

2418 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515  
(202) 225-3976

DISTRICT OFFICE:  
8425 WEST 3D STREET  
SUITE 400  
LOS ANGELES, CA 90048-0524

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515**

**HENRY A. WAXMAN**  
24TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

COMMITTEES:  
ENERGY AND COMMERCE  
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
HEALTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT  
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING  
DEMOCRATIC STEERING AND  
POLICY COMMITTEE  
PHILIP M. SCHILIRO  
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

April, 1987

Dear Friend:

In my twelve years in Congress, I have never before devoted an **entire newsletter to foreign affairs**. I am doing so now because the handling of our foreign affairs has sunk to a lower point than at any time since the Vietnam War era.

As Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, much of my time and energy is devoted to health issues. At the moment, for example, I am involved in an intensive effort to improve and expand the President's **catastrophic health plan**. The committee is also working to save our vital **childhood immunization program** and to sharpen our response to the **AIDS epidemic** in prevention, research, and treatment.

Despite my primary focus on health, I also closely monitor international affairs and the U.S. role in them. The enclosed newsletter surveys key current affairs topics. As always, **your comments are most welcome!**

Sincerely,



HENRY A. WAXMAN  
Member of Congress



# Congressman Henry A. Waxman's *Washington Reporter* Special Foreign Affairs Edition

Washington Office  
2418 Rayburn House Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C. 20515

District Office  
8425 W. Third St.  
Los Angeles, CA 90048

VOL. 7

APRIL 1987

NO.2

## IRAN-CONTRA SCANDAL SHAKES NATION



Rep. Waxman and Natan Sharansky. Sharansky was imprisoned for nine years as a "U.S. spy."

### HUMAN RIGHTS

#### USSR: HOPE FOR CHANGE

Another critical area of U.S.-Soviet relations, human rights, shows potential signs of improvement. Soviet policy in this area has traditionally been uncompromisingly brutal. But Soviet leader Gorbachev has embarked on a campaign of **glasnost**, or openness, and has released such world-famous figures as Andrei Sakharov, Yelena Bonner, Yuri Orlov, and Natan Sharansky, as well as a significant number of political prisoners.

#### Jewish Emigration Remains Low

One area that has not improved, however, is policy toward Soviet Jews. Of the estimated 400,000 Jews wishing to emigrate, a minuscule 914 were allowed out in 1986. The

*(Continued on page 3)*

On June 30, 1985, President Reagan said: "The U.S. government gives terrorists no rewards and no guarantees. We make no concessions. We make no deals." **I agree with these statements.** Yet shortly thereafter, he approved an arms sale to one of the world's biggest backers of terrorism: Iran.

That sale violated a policy not only repeatedly stated to Americans, but one we were pressing other nations to adopt. Revelation of these sales shredded our international credibility as a tough opponent of terrorism, and seriously damaged our ability to organize our allies for any purpose.

#### Deal Was Arms For Hostages

Some key questions about this matter will take months to answer. But we now know enough to conclude some things firmly. First, the deal was definitely an exchange of arms-for-hostages. For four months, President Reagan adamantly denied this. But after his Review Board (the Tower Commission) concluded that it was, the President grudgingly conceded that this was so.

#### Iranian "Moderates" Not Involved

Second, the Iranians with whom the U.S. dealt were not "moderates," as the President repeatedly insisted, but hard-core extremists. A confidential memo written by

*(Continued on page 4)*

### ARMS CONTROL: OPPORTUNITIES MISSED

Prior to the Reagan administration, the management of U.S.-Soviet arms race through arms control enjoyed bipartisan support. Since 1981, the Administration has behaved as if it wishes not to manage the arms race, but to win it.

*(Continued on page 2)*

**IRAN-CONTRAS-ISRAEL-SOUTH AFRICA-ARMS CONTROL**

## New Weapons Systems Pushed

The Administration first showed its attitude by pushing the MX missile, a destabilizing, first-strike weapon. It then advocated the Trident II missile for submarines, whose eight-minute flight time to Moscow puts Soviet missiles on hair-trigger alert.

## Star Wars Undermines Arms Control

The Administration's next major initiative was Star Wars. This is not to shield our population as the President originally proposed—the **Pentagon admits this is decades away**—but a defense of our own missiles. That is very destabilizing because it looks like an attempt to gain a first-strike capability. The Soviets say they will launch a major missile program to insure against this if Star Wars is deployed.

The strongest argument for Star Wars—that it could force the Soviets to bargain away missiles—was lost at the talks in Reykjavik. The Soviets proposed deep cuts in their offensive missiles in exchange for cancelling Star Wars. The President refused, thus **missing the opportunity for a tremendous breakthrough**.

## Treaties Scuttled

Since then, the Administration has undermined the only two treaties we have that limit offensive and defensive weapons systems: SALT II and the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty. It has ceased to recognize the first and is now considering "reinterpreting" the latter to allow prohibited Star Wars tests. I am working on bills to preclude this by **cutting funds for weapons systems whose existence violates these treaties**.

One arms control bright spot is the recent Soviet offer to reduce medium-range missiles in Europe, separating this from its opposition to Star Wars. Sensing a desperately needed success, President Reagan appears to have wisely decided to bargain seriously on this issue.

ments are the strong personal ties which have developed between scientists of the two countries. While this program runs on a small \$5 million-a-year budget and involves only several hundred scientists, it demonstrates that deep-seated **hostility and mistrust can be overcome through mutual endeavor**. I am now examining ways to expand this program.



Rep. Waxman meets with an Israeli-Egyptian-American team researching problems shared by Egypt and Israel. (L to R) Dr. Sanford Kuvin of Palm Beach, Dr. Rachel Galun of Jerusalem; and Dr. Sherif el-Said of Cairo.

## SCIENTISTS FROM ISRAEL AND EGYPT COOPERATE

I have been involved with one small bright spot in the Middle East. In 1979, in the aftermath of the Camp David Accords, I sponsored an amendment to the foreign aid bill to support **research and development projects in which Israelis and Egyptians work together**. (The law is written such that other Arab nations can join these cooperative projects once they establish relations with Israel.)

### Gains From Joint Research

The results of this idea are impressive, both in terms of scientific discoveries and in terms of cooperative relations. Working together, scientists from the two countries have **cross-bred fish** from both nations to produce a high-protein specimen that grows to market size faster than any previous breed. They have also **stopped an outbreak of the deadly Rift Valley Fever**. The project has **bred a new kind of goat** that produces more milk and more meat and survives in a drier environment than any previous strain. It has also produced **fantastic gains in farm productivity** by using solar energy to heat the soil, killing bacteria harmful to crops.

### Cooperation Overcomes Hostility

Just as important as the concrete scientific advance-

## What Is Congress' Role In Foreign Policy?

The Constitution gives relatively few powers in foreign policy to the President. Of the major powers it outlines, two are assigned to the President alone—the right to command the armed forces and to receive ambassadors. Two are given to Congress and the President jointly—to make treaties and appoint ambassadors. And three are assigned to **Congress exclusively**—the power to **raise and support armies, declare war, and regulate commerce** with foreign nations.

The two main areas of foreign policy are trade and defense. Congress is given exclusive power over one, and shared power over the other. Those who say Congress should not "meddle" in foreign policy are simply wrong. Congress has a constitutional right—**indeed a duty**—to participate in the making of foreign policy.

## Human Rights (continued from page 1)

rate so far this year is also very low. Hebrew teachers and others disseminating Jewish culture and religion are still subject to **relentless harassment**.

### Struggle For Soviet Jewry Must Go On

I will continue my activities for Soviet Jews: writing regularly to refuseniks and prisoners of conscience, speaking out at public events, and impressing on Soviet officials at every opportunity the central place of human rights in our overall relations. At a legislative level, **I will continue to support the Jackson-Mills-Vanik Amendment** and other vehicles that prod the Soviets to improve their human rights performance.

## SOUTH AFRICA: WILL SANCTIONS HELP?

During my twelve years in Congress, I have steadily pressed for an American policy which would undermine apartheid as effectively as possible. I have always felt that no commercial or diplomatic interests could justify curtailing our efforts against the world's most brutal system of racial segregation and exploitation.

### Congress Moves Against Apartheid

Last year Congress rejected President Reagan's weak opposition to apartheid by passing H.R. 1460, which I cosponsored. While watered down somewhat by the Senate, this bill for the first time put teeth in U.S. anti-apartheid policy by banning American bank loans to the South African government and cutting off some categories of imports from South Africa, such as gold coins. **I am determined to expand America's war against apartheid.**

### Break South Africa's Hold On Neighbors

While we watch the effect of these sanctions, we must act on another front: helping South Africa's neighboring black states lessen their economic dependence on Pretoria.

I have cosponsored two bills—H.R. 937 and H.R. 1034—which will help these nations develop road and rail networks, and improve their health care and communications systems.

## KEY WAXMAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS VOTES

Description	Waxman	Date
Cut Star Wars funds	YES	8/18/86
Bar nuclear testing	YES	8/8/86
Give \$100 million to contras	NO	6/25/86
Major sanctions against apartheid in South Africa	YES	9/12/86

## STALEMATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

As someone who cares deeply about Middle East peace, I have a profound desire to see a lessening of the complex tensions that afflict that region. Unfortunately, in the central Arab-Israeli conflict, no progress seems likely.

### Israelis Seek Peace Talks

The underlying cause of the current stalemate is disunity and recalcitrance among Arab nations and organizations. The Israelis, as always, want discussions that might lead to a reduction in tensions. Some high level Israeli officials have even expressed an interest in international peace talks in which the Soviet Union and China participate. I am personally opposed to any Soviet or Chinese role in Mideast talks. Still, one cannot help but admire the willingness of Israelis to remain open-minded in the quest for peace.

### Palestinian Problem

The Palestinian problem is the thorniest of all. It seemed for a while that the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) might form an alliance with Jordan's King Hussein to negotiate with Israel over the fate of the West Bank. Now, however, the two appear to be bitterly estranged. But even if Arafat and Hussein were united, Israel would be faced with deep opposition to Arafat from many Palestinians, inside and outside the PLO.

### Continued U.S. Aid To Israel Essential

While Israel waits for someone with whom to talk, **she will need, and I will continue to support, large amounts of U.S. economic and military aid.** This will be necessary to guard against growing Syrian might, and discourage any Arab leaders still wedded to a vision of military victory over Israel. Given the tragically high level of energy and productivity Israel must put into defense, she and the U.S. must remain alert to any favorable political changes that occur in the Arab world.



Congressman Waxman greets Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir during a state visit in February.

## Iran-Contra (continued from page 1)

Craig R. Fuller, Chief of Staff to Vice President George Bush, explicitly states: "We are dealing with the most **radical elements**. We have learned that they can deliver, but the moderates can't" (emphasis added).

Third, **the policy failed in every way**. During the period of our shipments to Iran, three hostages were released. But three more were taken. Thus, the net yield was nothing. Far worse, however, our actions sent a signal which can only encourage future hostage-takers: that the U.S. will deal for hostages.

### White House Illegal Use of Funds?

Attorney General Edwin Meese III revealed last November that profits from the Iranian arms deal had been diverted to the contras fighting to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. We do not yet know who authorized the diversion, who knew about it, how much money was involved, or where the money went. I have cosponsored H.R. 574, which bars **any** aid to the contras while these questions are investigated.

### Administration Obsessed With Secrecy

The contra diversion points up one of the most harmful aspects of the Administration's foreign policy: its obsession with secrecy. The constitution makes the President and Congress—the branch of government closest to the people—**partners** in foreign policy.

Yet, the Administration has repeatedly concealed key decisions from Congressional leaders. Many of its biggest blunders, such as the 1984 mining of Nicaragua's harbors and the Iran arms deal, could have been avoided had the Administration sought the views of Congress.

### Contra Aid In Defiance Of Congress

No policy area illustrates this more clearly than the contra situation. In 1983, Congress was so appalled by the human rights violations of the contras that it passed the Boland Amendment, which barred **any** aid—direct or indirect—to the contras.

Despite the law, however, the Reagan Administration began a sustained effort to secretly aid the contras. Secretary of State George Shultz and Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams solicited contributions from foreign nations. The CIA and National Security Council organized a network of private U.S. fund-raising groups. Now that these efforts have been exposed, the chance of approval of more contra aid is very low.

## Contra Aid Makes No Sense

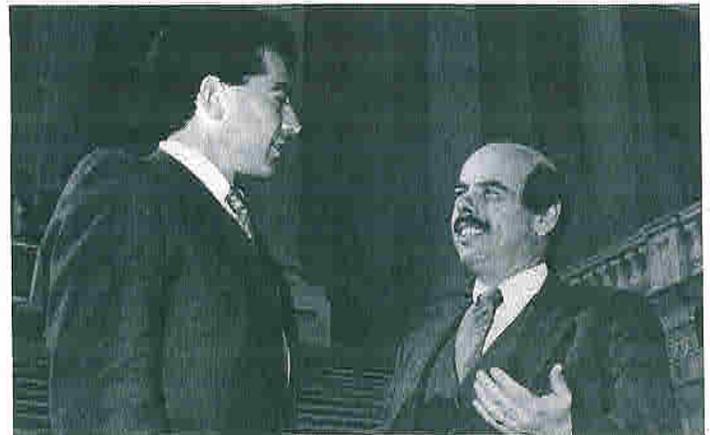
Aiding the contras makes no fiscal, moral, or practical sense. **I have always opposed it, and will continue to.**

That does **not** mean I support the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. In fact, **I am deeply concerned about the authoritarian nature of the Sandinistas**. Still, the faults of the Sandinistas **do not** justify mounting a war against Nicaragua. If it did, we would be mounting guerrilla wars against most of the world's governments!

### Contras Not "Freedom Fighters"

Furthermore, there are no grounds to be more hopeful about the contras than the Sandinistas. Given their many **close ties to the corrupt, brutal Somoza regime** that preceded the Sandinistas, I have no confidence that the contras would establish a more democratic, pluralistic government than the Sandinistas have. The lack of support the contras enjoy inside Nicaragua indicates that Nicaraguans share this doubt.

Most important, though, **Contra aid is a waste of money**. The contras cannot win their war alone, no matter how much money they receive. To overthrow the Sandinistas would require a large **American ground invasion**, something most Americans, myself included, **cannot support**. In the meantime, aiding the contras will continue to destroy lives and property. Instead, I support the admirably persistent efforts of the Central and South American nations in the Contadora Group to negotiate a regional diplomatic solution.



Rep. Waxman confers with Rep. Mel Levine. Levine is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and chairs the Democratic Task Force on Central America. Levine is one of the most effective opponents of contra aid.

## Is The Iran Affair Israel's Fault?

There have been reports that Israeli officials first suggested the Iran/contra plan to the White House. Some Administration officials have implied that Israel is therefore to blame for it. That notion will not wash. As the Tower Commission concluded: "Even if the Government of Israel actively worked to begin the initiative and to keep it going, the U.S. Government is responsible for its own decisions. . . . U.S. decision-makers made their own decisions and must bear responsibility for the consequences." (Section IV, p. 12)