with the Soviets in its human rights concerns was economic leverage to press the Soviets on their emigration policies. The Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Act of 1974 bars the Soviet Union from receiving most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status and credit concessions because of restrictive Soviet emigration practices. Proponents of such linkage argue that since the Soviets badly need economic cooperation from the capitalist West, especially from the United States, it is naive and foolish not to extract human rights concessions. Opponents of this policy reply that the Soviet Union is no more likely to alter important domestic political policy in response to overt economic blackmail than is the United States. It is a matter of debate whether this measure encouraged or discouraged Soviet liberalization of emigration policies. The constriction of U.S.-Soviet trade following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and recent developments in Poland may have made the issue of the effectiveness of this particular linkage moot at the present time.

The human rights consequences of the proposed trans-Siberian natural gas pipeline have been a recent concern in Soviet-U.S. relations. Charges that the Soviet Union is to make massive use of forced labor in the construction of the pipeline have been raised by European human rights organizations and in congressional hearings. On Sept. 21, 1982, Secretary of Defense Caspar

Weinberger stated that "the evidence has been mounting that the Soviet Union may be using slave labor" in building the pipeline. He described the human rights issue as "a compelling" reason for Reagan Administration opposition to the Soviet pipeline.

Another matter of controversy within the United States is that of the proper balance in pursuing U.S. human rights policy in communist countries. The Reagan Administration has been especially outspoken about the shortcomings of the Soviet Union and other "totalitarian" states in the observance of the human rights of their citizens, while placing less emphasis on the shortcomings of right-wing authoritarian states. Secretary Haig on March 31, 1981, declared the first imperative for advancing human rights to be "to strengthen the United States, its allies and friends, the main safeguard against the spread of totalitarian aggression." Critics of this approach view it as an unbalanced policy -- or even a simple return to Cold War, anticommunist rhetoric allowing the Administration to maintain or deepen ties to right-wing governments in the name of the common struggle against totalitarianism. (See IB80080, U.S.-Soviet Relations After Afghanistan; IB80092, The Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and Archived IB77031, Human Rights in Soviet-American Relations.)

LEGISLATION

P.L. 97-54 (S.J.Res. 65)

Proclaims Raoul Wallenberg an honorary U.S. citizen. Requests the President to ascertain his whereabouts and secure his freedom. Introduced Apr. 8, 1981; reported to the Senate (S.Rept. 97-169) from the Committee on Foreign Relations July 27. Passed the Senate Aug. 3; passed the House Sept. 22, in lieu of H.J.Res. 220. Signed into law Oct. 5, 1981.

P.L. 97-71 (H.J.Res. 268)

Requests the President to designate Oct. 23, 1981, as "Hungarian Freedom Fighters Day." Introduced May 28, 1981; referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. Passed the House Oct. 14; passed the Senate Oct. 20. Signed into law Oct. 26, 1981.

P.L. 97-84 (S. 1672)

Expands the membership of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council from 60 to 65. Signed into law Nov. 20, 1981.

P.L. 97-113, S. 1196

International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1981, contains the following human rights provisions:

Sec. 115 adds to chapter 1 of the Arms Export Control Act a new sec. 6 which allows issuance of letters of offer, extension of credits and guarantees and issuance of export licenses to a foreign country only if the President certifies to Congress that country's authorities "are not engaged in a consistent pattern of acts of intimidation or harassment directed against individuals in the United States."

Sec. 305 adds to sec. 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act a new subsection c which support the original goals of the UN Decade for Women.

Sec. 306 amends sec. 116 (e) of the Foreign Assistance Act, as amended, authorizing and encouraging the President to use not less than \$1.5 million of funds available for FY82 and FY83 for studies to identify and carry out programs to encourage increased adherence to civil and political rights.

Sec. 710 expresses the congressional finding that the Nation's understanding of global and national security must be broad enough to include the global problems of hunger, disease and extreme poverty and that adequate protection of U.S. security requires effective action on these global problems.

Sec. 712 expresses the congressional finding that the elimination of hunger and its causes is of fundamental moral significance and in the political, economic, and security interests of the United States, declares the elimination of hunger and its causes a primary objective of U.S. relations with the developing countries.

Sec. 713 reaffirms congressional support for various statutory provisions which have been enacted to promote internationally recognized human rights and expresses the sense of Congress that a strong commitment to the defense of human rights shall continue to be a central feature of U.S. foreign policy.

Sec. 716 condemns that use of chemical agents and toxin weapons against the people of Laos, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan.

Sec. 721 stipulates that no military assistance or development assistance may be provided or military sales, credits or guarantees approved unless the President determines among other criteria that the government of Haiti is not engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights, and within six months of enactment of this Act, the President is to report on the Haitian government's actions in these areas.

Sec. 724 (a) requires the President in furnishing assistance to Nicaragua under this Act to take into account the extent to which the government of Nicaragua has engaged in violations of internationally recognized human rights (including the right to organize and operate labor unions free from political oppression, the right to freedom of the press, and the right to freedom of religion) and to encourage respect for those rights; (b) the President is also to take into account the fulfillment of Nicaragua's pledge to the OAS in July 1979; (1) to establish full respect for human rights; (2) to allow free movement in Nicaragua of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights; and (3) to establish the framework for free and democratic elections giving full and complete opportunity for political activity of the Nicaraguan people.

Sec. 725 (a) repeals sec. 620B of the Foreign Assistance Act, as amended, which prohibited security assistance and sales of military equipment to Argentina; (b) such assistance, credits, guarantees, and sales may be extended to Argentina only if the President submits to Congress in advance a detailed report certifying that the government of Argentina has made significant progress in complying with internationally recognized principles of human rights, and that such assistance, credits, guarantees or sales are in the U.S. interest; and (c) particular attention is to be paid to whether

the government of Argentina has made efforts to account for the "disappeared" and released or brought to justice those prisoners held at the disposition of the National Executive Power (PEN).

Sec. 726 repeals limitations on assistance, sales, and sales credits for Chile, but before these can be provided requires Presidential certification that the Government of Chile has made significant progress in complying with internationally recognized principles of human rights; that provision of such assistance, articles or services is in the U.S. national interest and that the Government of Chile is not aiding or abetting international terrorism.

Sec. 727 (a) expresses the sense of Congress that economic and military assistance to El Salvador should be used to encourage full observance of internationally recognized human rights; continued progress in economic and political reforms; complete and timely investigation of deaths of U.S. citizens in El Salvador; free, fair, and open elections at an early date; and increased professional capability of the Salvadoran armed forces.

Sec. 728 allows military assistance and sales to El Salvador only if the President certifies that the government of El Salvador is: making concerted and significant effort to comply with internationally recognized human rights; is achieving substantial control over the armed forces to bring an end to indiscriminate torture and murder; is continuing implementation of economic and political reforms; is committed to free elections at an early date; and has demonstrated willingness to negotiate with opposition groups for an equitable political resolution of conflict. Requires the first presidential certification not later than 30 days after enactment of this Act and every one hundred eighty days thereafter. The first certification is to certify that the government of El Salvador has made good faith efforts to investigate the murders of six U.S. citizens and bring those responsible to justice.

Sec. 736 contains the provision that "in authorizing assistance to Pakistan, it is the intent of Congress to promote the expeditious restoration of full civil liberties and representative government in Pakistan."

P.L. 97-121 (H.R. 4559)

Sec. 511 prohibits assistance to any country for the purpose of aiding the efforts of the government of such country to repress the legitimate rights of the population of such country contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Signed into law Dec. 29, 1981.

P.L. 97-151 (H.J.Res. 142)

Requests the President to designate Mar. 21, 1982, as Afghanistan Day. Signed into law Mar. 10, 1982.

P.L. 97-157 (H.J.Res. 373)

Urges the President to instruct the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to raise the issue of human rights violations in the Soviet Union, including harassment of Soviet Jews and prohibitions against religion and emigration. Signed into law Mar. 22, 1982.

P.L. 97-196 (S.J.Res. 201)

Authorizes and requests the President to issue a proclamation for the observance of "Baltic Freedom Day" with appropriate ceremonies and activities. Signed into law June 18, 1982.

P.L. 97-209 (H.J.Res. 230)

Implores that Dr. Semyon Gluzman be released from prison in the Soviet Union and be allowed to emigrate to Israel. Signed into law June 30, 1982.

P.L. 97-233 (H.J.Res. 494)

Amends the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1981 to add actions concerning investigation of the murder of U.S. citizens in El Salvador by the Government of El Salvador that the President must certify to Congress in the second presidential certification on conditions in El Salvador. Signed into law Aug. 10, 1982.

P.L. 97-241 (S. 1193)

Department of State Authorization Act, fiscal years 1982 and 1983. Sec. 106 earmarks \$1,500,000 for FYs82-83 for the International Red Cross to support the activities of protection and assistance programs for "political" detainees. Sec. 108 expresses congressional findings about the freedom of information and the free flow of information. Sec. 109 provides that no funds may be used for payment of the U.S. assessed contribution to UNESCO if that organization implements policies which would restrict the free flow of information worldwide or impose codes of journalistic practice of ethics.

H.Con. Res. 50 (Brown)

Expresses the sense of Congress that the Soviet Union should provide medical care for Dr. Viktor Brailovsky and permit him to emigrate to Israel. Passed by the House Apr. 7, 1981; referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Apr. 8.

H.Con.Res. 55 (Winn)

Expresses the sense of Congress that the President should take steps to implement the objectives of International Year of Disabled Persons (1981). Passed the House Apr. 4, 1981.

H.Con.Res. 85 (Zablocki)

Expresses the sense of Congress that the continued democratic political developments in Spain makes an important contribution to U.S. foreign policy interests and congratulates the government and people of Spain on their commitment to democracy. Passed the House Mar. 4, 1981, and the Senate on Mar. 26.

H.Con.Res. 100 (Frank)

Expresses the sense of Congress regarding the Soviet Union's denial of religious freedom and refusal of permission to emigrate of two Russian families living in the U.S. embassy in Moscow. Passed by the House Mar. 23, 1982, and by the Senate Mar. 25.

H.Con.Res. 111 (Pritchard)

Expresses the sense of Congress that the Soviet Union should provide proper medical care for Yuriy Shukheych and permit him and his family to emigrate. Passed the House Sept. 21; passed the Senate June 21, 1982.

H.Con.Res. 183 (Gray)

Expresses the sense of Congress that the national rugby team of South Africa should not play in the United States, because of that government's enforcement of the morally reprehensible policy of apartheid which oppresses the majority of the population of South Africa. Introduced Sept. 17, 1981; referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Rejected by the House Sept. 22 by a vote of 200 to 198 (two-thirds required for acceptance).

H.Con.Res. 205 (Dwyer)

Expresses the sense of Congress that the President should (1) proclaim Nov. 9, 1981, the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, as a day honoring that group; and (2) ask the Soviet Union to release the incarcerated members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, and to cease the persecution and the imprisonment of those citizens in the Ukraine asking for the institution of national, civil, and individual rights in accordance with various documents. Passed the House May 4, 1982; passed the Senate June 21, 1982.

H.Con.Res. 215 (Frank et al.)

Expresses the sense of Congress concerning the imprisonment of Alexander Paritsky by the Soviet Union and urges the government of the Soviet Union to release him from prison and allow him and his family to emigrate. Passed the House on Dec. 9, 1981, and the Senate Dec. 15.

H.Con.Res. 218 (Derwinski)

Expresses the sense of Congress about the imprisonment of Mart Niklus by the government of the Soviet Union. Passed the House May 4, 1982; passed the Senate June 21, 1982.

H.Con.Res. 225 (Studds)

Extends the best wishes of Congress to the people of Honduras and expresses the desire and hope that the scheduled presidential elections will be conducted successfully and in an atmosphere of openness and tranquility.

Passed the House Nov. 20, 1981.

H.Con.Res. 226 (Yatron)

Expresses the sense of Congress that the President should press for unconditional discussions among the major political factions in El Salvador in order to guarantee a safe and stable environment for democratic elections. Passed the House Mar. 2, 1982.

H.Con.Res. 240 (Zablocki)

Reaffirms the support of Congress for the people of Poland. Passed the House Dec. 15, 1981.

H.Con.Res. 299 (Yates)

Makes the Capitol Rotunda available on Apr. 20, 1982, for a ceremony as part of the commemoration of the Days of Rememberance of the Victims of the Holocaust. Passed by the House Mar. 30, 1982. Passed by the Senate on Mar. 31.

H.Con.Res. 385 (Mikulski)

Expresses the sense of the Congress that the Soviet Union should allow Yuri Balovlenkov to emigrate. Passed the House Aug. 5, 1982, and the Senate Aug. 18, 1982.

H.Res. 85 (Biaggi)

Expresses the sense of the House of Representatives in support of "Solidarity Sunday" (relating to treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union). Introduced Feb. 25, 1981; referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. Passed the House May 28, 1981.

H.Res. 124 (Daub)

Expresses the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States could not remain indifferent to external aggression or internal repression against Poland and that such developments would have serious consequences for East-West relations. Supports efforts to work with other nations to ease Poland's economic difficulties and the U.S. decision to sell surplus food to Poland at concessionary prices and in Polish currency, provided neither external aggression nor international repression occurs. Passed the House July 30, 1981, by roll call vote of 410 to 1.

H.Res. 133 (Solarz)

Expresses the sense of the House commending the Philippine government for lifting martial law, and urging further progress toward democracy. Passed by House on May 19, 1981.

H.Res. 152 (Rinaldo)

Expresses the sense of the House of Representatives that the President convey to the Soviet government U.S. opposition to the imprisonment of Anatoly Shcharansky and urge proper medical treatment and permission to emigrate. Introduced June 9, 1981; referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Passed the House Sept. 21, 1981.

H.Res. 193 (Dixon)

Expresses concern of the House of Representatives about the well-being, safety and freedom of Yuri Badzyo and his family and asks the President to convey this concern to the Soviet government. Introduced July 23, 1981; referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Passed the House Sept. 21, 1981.

H.Res. 200 (Dougherty)

Urges the President to express U.S. opposition to the Soviet imprisonment of Benedict Scott. Passed the House May 4, 1982.

H.Res. 269 (Smith)

Expresses the sense of the House condemning the Soviet government's treatment of Yuli Kosharovsky and his family. Passed the House May 4, 1982.

H.Res. 286 (Wirth et al.)

Expresses the sense of the House that the Congress associates itself fully and completely with the hunger strike protest by Andrei Sakharov. Passed the House Dec. 9, 1981.

H.Res. 328 (Hertel)

Expresses the sense of the House that Jan. 30, 1982, be observed as a national day of solidarity with the people of Poland. Passed the House Jan. 28, 1982.

H.Res. 420 (Hollenbeck)

Expresses the sense of the House of Representatives supporting "Solidarity Sunday," reaffirming solidarity with Soviet Jews. Passed House Apr. 29, 1982.

H.Res. 521 (Dornan)

Disapproves the President's recommendation to extend the President's authority to waive the freedom of emigration requirements under the Trade Act of 1974 in order to extend the most-favored-nation status of Romania. Motion to indefinitely postpone passed House Aug. 18, 1982.

S. 312 (Levin)

Declares that seven members of the Vashchenko and Chmykhalov families have resided since June 27, 1978, in the United States Embassy in Moscow and have been living there in accordance with U.S. law. Authorizes the granting of a visa and admission to the United States for permanent residence to each individual. Provides that each individual shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of June 27, 1978, and to have been physically present and residing therein continuously since such date. Passed by the Senate July 13, 1982.

S.Con.Res. 4 (Dole)

Expresses the sense of Congress that the President take steps to implement the objectives of the International Year of Disabled Persons (1981). Passed the Senate Oct. 7, 1981.

S.Con.Res. 5 (Lugar)

Expresses the sense of Congress that the Soviet Union should provide medical care for Dr. Viktor Brailovsky and permit him to emigrate to Israel. Passed the Senate June 19, 1981.

S.Con.Res. 18 (Goldwater)

Declares the sense of Congress that the President shall take steps to secure freedom of worship in the Ukraine and bring to the attention of national and international religious councils Soviet violations of basic human rights. Passed the Senate June 19, 1981; referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

S.Con.Res. 58 (Tsongas)

Expresses the sense of the Congress with respect to the continued internal exile by the Soviet Union of Andrei Sakharov and his wife. Passed Dec. 16, 1981, by both the House and the Senate.

S.Con.Res. 69 (Tsongas)

Expresses the sense of the Senate that the President should: (1) continue to express U.S. opposition to the forced exile of Ida Nudel; (2) urge the Soviet Union to provide her with adequate medical care and allow her to emigrate; and (3) inform the Soviet Union that the United States will consider the extent to which countries honor their commitments under international law when evaluating U.S. relations with such countries. Passed by the Senate Apr. 1, 1982.

S.Con.Res. 73 (Heinz)

Condemns the religious persecution by Iran of persons of the Baha'i faith.

Holds Iran responsible for upholding the rights of all its citizens. Expresses the hope that the discrimination against and executions of the Baha'is will cease. Passed the Senate June 30, 1982.

S.Res. 131 (D'Amato)

Expresses the sense of the Senate about the imprisonment of Anatoly Shcharansky and urges that the United States express its opposition to his imprisonment at the Madrid CSCE meeting. Passed the Senate May 12, 1981.

S.Res. 138 (Moynihan)

Expresses the sense of the Senate that Congress support "Solidarity Sunday" on May 31, 1981, to reaffirm efforts to secure freedom for Soviet Jews and beleaguered people everywhere. Passed the Senate May 19, 1981.

S.Res. 198 (Percy)

Expresses the sense of the Senate that Benedict Scott be released from prison and be allowed to emigrate to the United States (country of his birth) if he so chooses. Introduced July 30, 1981; referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Reported to the Senate (without written report) Sept. 16. Passed the Senate Sept. 22, 1981.

S.Res. 250 (Kennedy)

Expresses concern over the failure of the government of El Salvador to bring to justice those responsible for the murders of six Americans in that country. Passed the Senate Dec. 2, 1981.

S.Res. 268 (Percy et al.)

Expresses the sense of the Senate about the imposition of martial law in Poland. Passed the Senate Dec. 15, 1981.

S.Res. 330 (Heinz)

Expresses the sense of the Senate concerning the imposition of martial law in Poland and the release of Lech Walesa and other Solidarity members. Passed the Senate Mar. 2, 1982.

HEARINGS

U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
Implementation of the Helsinki Accords: Phase IV of the
Madrid CSCE Review Meeting. Hearing, 97th Congress, 2d
session. Mar. 23, 1982. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print.
Off., 1982, 15 p.

----- Implementation of the Helsinki Accords: Soviet involvement
in the Polish economy. Hearing, 97th Congress, 2d session.

Apr. 1, 1982. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1982. 20 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs. Subcommittee on International Development Institutions and Finance. Human rights and U.S. policy in the multilateral development banks. Hearings, 97th Congress, 1st session. July 21 and 23, 1981. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1981. 485 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961: nuclear prohibitions and certain human rights matters. Hearings and markup, 97th Congress, 1st session, on H.R. 5015 and H.Res. 286. Nov. 20 and Dec. 6, 1981. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1982. 81 p.

----- Resolution of inquiry concerning human rights policies. Hearings, 96th Congress, 2d session. Feb. 6, 1980. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 26 p.

----- The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and certain human rights matters. Hearing and markup, 97th Congress, 2d session, on H.Con.Res. 100. Mar. 16, 1982. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1982. 42 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Africa and on International Organizations. Human rights in Africa. Hearings, 96th Congress, 1st session. Oct. 31, 1979. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 93 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs and on International Organizations. Human rights in Asia: Communist countries. Hearings, 96th Congress, 2d session. Oct. 1, 1980. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1981. 190 p.

----- Human rights in Asia: non-communist countries. Hearings, 96th Congress, 2d session. Feb. 4, 6 and 7, 1980. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 335 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs and on Human Rights and International Organizations. Taiwan agents in America and the death of Professor Wen-Chen Chen. Hearings. 97th Congress, 1st session. July 30 and Oct. 6, 1981. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1982. 89 p.

----- U.S. policy toward the Philippines. Hearing, 97th Congress, 1st session. Nov. 18, 1981. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1982. 79 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations. Human rights -- Soviet Union. Markup, 97th Congress, 2d session, on H.Con.Res. 200; H.Con.Res. 218; H.J.Res. 230; H.Con.Res. 205; H.J.Res. 373; H.Res. 269. Feb. 3 and Apr. 1,

1982. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1982. 52 p.

----- Human rights -- Ukraine and the Soviet Union. Hearings and mark-up, 97th Congress, 1st session, on H.Con.Res. 111, H.Res. 152, H.Res. 193. July 28, 30, and Sept. 17, 1981. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1982. 56 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Human Rights and International Organizations and on Inter-American Affairs. Review of United States policy on military assistance to Argentina. Hearing, 97th Congress, 1st session. Apr. 1, 1981. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1981. 128 p.

----- Implementation of congressionally mandated human rights provisions (volume I). Hearings, 97th Congress, 1st session. July 14, 30; and Sept. 17, 1981. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1982, 216 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on International Organizations. Human rights and the Baltic States. Hearing, 96th Congress, 1st session. June 26, 1979. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1979. 61 p.

----- Human rights and the detention of Andrei Sakharov: Update. Hearing, 96th Congress, 2d session. Apr. 24, 1980. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 35 p.

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----- Human rights and U.S. foreign policy. Hearings, 96th Congress, 1st session. May 2, 10; June 21; July 12 and Aug. 2, 1979. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 503 p.

----- Review of the 36th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. Hearing, 96th Congress, 2d session. April 29, 1980. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 41 p.

----- UNESCO and freedom of information. Hearing, 96th Congress, 1st session. July 19, 1979. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1979. 69 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on Human Rights and International Organizations and on Inter-American Affairs. Human Rights in Guatemala. Hearings, 97th Congress, 1st session. July 30, 1981. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1981. 173 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittees on International Security and Scientific Affairs, on Human Rights and International Organizations, and on Inter-American Affairs. Proposed transfer of

arms to Uruguay. Hearings, 97th Congress, 1st session. Sept. 15, 1981. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1981. 73 p.

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U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. International human rights treaties. Hearings on Ex. C, D, E and F, 95-2--Four Treaties Relating to Human Rights. 96th Congress, 1st session. Nov. 14, 15, 16 and 19, 1979. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 554 p.

----- Nomination of Ernest Lefever. Hearings, 97th Congress, 1st session. May 18, 19, June 4 and 5, 1981. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1981. 577 p.

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U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: findings and recommendations five years after Helsinki report. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 341 p.

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Expressing the sense of Congress with respect to the Baltic States and with respect to Soviet claims of citizenship over certain U.S. citizens; report to accompany H. Con. Res. 200. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1979. 5 p. (96th Congress, 1st session. House. Report no. 96-575)

----- Honorary citizenship for Raoul Wallenberg; report to accompany H.J.Res. 220. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1981, 4 p. (97th Congress, 1st session. House. Report no. 97-152, part 1)

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs./ Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Country reports on human rights practices for 1979; Joint Report submitted by the U.S. Department of State in accordance with sections 116(d) and 502B(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 854 p.

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----- Country reports on human rights practices for 1980; Joint report submitted by the U.S. Department of State in accordance with sections 116(d) and 502B(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1981. 1140 p.

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- Country reports on human rights practices for 1981; joint report submitted by the U.S. Department of State in accordance with sections 116(d) and 502(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1982, 1142 p.
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- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Concurrent resolution with respect to the Baltic States and Soviet claims of citizenship over certain citizens of the United States; report to accompany H. Con. Res. 200. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1979. 5 p. (96th Congress, 1st session. Senate. Report no. 96-485)
- Expressing the sense of Congress with respect to the treatment of Christians by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; report to accompany S. Con. Res. 60. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 45 p.
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CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- 11/09/82 -- The Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe resumed after an eight-month recess. The opening session was marked by sharp East-West confrontation over the situation in Poland.
- 11/02/82 -- The Washington Post reported that some members of Congress had expressed strong opposition to a proposed International Monetary Fund loan to South Africa or urged that such a loan be conditioned on change in South Africa's system of apartheid.
- 09/28/82 -- House Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs and on Human Rights and International Organizations continued joint hearings on reconciling strategic interests and human rights in the Philippines. Hearings were continued the next day on China.
- 09/23/82 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations continued a series of hearings on religious persecution as a violation of human rights.

- 09/21/82 -- Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, speaking at a conference sponsored by the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University, referred to mounting evidence that the Soviet Union may be using "slave labor" in building the trans-Siberian natural gas pipeline.
- House Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs and on Human Rights and International Organizations continued joint hearings on reconciling strategic interests and human rights in Asia.
- 09/08/82 -- Formal dissolution of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group was announced in Moscow by Elena Bonner, wife of exiled Soviet dissident, Andrei Sakharov.
- 08/17/82 -- House Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs and on Human Rights and International Organizations held a joint hearing on reconciling strategic interests and human rights in Asia.
- House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs concluded a series of hearings on the second presidential certification on conditions in El Salvador.
- 08/05/82 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations continued hearings on religious persecution as a violation of human rights (Coptic Christians and Falasha Jews).
- Senate Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs continued a series of hearings on reforms in El Salvador.
- 08/03/82 -- Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on the second El Salvador certification.
- 08/02/82 -- Senate Foreign Relations Committee had a closed briefing on the second presidential certification on conditions in El Salvador.
- 07/29/82 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations continued its series of hearings on religious persecution as a human rights violations (Jews in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe).
- House Foreign Affairs Committee began a series of hearings on the second certification of the El Salvador situation.
- 07/27/82 -- Department of State transmitted to Congress the second certification on El Salvador's human rights situation, government control of the armed forces, and economic and political reforms.
- 07/20/82 -- House of Representatives marked International Day of Activity for Ida Nudel.

- 07/08/82 -- The Washington Post reported that the U.S. Government had recommended a number of reforms including human rights improvements in El Salvador in order to facilitate the Reagan Administration's continued aid to that country. The Administration must make a certification to Congress on conditions in El Salvador by the end of July if military aid is to continue.
- 06/18/82 -- Witnesses during Senate International Finance Subcommittee hearings on proposed natural gas pipeline from western Siberia to West Germany predicted the massive use by the Soviet government of forced labor in constructing the pipeline, including as many as half a million Vietnamese.
- 05/25/82 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations held a hearing on religious persecution as a violation of human rights.
- 04/28/82 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations held a hearing on the State Department human rights reports. The Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Elliott Abrams, testified that the congressionally mandated human rights certification which would allow Chile and Argentina to receive military assistance was "on the burner" because of the Falklands crisis.
- 03/23/82 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations held a hearing on religious persecution as a human rights violations.
- 03/11/82 -- Senate Committee on Foreign Relations concluded hearings on the President's certification on the situation in El Salvador.
- 03/09/82 -- House Subcommittees on Human Rights and International Organizations and on Africa held a hearing on the implementation of human rights legislation in Africa.
- 03/05/82 -- The Washington Post reported that the Reagan Administration is reassessing the resumption of military aid to Chile because of concern that the poor human rights record of the military regime there will expose President Reagan to congressional charges of bad faith.
- 03/02/82 -- House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs concluded hearings on the Presidential certification on El Salvador.
- 03/01/82 -- Senate Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs continued hearings (begun on Feb. 25) on human rights in Nicaragua.
- 02/25/82 -- Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the Senate Appropriations Committee held a hearing on human rights violations in Nicaragua.
- 02/23/82 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations held a hearing on implementation of

congressionally mandated human rights provisions.

- 02/10/82 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations held a hearing on religious intolerance and persecution.
- 02/08/82 -- Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on the Presidential certification of conditions in El Salvador.
- 02/07/82 -- The required annual State Department report on human rights in all other UN member nations was made public. This 1,142-page report covering 159 countries is the first compiled under the Reagan Administration.
- 02/02/82 -- The House Committee on Foreign Affairs held a hearing on the Presidential certification of conditions in El Salvador.
- 01/28/82 -- President Reagan sent a certification to Congress indicating that the Government of El Salvador "has made a concerted, significant, and good faith effort to deal with the complex political, social, and human rights problems it is confronting and that progress is being made." Such a certification was required by Sec. 728 of the International Security and Cooperation Act of 1981 (P.L. 97-113) if military assistance and sales to El Salvador are to continue.
- 12/10/81 -- House Subcommittees on Africa and Human Rights and International Organizations held a hearing on human rights in Africa.
- 12/03/81 -- The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held a hearing on the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.
- 11/24/81 -- U.S. Ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick in a statement before the General Assembly's Third Committee denounced the UN's double standard in human rights and called on the UN system to affirm and adhere to a single standard.
- 11/18/81 -- House Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs and Human Rights and International Organizations held a joint hearing on U.S. policy toward the Philippines.
- 11/17/81 -- Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held a hearing on the nomination of Elliott Abrams to be Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. Following the hearing the Committee approved the nomination by a 9 to 0 vote.
- House Subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs and on Human Rights and International Organizations continued joint hearings on implementation of congressionally mandated human rights provisions (Asian and Pacific region).
- 11/05/81 -- House Subcommittees on Human Rights and International Organizations and on Europe and the Middle East held a

joint hearing on congressionally mandated human rights policy (Near Eastern and South Asian region).

- 10/30/81 -- The White House announced the nomination of Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, for the position of Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.
- 09/17/81 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations held part III of hearings on the implementation of human rights provisions.
- 09/15/81 -- House Subcommittees on Human Rights and International Organizations and on Inter-American Affairs held a hearing on proposed arms sales to Uruguay.
- 07/30/81 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations continued hearings on implementation of congressionally mandated human rights policy.
- House Subcommittees on Human Rights and International Organizations and Inter-American Affairs held hearings on human rights in Guatemala.
- 07/22/81 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe held a hearing on Soviet violation of the Helsinki Final Act: invasion of Afghanistan.
- 07/21/81 -- House Subcommittee on International Development Institutions and Finance began a series of hearings on human rights and U.S. policy in the multilateral development banks.
- 07/14/81 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations held a hearing on U.S. human rights policy.
- 07/09/81 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and on International Operations held a hearing on UNESCO's establishment of a new world information order and freedom of the press.
- 07/01/81 -- The Department of the Treasury notified Congress of changes in U.S. voting policy on multilateral development bank loans to Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. The notice explained that the Department of State had reviewed the current human rights situation in those countries and determined that USL human rights legislation does not require U.S. opposition on loans to those countries.
- 06/05/81 -- Senate Committee on Foreign Relations voted 13-4 against confirmation of Ernest W. Lefever to be Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. Later that day Lefever

withdrew his name from consideration.

- 06/04/81 -- The House Subcommittee on Asia and Pacific Affairs held a hearing on political and human rights in Taiwan.
- 04/30/81 -- During a ceremony at the White House in memory of the victims of the Holocaust, President Reagan said that the United States should not negotiate with nations that persecute their citizens unless such persecution is part of the negotiations.
- 03/31/81 -- Secretary of State Haig delivered a speech on human rights and U.S. foreign policy to the Trilateral Commission in Washington, D.C., Haig outlined the following as imperatives of Reagan Administration human rights policy: to strengthen the United States, its allies and friends; to improve our own example; to adopt a sense of proportion in dealing with violators; and to examine the credentials and programs of the opposition.
- 03/12/81 -- House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations held a hearing to review the State Department's 1981 human rights reports.
- 02/09/81 -- The required annual State Department report on human rights conditions in all other UN member nations was released amid controversy over delay because of the visit of President Chun Doo Hwan of South Korea.
- 02/06/81 -- Washington Post reported that Ernest W. Lefever, a strong critic of Carter administration human rights policy, has been occupying the office of assistant secretary for human rights and humanitarian affairs at the State Department amid growing speculation that he will be President Reagan's nominee for that position.
- 01/28/81 -- During a press conference Secretary Haig declared that "international terrorism will take the place of human rights" as the priority concern of American foreign policy in the Reagan Administration.
- 01/14/81 -- President Carter in his farewell address stressed the struggle for human rights.
- 12/18/80 -- The head of President-elect Reagan's State Department transition team, Robert Neumann, in a Washington Post report stated that while human rights will continue to be an element of U.S. policy, there is strong sentiment in the transition team for giving it less priority by eliminating the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs and having a special assistant to the Secretary of State to deal with the subject.

- 12/13/80 -- During the past few days acrimonious exchanges occurred between Carter administration officials and aides to President-elect Reagan over U.S. policy in central America. Patricia Derian, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs charged that "imprudent statements" by the Reagan transition team had played down U.S. support for human rights and thus encouraged increased brutality by right wing forces in El Salvador. This followed leakage to the press of a preliminary report by Reagan transition team members which designated U.S. Ambassadors to El Salvador, Robert White, and Nicaragua, Lawrence Pezzulo, as marked for removal because they are functioning as liberal, social reformers rather than ambassadors. The ambassadors in turn charged that the Reagan supporters had undercut their authority by encouraging rightist forces seeking to foster military dictatorships in the region.
- 11/25/80 -- The annual meeting of the OAS foreign ministers following a marathon all-night debate approved a consensus resolution calling on six Latin American nations (Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Haiti, Paraguay, and Uruguay) to improve human rights performance.
- 11/19/80 -- President Carter addressing the 10th regular session of the General Assembly of the OAS meeting in Washington defended his outspoken efforts to make human rights a key to inter-American cooperation and economic and military aid to Latin American countries. "Today no government in this hemisphere can expect silent assent from its neighbors if it tramples on the rights of its own citizens. The costs of repression have increased, but so have the benefits of respecting human rights."
- 11/12/80 -- President Carter transmitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The Convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 18, 1979 and signed by the United States on July 17, 1980.
- 11/11/80 -- The 35 signatory nations officially began the meeting at Madrid, Spain, to review compliance with the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
- 11/06/80 -- During a press conference President-elect Ronald Reagan while affirming his dedication to human rights, criticized the human rights policy of the Carter administration: "I don't think that our record of turning away from countries, that were basically friendly to us, because of some disagreement on some facet of human rights, and then finding

that the result was that they have lost all human rights in that country -- that isn't a practical way to go about that."

09/16/80 -- Secretary of State Muskie announced that the United States would support the seating of Pol Pot's Democratic Kampuchea regime in the United Nations despite its human rights record. Muskie said the U.S. decision "in no way implies any support or recognition of the Democratic Kampuchea regime. We abhor and condemn the regime's human rights record and would never support its return to power in Phnom Penh."

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