

and a country that seeks closer ties to Europe, would deny the ICRC access when there is clearly a need for it. Any armed conflict involves abuses of human rights against civilians, and in Turkey the evidence of such abuses by both sides is overwhelming. In addition, the State Department has reported on the mistreatment and torture of prisoners in Turkish jails for many years.

The ICRC operates confidentially. It does not seek to embarrass governments. It does not discuss its findings with the press, or with the Congress, or anyone else. Its goal is to monitor human rights and provide objective advice to whoever is deemed to be violating them on how to improve respect for human rights.

I am told by administration officials that they have raised this issue with Turkish officials in the past, to no avail. That is discouraging, and it is for that reason that my amendment calls on the President of the United States to raise this himself with the Turkish Prime Minister. I believe this issue is that important. I also believe that Turkey's willingness to do this would be an important sign of its commitment to improve human rights.

It is for this reason that yesterday I offered an amendment, which was adopted, which aims to encourage the Turkish Government to permit unimpeded access to the ICRC, especially in the southeast where its presence is so urgently needed. I think this is the least that a civilized, democratic country should do.

I hope the administration understands the importance of this amendment, and will give it the urgency and serious attention that it deserves.

I also joined Senator PELL in an amendment, which was also adopted, which provides \$5 million for non-governmental organizations to carry out humanitarian and other activities on behalf of Kurds in southeastern Turkey. I think this is very important. It is consistent with United States policy of promoting economic development, cultural and ethnic tolerance, and human rights, and it makes clear that we want to see a portion of our assistance to Turkey used to directly further these goals. I trust the administration will make every effort to encourage the Turkish Government to permit the use of these funds as intended.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS—AMENDMENT NO. 2743

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, an amendment that was adopted yesterday which I cosponsored with Senator DODD and which was also cosponsored by Senators KERRY and MURRAY, aims to address the travesty that has been going on in Guatemala for as long as most of us can remember.

Guatemala is now the only country in Central America still plagued by civil war. It is winding down, but it

continues to claim innocent lives, and it is an excuse for continuing human rights atrocities by the Guatemalan Armed Forces, as well as the URNG guerrillas.

But it is the Guatemalan Armed Forces, and their armed supporters, that are guilty of the majority of these crimes. Their victims are students, nuns, journalists, human rights lawyers, union organizers—anyone who dares speak out about Government corruption or Government-sponsored violence.

The estimate of the number of killed and disappeared ranges from 40-70,000, over the past three decades. In any given week, the toll is staggering. Death threats, disappearances, and extrajudicial executions are routine in human rights reports on Guatemala.

Let me describe some recent incidents. In May of this year, nearly 100 bodies were found with signs of torture—an increase in extrajudicial executions by 40 percent, with 195 violent deaths reported.

In June, a teacher was abducted, 21 judges were threatened with death, a 17-year-old street youth was shot to death by a member of the National Police, several bodies of disappeared persons were found, a union leader was abducted, beaten, and raped, a former judge was attacked for the third time with a bomb, high school student leaders were harassed by armed men—who reportedly tried to abduct them, a Congressman was attacked, and the remains of hundreds of people in mass graves were exhumed.

On June 14, several religious organizations and human rights advocates signed a letter to President Clinton, asking that an independent human rights expert be appointed to undertake a full investigation into human rights violations in Guatemala. On Father's Day, a march was organized for children of disappeared parents. "The father who took care of us was taken away," said one of the children at a press conference. "He did not come back and we never heard from him again."

For years, the Congress has passed resolutions, written letters, cut off aid. We have tried to get the Guatemalan Army's attention, to no avail. There has been virtually no progress in bringing to justice those responsible for any of the thousands of human rights abuses.

Jennifer Harbury, a U.S. lawyer, lost her husband 3 years ago and has been searching for him ever since. His name is Efrain Bamaca Velasquez. He was murdered after being tortured. There is evidence that a Guatemalan colonel, paid by the CIA, may have been involved in Bamaca's torture and death, as well as the death of American Michael DeVine.

A Guatemalan officer who was convicted in the DeVine case mysteriously escaped from prison the next day, and has not been seen since. Efrain Bamaca's fate remains unknown, and

the Guatemalan army has obstructed justice every step of the way. Despite a court order, they have refused to permit a special prosecutor to excavate where Bamaca's body, and the bodies of many others, are believed to be buried.

Mr. President, I am not going to take the time to repeat the details. I have spoken before about the Harbury case, the DeVine case, about numerous other human rights cases in Guatemala over the years.

Guatemala's President de Leon Carpio is doing his best, and he deserves credit for keeping the peace negotiations moving forward, enabling U.N. human rights monitors to take up residence in Guatemala, supporting democratic elections, and taking some steps to improve human rights. But impunity among the army and civil patrols remains the central problem. There is no justice when a member of the armed forces is involved.

This amendment makes it clear who is the problem. It praises President de Leon Carpio, who deserves our support. But it prohibits any assistance to the armed forces and the URNG, any sales of military equipment, and cuts off visas for any member of the armed forces and URNG who are suspected of involvement in human rights violations, or of covering up such crimes.

These restrictions will end when the President certifies that the Guatemalan armed forces are fully cooperating in solving these crimes, and in carrying out the recommendations of the U.N. monitors.

I am not among those who believes that everyone in the Guatemalan army is corrupt, or guilty of crimes. Far from it. I know some honorable, honest Guatemalan officers who are disgusted by what some of their fellow officers do. I also know that there are honorable members of the URNG who are fighting because for years they were excluded from the political process, but that is changing. This amendment is aimed at the bad apples. It is time for all Guatemalans who believe in respecting human rights, in justice, to stand up for it, and to end the impunity once and for all.

A TRIBUTE TO DOUGLASS CATER

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I rise today to mourn the death of a great friend and great American, S. Douglass Cater, Jr.

A native of Montgomery, AL, Douglass Cater traveled north to school at Exeter and Harvard, interrupting his education to serve as a Russian specialist in the Office of Strategic Services in World War II. After the war ended, he remained in Washington, writing eminent prose on Washington and national affairs for *The Reporter*. His articles, along with his first-rate books "The Fourth Branch of Government" and "Power in Washington" brought him to the attention of Lyndon Johnson. In 1964, he joined the Johnson