

Mr. CASE. Yes; 2 minutes on the bill.
Mr. SARBANES. I thank the Senator. It has been used to circumvent the restrictions on aid to Turkey.

Despite the administration's statements in support of human rights, it has turned a blind eye to the massive ongoing violations of human rights taking place on the island of Cyprus.

Despite its statements in support of the embargo, leading officials of the administration have declared their opposition to the embargo. In January of this year, when the administration was committed to a policy in support of the embargo, the American Ambassador to Turkey declared in a news interview that the embargo does not serve any American interest and without changing the law he would like to find some way around it.

Obviously, arms limitations cannot be effective when the Turkish Government hears high American officials publicly contradict our Government's own position on the matter.

The contention that the embargo be lifted because it has not worked stands logic on its head.

The embargo has not worked because the administration has been unwilling or unable to make it work. So, pragmatically, it has not been used to work; and if it is lifted, it will constitute a condoning by the United States of the aggression which took place, because it comes in the context of being lifted without a single concrete action to remedy or to rectify that aggression, with all the fruits of the aggression continuing to be realized by the aggressor.

We should not let our country be placed in the position of condoning the aggression which occurred on the Island of Cyprus. We should not lift this embargo.

I urge the Members of the Senate to vote against the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. CASE. I suggest we vote on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are the 3 minutes remaining on the amendment yielded back?

Mr. CASE. I yield back my time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I understand I have 1 minute. I yield it to the majority leader.

UP AMENDMENT NO. 1492

(Purpose: To provide for a policy concerning Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey)

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, on behalf of Mr. McGOVERN, Mr. BENTSEN, and Mr. CHAFEE, I now send to the desk an amendment to the amendment by Mr. SPARKMAN and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the amendment is in order.

The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from West Virginia (Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD), for himself and others, proposes an unprinted amendment numbered 1492.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the end of the language proposed to be inserted by the Senator from Alabama (Mr. SPARKMAN) (UP-1491), insert the following:

"(b) The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting, after section 620B, the following new section:

'Sec. 620C. U.S. Policy and Procedure Regarding Cyprus, Greece and Turkey.

'(a) Congress finds that

'(1) events in Cyprus in 1974, precipitated by a coup sponsored by the Greek military dictatorship and resulting in an intervention by Turkish military forces, created an international problem within the authority and responsibility of the United Nations;

'(2) given the presence in Cyprus of a United Nations peacekeeping force mandated to prevent further inter-communal violence, and given the inter-communal negotiating process established under the aegis of the United Nations Secretary General, the continuing presence of a major Turkish force is inconsistent with the legitimate status of Cyprus as a sovereign republic;

'(3) United States policy respecting this problem should continue to accord high priority to supporting the implementation of United Nations resolutions regarding Cyprus and United Nations efforts to restore full Cypriot sovereignty through the negotiation of a just settlement;

'(4) U.S. limitations on arms transfers to Turkey enacted in 1975 represented a strong American desire to support such efforts and to affirm basic U.S. foreign assistance statutes;

'(5) although events in Cyprus have caused bitterness among the people of Cyprus, Turkey, and Greece, the United States continues to have a strong interest in maintaining stable and sound relations with each of these nations;

'(6) the maintenance of such positive relations will inevitably depend on the achievement of a just solution on Cyprus.

'(b) Regarding such solution, Congress finds that—

'(1) the guidelines for inter-communal talks agreed to in Nicosia in February 1977—setting forth the common goal of an independent, sovereign, nonaligned, bicomunal Federal Republic of Cyprus—continue to provide a sound basis for the negotiation of a just settlement in that nation;

'(2) serious negotiations, under United Nations auspices, will be necessary to achieve detailed agreement on, and implementation of, constitutional and territorial terms within such guidelines;

'(3) the United States should actively support efforts to achieve such a just solution, providing full protection for the human rights of all Cypriots.

'(c) United States policy regarding Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey shall be directed toward the restoration of a stable and peaceful atmosphere in the Eastern Mediterranean region and shall therefore be governed by the following principles:

'(1) the United States shall actively support the resolution of differences through internationally established peaceful procedures, shall encourage all parties to avoid provocative actions, and shall strongly oppose any attempt to resolve disputes through force or threat of force;

'(2) United States arms transfers to Greece and Turkey shall be made solely for defensive purposes and to sustain their strength as North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies, shall be designed to insure that the present balance of military strength among countries in the region is preserved, and shall not signify a lessening of the United States commitment to a just solution on Cyprus;

'(3) the achievement of such a solution shall remain a central concern of United States policy in the region; and

'(4) because future United States relations with the nations concerned must be shaped according to progress toward such a solution, the President and Congress shall continually review such progress and shall determine United States policy in the region, including United States economic and military assistance, accordingly.

'(d) To facilitate such review, the President shall, within 60 days after the enactment of this section and at the end of each succeeding 60-day period, transmit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, a report on progress made during such period toward the conclusion of a negotiated solution of the Cyprus problem. Such transmissions shall include any relevant reports prepared by the Secretary General of the United Nations for the Security Council.

'(e) Upon enactment of this Act, the President shall, with any request for funds for military or economic assistance under this Act, or credits or guaranties under the Arms Export Control Act, for countries named in this section, transmit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate his certification (with a full explanation thereof) that the goals set forth in this section have been substantially achieved or that such assistance would contribute to their achievement. Such certification shall also accompany any notification of anticipated arms sales to such countries submitted for Congressional consideration under the provisions of section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act.'

(C) Notwithstanding section 26 of this Act, subsections (a) and (b) of this section shall take effect upon the date of its enactment.

(D) On page 26, line 20, strike out \$674,300,000 and insert in lieu thereof \$677,800,000; and on line 23, strike out \$2,085,200,000 and insert in lieu thereof \$2,120,200,000."

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I have 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There are 15 minutes to a side on this amendment. Who yields time?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I designate 5 minutes to Mr. BENTSEN, 5 minutes to Mr. CHAFEE, and 5 minutes to Mr. McGOVERN, of the 15 minutes under my control.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. President, the arms embargo against Turkey is now 3½ years old. It has not worked and there is no good reason to suppose that it will work as intended in the future.

If that were not bad enough, the embargo has been counterproductive for the United States, for Cyprus, for Greece, and for Turkey.

We have been told by some that because an offer was made on Varosha, we should not do anything about the embargo now; let us delay it; let us wait and see how that works out. But the offer was made on Varosha because the parties know we are debating this issue today; because they know we are about to vote on it.

At first, the Turkish proposal was rejected out of hand by the Greek Cypriots. As of today, we are told they are making a counter offer.

We have decided, very wisely, that we would set aside the 1976 compact; that we would not go on with that; that we would not make a 4-year com-