



# NEWS from U.S. Senator Bob Dole

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## DOLE AMENDMENT WOULD DISCOURAGE AID BY INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO VIETNAM, LAOS & CAMBODIA

WASHINGTON, D.C.--Following is the full text of a statement made today by Senator Bob Dole during Senate consideration of his amendment to the International Financial Institutions Act:

Mr. President, my amendment takes into consideration the extremely repressive and humanitarian character of the current governments of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, all of which currently maintain memberships in the International Bank for reconstruction and development (World Bank) and the Asian Development Bank. The purpose of my amendment is two-fold. First, it would instruct U. S. representatives to those organizations to vote against any requests for economic assistance by the governments of Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos. Second, should either of these organizations approve economic aid for any of these three governments, the U. S. contribution to that organization would be reduced by a sum equal to the amount of that assistance.

### Humanitarian Objectives

Mr. President, the purpose of my amendment is closely in accord with the pronounced objective of this Administration and this Congress to promote the cause of human rights wherever we have a voice of influence in the world. The Administration has already suggested that we curtail U. S. aid and commerce with traditional allies in Latin American and South Africa who violate certain human rights principles. The Congress has already complied with that recommendation in certain instances--most recently, with respect to the termination of remaining trade transactions with the Rhodesian government.

In attempting to advance the cause of human rights abroad, it is important that Congress ensure consistency in U. S. trade and aid policies, and avoid a hypocrisy that undermines that cause. This is important whether U. S. aid is extended directly or indirectly through an international loan organization like the World Bank or the Asian Development Bank.

### Application to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia

Were I an American representative to one of these international monetary institutions, it would be clear to me that the governments of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia do not qualify for consideration of assistance because of their repressive natures. Not only do they violate the rights of hundreds of thousands of their own citizens, but they have refused to comply with the most basic principle of full cooperation in accounting for missing American servicemen.

My amendment would make it clear that--under present conditions--the governments of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia are in violation of internationally recognized human rights; that U.S. representatives are therefore specifically instructed to oppose any loan requests made by those governments; and that the U.S. intends to recoup a portion of its huge contribution to these organizations should aid be approved over our objections. This directive would apply for the duration of the period for which the funds in this bill are authorized.

It is my understanding that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has active aid requests pending before both of these institutions at the present time, and it is likely that decisions will be made on those requests in the very near future. Therefore, it is vital that we take affirmative action in this direction immediately.

Under my amendment, the present U.S. agreement to contribute to these financial organizations is conditioned upon the understanding that we will reduce our contribution if aid is extended to Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos. And the amendment clearly authorizes that reduction, which will be equal to the amount of assistance given to any of those three governments.



We do have the technical means of enforcing this condition. Although Congress authorizes the entire contribution now, actual appropriation of payments are made in equal annual installments over the duration of the agreement. In the case of the World Bank, this is three years; for the Asian Development Bank, it is four years. Based on the condition in this authorization, our actual appropriation of funds can be adjusted from year-to-year to reflect any necessary reductions in our over-all contribution.

By this means, Congress can maintain better control over U.S. contributions to international lending institutions. As duly designated trustees of taxpayers' dollars, we should do no less. A full 69 percent of the \$24.9 billion in foreign aid dispersed by American agencies and by U.S. - supported international agencies in FY 1976 was allocated without Congressional review. This fact was revealed through a study conducted by the Center for International Policy here in Washington, and released last January. This erosion of Congressional authority over the use of foreign aid funds is deplorable, as it enables use of those funds for purposes totally alien to the American people.

My amendment will be a move in the right direction towards restoring a portion of that authority, and will insure that American dollars are not being used to prop up the Communist regimes now ruling Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos. And, of course, should conditions change before the next such authorization bill is due, this legislation can be easily amended to reflect different circumstances.

#### Justification For Denial

Mr. President, there is a clear-cut basis for leveling sanctions against Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia at this time. First, there is ample evidence that all three Communist regimes are in extensive violation of the human rights of their own people. It is no secret that these regimes have total control of the press, elections, and education within their countries. There are credible reports that as many as 200,000 political prisoners are being held in "re-education camps" within Vietnam, and the Vietnamese Ambassador to France himself admitted that about 50,000 were being "detained" because of political crimes. Tens of thousands are reported to be in forced labor camps in both Laos and Cambodia, and some sources indicate that hundreds of thousands of Cambodians may have died during mass relocation movements in that country since 1975. This physical and psychological cruelty should be thoroughly condemned by all those who would promote the cause of freedom and justice.

Furthermore, it is no insignificant matter that these governments have refused to cooperate in providing a full accounting for missing American servicemen in Southeast Asia. Laotian and Cambodian assistance has been nonexistent. Although Vietnam has given lip service to "full cooperation" in accounting efforts, they have provided next to nothing in tangible results. The President insisted throughout the campaign, and during the early days of this Administration, that there would be no reconciliation with the Communist Vietnamese government until as full an accounting as possible had been made for our MIA's. Yet, on May 2, "normalization" talks were opened in Paris and the Administration announced it would not oppose U.N. membership for Vietnam. At the same time, Vietnamese officials have hardened their position towards the U.S., insisting that U.S. aid is still a precondition to cooperation in accounting for missing American servicemen. Their stubbornness has increased, while the Carter Administration's resolve has diminished.

The fact is that there has been no visible progress in accounting for the 2,500 missing Americans in Southeast Asia, and the lack of full cooperation by these three governments is undoubtedly one of the grossest forms of human rights violations by any government. The cruel manner in which Vietnamese officials have held back MIA information and remains in the past, and the manner in which they continue to utilize the accounting issue as leverage in seeking U.S. financial aid, has extracted immeasurable amounts of suffering and anxiety on the part of relatives and friends. It has constituted a violation of common decency and respect for the MIA's themselves, as well.

#### Importance of Economic Sanctions

It seems clear to me that the Communist governments of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia should be ineligible for economic assistance, direct or indirect, from any nation or international organization that cherishes humane principles. Economic sanctions seem to be the only language that Communist autocrats understand, and the only authority they respect. We have repeatedly told these governments that they would receive no American aid until they comply with an MIA accounting, and we must convince them that we intend to abide by this commitment, even with respect to U.S. aid through international organizations. Congressional approval of my amendment will give our representatives in Paris greater leverage in insisting upon further accounting for MIA's, and it will also discourage other members of the World Bank and Asian Development Bank from approving loans to these Communist regimes. Such loans would undermine our efforts to gain cooperation from Communist leaders. As the largest single contributor to these lending institutions, the United States should have the unchallenged authority to have a predominant voice in the aid policies of those organizations.



Congress, as the duly authorized representative of the American people, has a solemn responsibility to place reasonable restrictions on authorized funding, in accordance with public opinion. My contact with the citizens of my home state and in other parts of the country as well, convinces me that sentiment is strong among American taxpayers to reject any form of U.S. aid or war reparations to the Communist Asian governments, at least so long as there is still some question about their sincerity in providing a full accounting for missing Americans. It would be a proper exercise of our legitimate responsibility to direct our representatives to the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank to vote against the use of American tax dollars for loans to these countries. And it would be our duty to reestablish control over those funds which could be used to subsidize aid extended by these international organizations. The threat of retracting a portion of our contribution would tell the other members of these monetary institutions that we mean business, and do not intend to allow our national policy to be subverted by institutional policy.

#### A Positive Influence

Until the Congress of the United States, and the American people, are convinced--by action as well as word--that these three Communist governments in Asia are living up to the same human rights standards which we expect of other nations, they should be positively excluded from any form of U.S. financial aid provided by the American taxpayer.

The House of Representatives reaffirmed this policy on May 12, when it overwhelmingly voted to prohibit use of any funds in the economic assistance bill for any form of aid or trade with Vietnam.

At present, the United States has a 23% subscription share in the financing of the World Bank, and a 15% share in the Asian Development Bank. If ever there was an opportunity for this Administration, and this Congress to provide a positive influence for the furthering of human rights observance, it is through these channels. My amendment ensures that our message on human rights and MIA's gets through loud and clear to the governments of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. I urge my colleagues to vote the will of their constituents, and to vote in favor of this amendment.

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