

Scarce Federal law enforcement resources would be better utilized by focusing on putting more criminals behind bars rather than worrying about whether their tuna fish is too warm once they get there; whether their hot food is lukewarm, or heaven forbid, cold; whether they get juice or milk with their meals; whether they have to sleep on a mattress on the floor rather than a bunk a certain number of inches off the floor; whether they get outdoor exercise, exercise equipment, and recreation programs; and whether they get to wear underwear.

And the Clinton administration should stop diverting scarce State and local resources toward defending against, or bowing to, these bleeding-heart concerns.

Mr. President, I was the author, along with Birch Bayh, of the Civil Rights for Institutionalized Persons Act. I was the deciding vote on that vote. I believe it was in 1978 or 1979. It could have been 1980. It was an important bill. I believe in it. I do not think criminals should have their constitutional rights violated any more than anybody else.

But these assertions of the Clinton administration and these demands and these consent decrees and these costs to the taxpayers in those State and local areas are absurd. Frankly, we have to get them out of the pockets and lives of our State and local governments. When they find true constitutional issues, true constitutional wrongs, they ought to right them. But these are not constitutional issues or wrongs that need to be righted, and we have to give the State and local governments some flexibility. We also have to understand that these murderers and rapists and others have committed these crimes and they should not be coddled in the jails of this country.

Mr. President, I think we ought to quit making a distortion out of the Civil Rights for Institutionalized Persons Act and do what is right. But this is typical of this administration, and I had to make these comments.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION REAUTHORIZATION

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I rise to urge the Senate, as quickly as possible, to address and pass the current piece of legislation relating to the airports. I do so for a very special reason.

Three airports primarily serve the bulk of the requirements of the Congress and the Federal Government, and the Greater Metropolitan Washington area: National Airport, Dulles Airport, and Baltimore International.

Some almost now, I think, a decade ago, I, together with others in this Chamber, fashioned the statute by which Dulles and National became independent, subject only to the Wash-

ington Metropolitan Airports Authority jurisdiction. In that legislation and in subsequent pieces of legislation, it was the wisdom of Congress that we need to constitute a special board to have some oversight responsibilities. It was highly controversial. The thought was that this board could bring to the attention of the metropolitan authority and others the particular needs of the users.

As it turned out, the Federal courts said that was unconstitutional, and we finally, now, had a Supreme Court decision which knocked down the functions of that legal entity. This bill puts into place the legislative corrections to implement the decisions of the Supreme Court and other Federal courts that have addressed this issue.

It is essential that legislation be passed for the very simple reason that as the Members of the U.S. Senate hopefully will begin their journeys home later this week, they will go through the airport and see both airports partially remodeled. Unless this legislation is in place, that remodeling, by necessity, will have to stop. The funds will run out.

I have just talked to the general counsel of the Washington Metropolitan Airports Authority. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD certain documentation he will be providing the Senate today.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON AIRPORTS AUTHORITY,

Alexandria, VA, October 1, 1996.

Hon. JOHN WARNER, U.S. SENATE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WARNER: We write to advise you of the critical importance to the Airports Authority of the enactment of the Conference Report on H.R. 3539, the Federal Aviation Reauthorization Act of 1996.

In addition to critical measures providing for improved security at all airports, and authorizing expenditures for the continuation of the airport improvement program grants and funding for the FAA, the Conference report contains vitally important provisions to restore the powers of the Airports Authority.

Since an April 1995 court order, the Airports Authority has been without basic powers to award contracts, adopt a budget, change regulations, or issue more revenue bonds. This is a serious matter for any public agency; for us, it goes to the heart of our business.

As you know, the Airports Authority is engaged in a \$2 billion program to reconstruct Washington National and expand Washington Dulles International. We are now at the stage where we must raise more funds through the sale of revenue bonds in order to keep the construction work on track.

Enactment of the Conference Report now is essential to our ability to issue bonds next spring, and our overall ability to provide first-class air service to the public.

We therefore strongly urge that the Senate take action on the Conference Report before it adjourns.

Thank you for your steady support on this matter over the past two years. We look forward to working with you in the future.

Sincerely,

ROBERT F. TARDIO,
Chairman.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, he said ever so clearly that a bond, which will have to be issued next year to fund the ongoing modernization at both airports, that bond cannot be issued without this legislation in place, and preparations must commence now to go into the financial markets early in 1997 to get that next increment of funding required for this modernization.

That is not an issue that is at contest, but it is an issue that can literally put into semiparalysis the operation of these two airports; indeed, not only the inconvenience of a shutdown of remodeling, but there are some safety ramifications in air travel incorporated in having an ongoing orderly process of modernization and having it completed on schedule.

So, I fervently urge my colleagues to address this legislation as early as possible and to put in place the corrections that are found in this bill that will enable the Washington Metropolitan Airport Authority to continue an orderly modernization process.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

WHY AFRICA MATTERS: TRADE AND INVESTMENT

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, I rise to finish a series of speeches about Africa and why Africa matters to the United States. I am sure many of us, over the recent years, have looked at the Continent of Africa with some despair, seeing one crisis after another occur; and seemingly, as one is resolved, there is only another nation that has a terrible tragedy occur, a coup and civil war ensues.

I have spoken in a series of speeches about, one, our vulnerability in the United States to infectious diseases coming out of Africa, and addressed the many ways in which environmental crises in Africa can touch Americans right here at home. I have also addressed how international crime, terrorism, and narcotics trafficking in Africa affect our own sense of security here at home.

I believe that Africa does matter. But I believe there is also a great deal of hope for the countries of Africa. I believe there are many positive things that we should consider, and should not forget. Today, I want to conclude with a topic that I believe many people have overlooked in relation to Africa: trade and investment.

At the start of this Congress, I began the work of the Subcommittee on African Affairs in the Foreign Relations Committee by chairing a hearing on trade and investment in Africa. I think it is appropriate to conclude the work of this Congress on Africa issues by returning to this underemphasized area.

The focus of our hearing 2 years ago was not only to examine the potential role of private sector development in Africa, but also to bring to life the benefits to the United States of increased trans-Atlantic commercial ties.

Over the past few years, investment and trade flows between the United States and Africa have increased substantially. Many companies, particularly communications, infrastructure and engineering firms, see Africa as a major growth market. In a time of reduced foreign aid, a focus on trade and investment must be a fundamental component of our overall foreign policy toward the continent.

How many people know that there is more trade between the United States and the countries of Africa than between the United States and the states of the former Soviet Union? One of the best-kept secrets, I think, about U.S. relations with Africa is the tremendous amount of trade and potential trade also that occurs between our country and the African Continent.

In 1993, U.S. exports of goods and services to sub-Saharan Africa totaled nearly \$4.8 billion. This is 20 percent greater than exports to the Commonwealth of Independent States of the former Soviet Union. By some estimates, every extra \$1 billion in American exports to Africa adds some 19,000 new jobs in the United States. Exports to southern Africa alone are responsible for an estimated 60,000 jobs in this country.

Over the past 50 years, the African Continent has undergone tremendous change, as African nations have wrestled with decolonization, independence and, for some, democratization. Africa has many success stories to tell, and the continent's tales of overcome hardships are admirable, indeed. But these stories of progress rarely make headlines. More often, the news tells of the political problems that remain, of political and economic instability, waste, corruption, unsound economic policies. These problems are serious and, in many African countries, they have stifled investment and choked off growth and trade. But the truth is that a remarkable transformation is underway in Africa.

Nearly two-thirds of African countries are now at some stage of democratic transition, compared with only four in 1989. More than 30 elections have taken place in Africa over the past 6 years. Many African nations have taken difficult and courageous steps to keep budget deficits down, maintain realistic exchange rates and increase competition through domestic deregulation, trade reform and privatization of public enterprises, not easy tasks in very weak and struggling economies and countries that are trying to open a stable and free political society as well.

The aim of these reforms has been to create an environment in which the private sector can act as the engine for development. We are beginning to see these efforts pay off. In a time of declining foreign aid, it is more than practical to emphasize the potential role of the private sector in the economic development of Africa. It just makes sense.

Africans themselves want trade, not aid. They recognize that it is foreign trade and investment, not foreign aid, that provides the basis for sustained development, economic growth and new jobs, and trade with Africa does not benefit only Africans. As I pointed out, it helps us as well. New markets for American exports mean new jobs here at home.

In the coming years, we should try to direct more of our foreign assistance toward building the foundations for long-term economic development in Africa. We should work in partnership with international financial institutions, of other donors and, of course, the African leaders to help meet the continent's critical infrastructure needs. I have always believed if the continent of Africa had a transportation system across the continent, whether railroads or roads, it would help immensely the trade between African nations themselves. Without an adequate network of roads, airports and telecommunications to knit the countries of Africa together, economic growth in Africa will face inherent structural limits.

There are, of course, purposes for foreign assistance other than promoting economic growth. American assistance plays an important part in addressing pressing social and humanitarian needs in many African countries. But the reality is that present levels of aid in Africa cannot and will not continue indefinitely.

Increased U.S. trade and investment in Africa making the countries of Africa full partners in the world's unprecedented economic prosperity provides the only real basis for future African economic self-sufficiency. The many changes underway in Africa, though encouraging, are not enough. Countries that have begun economic reforms must do more, and countries that have not, must do so.

Sub-Saharan Africa currently attracts less than 3 percent of the total foreign direct investment flowing to developing countries and economies in transition. Our policies toward Africa should encourage the necessary political and economic changes to provide a stable environment for sustained domestic economic development and foreign direct investment.

Our voice carries far in Africa, and we can make a difference in ending conflicts, promoting open and accountable governments and fostering economic reform. For example, we should encourage the liberalization of land tenure laws that prohibit women from owning land. Women are the primary agricultural laborers in Africa, but they cannot attain the degree of financial control within the sector necessary to spur growth. The World Bank estimates that the value of women's agricultural output would increase by 22 percent if they had the same access as men to major factors of production.

Another example of where we can make a difference is in lowering trade

barriers. We should support the removal of barriers to trade among African countries and support efforts aimed at regional economic integration. At the same time, the United States must also lower its own trade barriers that unfairly discriminate against African goods. This means allowing imports, such as textiles, coffee, and sugar, into the United States in a fair and equitable manner. The laws of economics apply in Africa as they do elsewhere, and we should do all that we can to ensure that the established rules of free trade do as well.

Mr. President, to conclude, I am optimistic about the economic potential of Africa. During my almost two decades of work on African issues in the Senate, I have observed firsthand the tremendous and commendable efforts made by the peoples of the many nations of the African Continent.

At the same time, I also am sober about Africa's future and realize that without continued American engagement, Africa will not be joining the rest of us as we enter the next millennium.

Leaving Africa behind would raise important threats to our people and our national interests. Emerging and proliferating infectious diseases do not respect international borders, nor do environmental crises on a large scale.

Let me say, even more important to leaving Africa behind would be to lose a tremendous opportunity for all of us to benefit from the continent's rich heritage and potential. As we approach the beginning of the new millennium, America's future will be brighter if Africa's is as well.

THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, I want to make a few comments about recent events in Liberia.

The 6-year civil war has killed over 150,000 Liberians and displaced 1.2 million people. The country's infrastructure has been laid waste, and its economy is in ruins. Time and again, Liberians have reached tentative peace agreements, only to watch them fall apart.

Last fall, many of us held high hopes for the peace accord reached in Abuja, Nigeria. For once, the faction leaders appeared to set aside their personal agendas for a process of disarmament and elections. Our hopes were shattered again this past spring as the Liberian civil war erupted yet again.

After months of renewed fighting, another peace agreement was reached last month among the warring Liberian factions. It is my fervent hope that the current cease-fire and plan for national elections next spring will succeed and lead at long last to sustained peace for Liberia.

Like its predecessors, this peace is fragile. Restoring and protecting a secure environment for Liberians is the first requirement for lasting peace.

I commend the efforts of the West African peacekeeping force, ECOMOG, for