

The committee determined that no Federal statute or Senate rule would prohibit participation by Mr. Cavnar in this program.

The select committee received notification under rule 35 for Ridge Schuyler, a member of the staff of Senator ROBB, to participate in a program in Taiwan sponsored by the Tamkang University from July 1 to 8, 1995.

The committee determined that no Federal statute or Senate rule would prohibit participation by Mr. Schuyler in this program.

The select committee received notification under rule 35 for Pamela Sellars, a member of the staff of Senator COATS, to participate in a program in Germany sponsored by the Hanns Seidel Foundation from July 1 to 8, 1995.

The committee determined that no Federal statute or Senate rule would prohibit participation by Ms. Sellars in this program.

The select committee received notification under rule 35 for John Luddy, a member of the staff of Senator INHOFE, to participate in a program in Germany sponsored by the Hanns Seidel Foundation from July 1 to 8, 1995.

The committee determined that no Federal statute or Senate rule would prohibit participation by Mr. Luddy in this program.

The select committee received notification under rule 35 for Robert H. Carey, Jr., a member of the staff of Senator ABRAHAM, to participate in a program in Germany sponsored by the Hanns Seidel Foundation's Institute for Foreign Relations from July 1 to 8, 1995.

The committee determined that no Federal statute or Senate rule would prohibit participation by Mr. Carey in this program.

The select committee received notification under rule 35 for Chad Calvert, a member of the staff of Senator SIMPSON to participate in a program in Japan sponsored by the Association for Communication of Transcultural Study Foundation.

The committee determined that no Federal statute or Senate rule would prohibit participation by Mr. Calvert in this program.

The select committee received notification under rule 35 for Dr. William Spriggs, a member of the staff of Senator MACK, to participate in a program in Berlin sponsored by Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung from June 29 to July 3, 1995.

The committee determined that no Federal statute or Senate rule would prohibit participation by Dr. Spriggs in this program.

The select committee received notification under rule 35 for Wayne Abernathy, a member of the staff of Senator GRAMM, to participate in a program in Mexico sponsored by the Mexican Business Coordinating Council from July 4 to 7, 1995.

The committee determined that no Federal statute or Senate rule would

prohibit participation by Mr. Abernathy in this program.

The select committee received notification under rule 35 for Derek L. Schmidt, a member of the staff of Senator KASSEBAUM, to participate in a program in Korea sponsored by the Korea Economic Institute of America from May 28 to June 4, 1995.

The committee determined that no Federal statute or Senate rule would prohibit participation by Mr. Schmidt in this program.●

METAMORPHOSIS OF A CONTINENT

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, the Chicago Tribune carried a remarkable story from Timbuktu, Mali by Liz Sly on what is happening in Africa. Really, it is two stories that are intertwined.

I wish it were possible to put into the RECORD the maps and color shadings to provide a more accurate picture of some of the things that are illustrated in this article.

But those who read the article will note that Africa is a place of hope and promise and despair.

The little-known story of the spread of democracy in Africa is the story of progress that could be reversed easily. Africa needs our helping hand.

I ask that the Liz Sly article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 9, 1995]

METAMORPHOSIS OF A CONTINENT—DEMOCRACY SEEKS HOLD AMID POVERTY, VIOLENCE

(By Liz Sly)

TIMBUKTU, MALI.—Not all of the news out of Africa is bad.

For the first time in its long history, this remote town on the edge of the Sahara has a mayor elected by the people, Harber Sabane, 51, who has high hopes that democracy will help Timbuktu reclaim its status as one of the world's great cities.

First, he acknowledged, there are a number of problems to be ironed out.

"We have problems of development," Sabane said. "We don't have roads. We have a problem of water. We don't have infrastructure. Our ecological system is destroyed because of a lot of droughts and we have a problem of deforestation.

"Another problem is unemployment. We have no industry. We are very, very, very poor. Most people are illiterate and 60 percent of our children don't go to school."

Unfortunately, Sabane could have been describing just about anywhere in sub-Saharan Africa. Once synonymous with everything that was exotic and alluring about the continent, Timbuktu today is typical of everything that is wrong with it—even down to the ethnic fighting last year that killed an estimated 600 people and scared away the tourists, the town's only source of outside income.

By 1990, it had long been clear that sub-Saharan Africa was torn by crises. Poverty, conflict and underdevelopment were compounded by corrupt dictators who enjoyed the backing of rival superpowers concerned more with their own strategic agendas than with human rights or economic progress.

This, however, was supposed to be Africa's "democracy decade" in which the dictators, bereft of their Cold War relevance, would be replaced by elected, accountable govern-

ments heralding a new era of freedom and prosperity.

Halfway through the 1990s, those goals are elusive as ever for most parts of the continent. Instead, Africa's democracy decade risks becoming yet another decade of disappointment. Millions of Africans are still waiting for life to improve after more than three decades of freedom from colonialism.

A woeful array of collapsed states, hijacked elections and ethnic conflicts litter the landscape south of the Sahara. And even where democracy is taking root, Africa's hopes of a brighter future are in danger of being buried under the weight of its multiple problems, as Sabane is discovering in Timbuktu.

"The world around Africa is fast coming together and this continent risks being the odd man out," warned U.S. National Security Adviser Anthony Lake on a recent visit to the continent, summing up the world's growing impatience with Africa's failure to find its way in the post-Cold war world.

Chaotic Liberia, Somalia and Rwanda stand out as worst case examples of that failure. The 1990s saw Cold War-inspired conflicts in Ethiopia and Mozambique come to and end. But 2 million Africans have died since the collapse of the Berlin Wall as a result of new wars unleashed directly or indirectly by pressures from the democratic reforms that were supposed to bring them new hope—10 times the number who have died in the war in Bosnia.

A recent report from the London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies found some form of conflict in 26 of sub-Saharan Africa's 48 countries, offering a gloomy assessment for the future. "The potential for sudden outbursts of violence exists in most [African] countries as rising populations meet falling living standards and weak governments confront regional or ethnic movements," it said.

But is Africa's outlook really that bleak? It is just 50 years since the world ended a war that killed 60 million people, and many Africans plead that it is unfair to write off Africa now just because it is going through a period of upheaval.

"From the outside, the universal view is one of despair, and it must be tempting to repudiate the whole continent," said political scientist Mahmood Mamdani, director of the Center for Basic Research in Uganda's capital, Kampala. "But when one lives here, one recognizes the extent of the problems but also the small improvements that are taking place."

For better or worse, the 1990s already have proved revolutionary for Africa. Until 1990, Africa had only three governments that could be considered authentically democratic. Since then, multiparty elections have been held in 35 of sub-Saharan Africa's 48 nations.

From the sandswept streets of Timbuktu to the stately monuments of Cape Town, South Africa, new leaders are experimenting with new ways to address Africa's problems, and new freedoms are flourishing in places that once knew only repression and dictatorship.

Some have proved unexpected success stories, such as South Africa, where the leadership of President Nelson Mandela and the spirit of reconciliation that he represents shine like a beacon of hope for the rest of the continent. Benin, Malawi, Zambia and Namibia are among other countries that have peacefully managed the transition to democracy.

Africa's seeming tendency toward violence should be seen in the context of these seismic changes, argues Gen. Amadou Toumani Toure. He helped bring democracy to Mali,

the modern state of which Timbuktu is a part, by overthrowing its hated dictator in a military coup and then handing over power to an elected civilian government.

"Africa is in the throes of a radical transformation," Toure said. "After 30 years of military dictatorship or one-party rule, we are moving to democracy. Sometimes that process is violent, and it gives the impression Africa is in crisis."

"Rwanda, Somalia, Liberia, these are all struggles for power in the new order. Some leaders are resisting change. But take Senegal, Mali, Zambia, where people have chosen the ballot over the bullet."

"Africa does have a future. But each country in history has gone through crisis in arriving at its future. America had a revolution. Europe had many wars. Africa also is in the process of finding its future."

But where does Africa's future lie? With South Africa, which also underwent violence before peacefully embracing change? Or with Somalia and Liberia, which have disintegrated into chaos?

The prognosis for most African countries seems to be hovering precariously between these extremes. Just 17 of the continent's 35 elections have heralded genuinely democratic forms of government, according to a study by the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

In countries such as Burkina Faso, Ghana and Kenya, dictators were voted back into power in questionable elections, and they continue to rule with little regard for democratic principles. In others, such as Nigeria and Zaire, corrupt regimes continue to resist change, making these nations candidates for possible future upheaval.

Mali is typical of those new democracies that are genuinely trying to improve the lives of their people. But they are doing so against a backdrop of poverty, ethnic rivalry and falling Western aid budgets, all of which threaten to confound even the best-intentioned efforts.

Do-or-die economic reforms, ordered by the World Bank as a prerequisite for continued international aid, have produced economic growth in some countries that previously had known only stagnation or decline. But the reforms are causing considerable hardship among ordinary people, threatening these fragile new systems with popular discontent.

Poverty is already a key dynamic fueling conflict in Africa, something overlooked by Toure's interpretation of Africa's crises as the inevitable byproduct of political transformation.

In Mali, which the United Nations ranked the world's seventh poorest country, 1992's peaceful democratic elections coincided with an eruption of hostilities between Tuareg nomads and local Malians in the desert region around Timbuktu.

Although these two groups have fought one another in the past, both sides blame the recent fighting not on ethnic differences but on the country's desperate economic situation. Along the fringes of the Sahara, poverty has been deepened by harsh droughts in the 1970s and 1980s that turned former arable land into desert.

"It's poverty and bad economic conditions that cause this antisocial behavior," said Timbuktu's Mayor Sabane of the fighting, which has subsided.

"The causes of the fighting are economic," agreed Mohamed Ag Ahmed, a leader of one of the Tuareg factions, the Movement and United Fronts of Azawad, which is demanding development aid for Tuaregs in peace talks with the government.

"We could all live on the same land without conflict. But the useful space has shrunk over time. The population of Mali increases

3.5 percent a year, and now there is less land available for an increasing number of people year after year."

The simple logic applies to many parts of the continent. Falling living standards, environmental degradation and high population growth rates risk pushing already impoverished communities to the brink of their capacity to survive, and into competition for scarce resources. It is perhaps no accident that Africa's worst crises of the 1990s all have occurred in nations ranked among the continent's poorest half.

Yet there is no reason why Africa should be as poor as it is. A recent International Monetary Fund survey notes that Africa's "overall low level of economic growth is anything but foreordained."

Sub-Saharan Africa's 540 million people account for 10 percent of the world's population, living on about 15 percent of the Earth. Their land is potentially some of the world's richest, blessed with half the world's gold, most of its diamonds, 40 percent of its platinum and rich reserves of other minerals, oil and natural gas.

But Africans share only 1.3 percent of the world's actual wealth, and a disproportionate burden of the world's suffering. According to the CIA, two-thirds of those in the world risking starvation this year live in Africa. Africa contains 62 percent of the world's AIDS cases and one-third of its refugees.

Africa's entire gross domestic product is smaller than that of the Netherlands, with a population of just 15 million.

Also, Africa is the only part of the developing world where living standards have fallen over the past decade. Despite receiving nearly half the world's total annual aid—\$20 billion a year in the 1990s—the average African is no better off today than he or she was at independence from colonialism more than three decades ago.

What brought Africa to this sorry point in its history? Colonialism undoubtedly played a part in setting independent Africa off on the wrong foot, said professor George Ayittey, a Ghanaian national and professor of economics at the American University in Washington.

Independence also proved a hollow word for Africans, for no sooner had they cast off their colonial rulers than Cold War politics intervened to create a new form of foreign interference. Western powers and the Soviet bloc poured billions of dollars into propping up unsavory dictators—\$100 billion in the 1980s alone—long after it was apparent that they had no popular support.

But increasingly, Africans are starting to realize that their own leaders are to blame for their plight, Ayittey said.

"The basic reason why we're having all this chaos in Africa is because we had bad leadership," Ayittey said. "The colonial state was very authoritarian but those who took over made things worse."

Uncounted billions of those aid dollars, which could have gone toward building roads or educating children, were squirreled away into Swiss bank accounts for Africa's leaders or spent on weaponry to keep them in power, while ordinary Africans grew steadily poorer.

With the lifting of outside support for Africa's dictators, many of their nations have been exposed as hollow shams, as personal piggy-banks for narrow elites who had failed to unite their multiethnic populations behind them.

In finding its future, Africa therefore has not only to battle harsh new economic realities, but also cope with the burdensome legacy of its past mistakes.

And it can no longer count on the largesse of the outside world to help it through. The

West already has given notice that African leaders who fail to heed the new rules of fair play and accountability will have their aid suspended. Yet even those who do can expect no democracy bonanza; in the U.S., a Republican congress is threatening to slash overall aid levels to Africa, and Europe is also cutting aid.

In Timbuktu, a city that lured countless European explorers to their deaths in their quests for its wealth, Mayor Sabane pleads with the world not to forsake Africa now.

"In Africa, we are apprentices in democracy. We need help," he said.

"The current generation is very worried about our situation and wants to lift us out of this malaise and improve our lives. But we must have friendship so that Africa can renew itself and find itself in the modern world."

But could it be too late for a continent that, time and again, has failed to seize opportunities? Will the legacy of mistakes prove insurmountable? Are ordinary Africans, betrayed so many times by past leaders, in the process of being betrayed again?

Or is the continent merely witnessing the death throes of the old order and the birth pangs of a new era, as most Africans would like to believe?

"There is a saying in Africa, 'never lose hope,'" Sabane said.

"We don't lose hope." •

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY FEEDS FREE MARKET

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, Tom Roeser of the Chicago Sun-Times is someone I disagree with frequently, even though I respect him.

On the whole question of assistance for minority businesses, he had a column in the Chicago Sun-Times recently that spoke candidly about something that provides real insight.

As we discuss affirmative action and what should be done to assist in providing opportunities for minorities, I recommend required reading of the Tom Roeser column, and I ask that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The column follows:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, July 7, 1995]

GOVERNMENTAL SUBSIDY FEEDS "FREE MARKET"

(By Thomas F. Roeser)

Not long after I became an assistant secretary of commerce under President Richard Nixon, I stumbled upon an amazing discovery.

The big business community (mostly white-owned), which had long extolled "free" enterprise since the founding of this republic, was hooked far more than I realized on government subsidies.

The Cato Institute has just cataloged 125 programs in the federal budget designed to assist "business"—meaning, of course, mostly white-owned businesses. When I was sworn in, in 1969, I counted roughly \$13 billion worth of subsidies. Cato's figure today is \$53.7 billion.

The gist of Cato's recommendation is that these subsidies be cut. Very well. But recall that it is mostly white-owned industries that have thus profited since the founding of the republic.

It was clear that I was picked as assistant secretary for minority enterprise because, as a white conservative, I could be fired by a mostly white administration without prompting a racial furor. One recommendation I made lasted: Take a percentage of federal contracts—I called them "set-asides"—