

that he wished sanctions to continue, we had the power to overrule him. That decision would have been final and sanctions would have been lifted. But it was recognized in our committee by Senator HELMS and the other members that this would be inadvisable in view of the progress which was being made under the brilliant—and I call it brilliant advisedly—leadership and direction of Lord Carrington, the British chairman in these negotiations. So we had to contrive a way which would, at one and the same time, preserve the Senate's and the House's rights to say the final word and yet give the necessary time to allow an agreement to be consummated if it were possible. We could not do that under the procedure of the law under which we functioned. There we either had to accept or reject the President's findings. So a concurrent resolution was introduced by Senator HELMS, also one by Senator HAYAKAWA, which would have overridden the President's determination.

We did not wish to act on those resolutions, so—and this is the one missing point—they will remain on the Calendar. They may be acted on if anything untoward happens, I think by the 19th of December; is that correct?

Mr. BIDEN. The 14th, I advise the Senator.

Mr. JAVITS. I correct that, the 14th of December. So it is essential that this matter move to the House promptly and that the House concur in the bill, because the law should be one which preserves our jurisdiction and continues to give us the last word in this matter. Hence, the importance of passing S. 2076.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 151 will continue on the calendar as I indicated. But the bill should be passed and sent right over to the House so it can go to the President promptly and we can meet this date of the 14th, which we should meet.

The critical point about the bill is that the President has agreed to sign it. That would not have been necessary with a concurrent resolution of rejection under the original law. But this is a bill which extends the power which we have in Congress and, hence, it must be signed by the President.

A letter was written to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and also sent to me as the ranking minority Member by the Secretary of State, which says, "In this regard"—that is, in regard to the legislation necessary to extend the congressional power—"Senator JAVITS requested that the committee be assured that the President would not disapprove this legislation if it is passed by the Congress. I have been authorized to give you that assurance on behalf of the President."

So we now have an agreement between the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senate hopefully, now shortly, and the President, hopefully also—and we have every reason to suppose that it is all entrained, a concurrence by the House in the bill, S. 2076, dispatching it on to the President promptly.

Mr. President, at a time of grave crisis for our country respecting Iran, when things seem to be going wrong

everywhere, it is an enormous triumph of the free world and of democracy that we have arrived this far, within sight of our goal of democratic elections in Rhodesia, with participation of all parties in choosing a government. That was the original plan laid out by Senator Case and myself in the original legislation which determined Rhodesian policy. It is now being brought to fruition.

I pay great tribute to my colleague, who is no longer here, Senator Case, for devising that plan with me. It is a great tribute to the processes of democratic societies, and I hope very much that it may be consummated successfully. It will be a fine example of how, when matters are settled in a democratic way, they are settled peaceably and equitably. There is now hope for a long future stretching ahead of relief from war and peril for the people of Rhodesia. This is a triumph for their right to determine how they should live, under what government and under what form of society.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and thank my colleague for yielding.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, before I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. TSONGAS), I thank him for not moving forward in introducing a resolution along the same lines as the one we are discussing at this time. He had planned to introduce it.

Senator TSONGAS is one of the few Members of this body who has actual experience on the Continent of Africa. Although he is not a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, he has followed this matter very closely and is very informed on foreign policy issues with relation to this country.

I yield 8 minutes to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. TSONGAS. Mr. President, I say to Senator JAVITS that I do not know how he judges his career in the Senate, but nothing else he has done surpasses his legislative skill and foresight on this issue. Literally, there are thousands of Zimbabweans who will be alive in the future because of what he has done. He should be very proud of his accomplishment in this endeavor.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TSONGAS. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. The Senator has moved me deeply by that statement.

Mr. TSONGAS. Mr. President, I rise to speak in favor of this bill. I am well aware of how hard the committee has worked to prepare a measure which would meet the objectives of all concerned. I include myself among those who see in this bill a sensible and fair resolution of the sanctions issue.

I spoke in this Chamber yesterday on the subject of Rhodesia and economic sanctions. The reason I spoke yesterday was to register my admiration and gratitude to Prime Minister Thatcher for her masterful management of the Rhodesia Conference in London. Yesterday morning that conference concluded with a brilliant success. All parties to the Rhodesia conflict agreed on cease-fire terms, thus clearing the last obstacle in the way of a comprehensive agreement.

In my statement yesterday, I also said that the issue before the Senate was one of timing, not direction. The success of the London Conference leaves little choice in the matter. The President should remove economic sanctions. The only question is when. In my view, Mr. President, sanctions should be lifted as soon as the British Governor arrives in Rhodesia. The British have requested that we remove sanctions to coincide with the Governor's arrival. I can think of no valid reason to delay beyond that point. I introduced a resolution to that effect yesterday. In the interests of a united approach to this important issue, I am withdrawing that resolution No. 301 from Senate consideration. The bill before us today includes instructions to the President to remove sanctions when the British Governor arrives. I regard that provision as crucial and worthy of support.

Sanctions should be removed for many reasons.

The terms of the U.N. Security Council resolutions will have been satisfied. The rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia will have returned to legality and a process of self-determination set in motion. I feel that the U.N. has demonstrated great consistency of judgment on this question, and I am sure that member nations also will support a prompt removal of the economic sanctions imposed some 11 years ago.

Great Britain deserves our full support in return for the remarkable success achieved in London. To perpetuate sanctions beyond the arrival of the British Governor conveys a lack of faith in the conference settlement, and might be construed as a slight to the integrity and sincerity of the conference participants.

As Rhodesia moves into the transition process which will bring genuine independence to that war ravaged land, we in the U.S. Congress must take stock of the new situation in Rhodesia. With all parties in agreement on the political foundation of a new Zimbabwe, we must look closely at the economic foundation. The war has destroyed much of Rhodesia's agricultural resources. A long history of white privilege has thwarted black African economic development. The new leaders of Zimbabwe will face a formidable task of reconstruction and development. America can be of great assistance in this effort.

The first step is to remove the legal obstacles to American trade and communication with Zimbabwe. This means lifting economic sanctions as soon as is practically possible. The second step is to organize a significant foreign assistance program for the new government of Zimbabwe, including a program of refugee relocation. We must insure that the democratically elected leaders of Zimbabwe turn to the United States for assistance and friendship. As the peaceful process unfolds in Zimbabwe, the United States is in a position to compete very effectively with the Soviet Union. I remind my colleagues that the Soviet Union is a reliable supplier of arms and munitions to the Third World, but when it comes to reconstruction and economic



development, the United States leaves the Soviet Union far behind.

I believe that we are now presented with a ripe opportunity to advance our interests and to serve humane purposes at the same time. I deeply hope that Congress and the Executive will not waste this rich opportunity.

Mr. President, I have been an active participant on this issue for some time. Over this past year, I have been unable to persuade my distinguished colleagues to exercise caution, restraint, and cool judgment on the sanctions issue. As a result, the Senate has voted on several occasions to lift sanctions.

I hate to think of what would have happened had that gone through the House. Now that the time has arrived for such action—now, not before but now—I support the removal of sanctions. I feel certain that President Carter will do all he can to expedite action on this matter. I am confident that he, too, knows it is time to end the debate on this issue. I think it is appropriate at this moment to give credit where credit is due. President Carter has exercised excellent judgment and considerable courage on this issue. He has consistently opposed the precipitate lifting of sanctions, and I commend him. His patience and judgment have been vindicated. I also recognize the wisdom and leadership of Representative STEPHEN SOLARZ, whose cool-headedness saved the U.S. Senate from its own folly. If the House had done what we did and lifted sanctions, we would not have peace today in Rhodesia. There would be war. There is an agreement not because of what we did but because of what STEVE SOLARZ and his committee did to save us from our own actions. I hope we remember that.

Mr. President, as news of mob terrorism and crumbling governments bombard our senses, I think that many of us are tempted to see an age of anarchy replacing the rule of reason and law in the world. Today, however, we can be reassured that the ayatollah and his like are not the sole actors on the world stage. In Rhodesia, we are about to see the end of a bitter, brutal conflict by means of an impartial and free democratic process.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may request the yeas and nays?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. HELMS. I will be glad to yield some of my time to the Senator.

Mr. TSONGAS. I yield so that the Senator may request the yeas and nays.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I yield the Senator such time as he may need, from my time.

Mr. TSONGAS. I thank the Senator from North Carolina.

I am not saying that the transition to independence will be trouble free, but I feel strongly that we should be encouraged and uplifted by the success of the London talks.

I think it also should indicate to us, if we are going to get past the next few decades in dealing with the Third World, that we have to deal with it in terms of a kind of realism and not in terms of ideology. I hope that the success of Rhodesia will give us some hope that we can deal not in symbols, not in slogans, not in rhetoric, but rather in how the world indeed operates.

Finally, Mr. President, I think it is appropriate to mention that there is another African conflict in need of a negotiated solution. I refer to the war in Namibia where South African troops have battled nationalist guerrillas for several years. Since 1976 the U.N. has worked diligently to bring all parties together for a negotiated settlement and a peaceful transition to independence. South Africa, in particular, should respond to the inspiring precedent set in London yesterday. I look forward to the cooperation of South Africa and the nationalist guerrilla group, SWAPO, in the speedy implementation of the U.N. plan.

I will be over there the latter part of this month and hope to make that point there as well.

I also add, finally, that I hope the President indicates the same kind of judgment and wisdom on the issue of recognition of Angola so we may have peace not only in Zimbabwe but in southern Africa generally.

Mr. President, the number of individuals who have labored on this issue are many and I hope that in an era of a lot of very unhappy news they can take some comfort in knowing that it is possible for the Senate working with Congress and the administration to do something that in the long term we can be quite proud of.

I thank the Senator from North Carolina and the Senator from Delaware for their time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I thank the Chair for recognizing me.

The Senator from North Carolina sees little point in reshaping the history of the sanctions imposed by our Government against a friend and ally in Africa. In this matter we have, and have had, two distinctly opposing viewpoints. There have been some who felt that we should keep the sanctions on and on and on, like Tennyson's brook. There have been some of us, demonstrably the majority, in vote after vote, who have felt the sanctions should be lifted. The Senator from North Carolina is in the latter category.

As a matter of fact, this Senator believes that it was enormously ill-advised to have applied sanctions in the first place.

But what we have in Africa is a posture of the United States, as perceived by many of our allies and our adversaries around the world, a posture of having put every possible roadblock against the Muzorewa government, a posture which, of course, worked to the advantage of the so-called Patriotic Front which has been supported with arms and materiel from the Soviet Union from the outset.

As my friend from New York has often

said, we are not children around here; we know what the Soviet Union is up to in Africa. The Soviet Union's goal is to take over Africa and to destroy and demolish any government that is friendly to the United States and the rest of the free world.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. HELMS. I yield, gladly.

Mr. JAVITS. I wish to make one observation on that point.

Mr. HELMS. Yes, I am delighted to yield to my friend.

Mr. JAVITS. I know the Senator will agree with me, but it is important to cement it for the RECORD. He said we had different points of view, which we did. I agree with the Senator that the Soviet Union's purpose is "to take over." By that we mean control Africa. But that is not our purpose. That is the one point I wanted to make clear which all Africans should understand. We consider it antithetical to our interests to take over Africa.

Mr. HELMS. That is correct.

Mr. JAVITS. We want Africa to take itself over and live in peace and in accord with us and every other nation on earth.

It is the difference between day and night.

Mr. HELMS. The Senator is absolutely correct and if he inferred that I intended even to imply that the United States wanted to take over Africa, I want to disabuse his mind of that.

But the fact remains that what we have in Africa, as well as other parts of the world, is a confrontation between tyranny and freedom. This Senator has never been able to see how or why we could advance the cause of freedom and those who are trying to achieve it by placing roadblocks in the pathway of our friends.

We have been up and down the road in this Chamber long before I came to the Senate, Mr. President, on the question of chrome. The distinguished senior Senator from Virginia (Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.) has fought that battle valiantly and successfully for many years.

I remember as a private citizen watching with regret and puzzlement the actions of this Government of ours in refusing to buy chrome from Rhodesia, chrome which we need for our national defense and for other important purposes. So what happened? We ended up buying our chrome from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was buying chrome from Rhodesia and then selling it to us at a big markup in price.

As my friend Chub Sewell down in North Carolina says so often, "That does not even make good nonsense."

But all of that, Mr. President, is, to use the cliché, water over the dam.

I wish to say for the RECORD that I have spent a great deal of time with the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, a Methodist bishop, Abel Muzorewa, and I think I know as well as any Member of this Senate the motivations of this man and the instincts that guide him.

I have related in this Chamber once before a little episode that occurred last year when Bishop Muzorewa came to the