

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

its vital role in bringing peace to this war-torn land. It is in America's interest that ECOMOG succeed and that we broaden the number of African states participating in the regional effort. In April, President Clinton committed \$30 million in aid to the ECOMOG forces, and I am pleased that the full amount has been authorized to be transmitted. I urge that the funds be disbursed as quickly as possible to provide assistance in the vital areas of need identified by ECOMOG, such as communications and transportation.

Long-term security will require more than a regional peace force—it will require a reestablishment of order in Liberian society itself. Short-term relief requires local order as well. Although the UNDP is currently rehabilitating the airport in Monrovia, and the World Food Program is meeting urgent humanitarian needs in areas severely affected by the fighting, most NGO's and private volunteer organizations are still reluctant to return until the security and political situation in Liberia is stabilized. The reestablishment of law and order in Liberia is a critical requirement for these organizations to function and meet pressing economic and humanitarian needs. Sooner or later, we will need to support efforts to reconstitute Liberian security and judicial institutions.

The second requirement for a lasting peace is the existence of basic economic opportunity. If peace is to endure, America's role cannot end with a cease-fire and an election. Faction fighters will not permanently lay down their arms unless they have something else to do and other means of sustenance.

In this area, Liberia's tragedy may provide its own opportunity. For example, Liberia desperately needs the reconstitution of its roads, bridges, airport, and water and electrical power systems. These are vital areas in which former belligerents can be employed, exchanging swords for plowshares, and contributing to the rebuilding of their country. Schools also must be reconstituted so the youngest fighters of ages 9 and 10 can replace their guns with books and return from the battlefields to the classrooms.

Mr. President, there are compelling reasons for America to remain engaged in Liberia. We share a special history. We also have an interest in eliminating the type of instability that can be a haven for threats that cut across national boundaries—environmental degradation, infectious diseases, and international crime, terrorism, and drug trafficking.

Elections alone cannot save Liberia. I trust the administration's diplomacy, with the oversight of Congress, will continue to take that fact into account as we try to make peace work in Liberia.

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

MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR—S. 2161

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GREGG). The clerk will read S. 2161 for a second time.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2161) reauthorizing programs of the Federal Aviation Administration, and for other purposes.

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, on behalf of the majority leader, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. S. 2161 will be placed on the Calendar.

The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

PRESIDIO OMNIBUS PARKS BILL

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I come to the Senate floor this afternoon to update my colleagues and those who are following this issue, to update you all on our efforts to pass an omnibus parks bill for this Nation. My report has both disappointment and hope. I want to explain why.

We have been working nonstop to try to get an agreement from every single Member of this U.S. Senate to accept the House-passed omnibus parks bill called the Presidio parks bill, so that we can quickly act and send this bill to the President's desk.

It is important to note that the omnibus parks bill in the House, Presidio bill, passed with only four dissenting votes. So there was near unanimity over on the House side for this bill, which is very far-reaching, very important for American people, very bipartisan and has been agreed to by the administration.

So here we have an extraordinary opportunity, Mr. President, to end this session on a high note, to pass the bill that passed in the House in a bipartisan way, to pass a bill here that has bipartisan support, send it to the President, and all of us can go home feeling very good that we did something for this country's environment and that we did it in a bipartisan fashion.

So why is my report filled with some disappointment? First of all, I was very disappointed that the majority leader, who is working hard to build a consensus for this bill—there is no question Senator DASCHLE and Senator LOTT are working hard to build a consensus for this bill—but the majority leader, Senator LOTT, has the ability to bring this bill up before this body right now. He could have done it yesterday. Had he made that decision to bring this bill to the floor, we could have started the process, just as we have on the FAA bill, to vote on this bill.

The rules of the Senate can sometimes be confusing. I have had many people call and say, "Well, don't you have 60 votes in favor of the parks bill?" I said, probably more like 85 votes, maybe 90 votes, but we cannot get a cloture motion filed until the majority leader decides to call the bill up. He has not done so to date.

He says he prefers to have every single Senator agree. Of course, Mr. President, that would be a wonderful thing if every single Senator would agree with this bill. Then we could get it done without a recorded vote, without the necessity of filing cloture. But surely it seems to me we would have a better way to make this bill the law of the land if that bill was to be pending and a cloture motion pending. I think that would bring people to the table in a faster manner, and if we were not able to achieve unanimity, we could then go to the cloture route.

So I am very disappointed that to date the majority leader has not chosen to bring the parks bill before the U.S. Senate. I urge him to do that right now. We are going to be here. We should be here doing our work. We all want to resolve the FAA dispute, and we will. We surely ought to want to work on this parks bill. I hope that the majority leader will bring that bill before us.

Every single Democrat has told me that he or she is very much for this bill. The vast majority of Republicans have said the same. So all we need to do is have the bill brought before us, and if someone did filibuster it, we could bring the debate to a close with 60 votes and get on with it, and, as I say, I believe the vote would be overwhelmingly in favor of this bill.

Mr. President, I want to explain why this bill is so important.

No. 1, it includes parks for 41 States. Forty-one States in the Nation will benefit from this parks bill, which has required 2 years of effort, Mr. President, to put together, 2 years of effort to put together this Presidio omnibus parks bill. We could see this chance evaporate. I hope we do not. I hope everyone will agree. I surely will be on my feet until the waning hours of this session, if need be, proposing that we pass this House bill unanimously.

What States are covered? Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

As you go into the bill and you read the various titles, you see, Mr. President, that in many States there is more than one important parks project.

Mr. President, every one of these States is counting on us. I am very, very hopeful—very hopeful—that we can resolve our differences. I for one have been doing whatever I could do to talk to individual Senators.

There are some Senators who have disappointments that they did not get everything they wanted in this bill. I understand that. You know, the Presidio, for example, which is so important to us; we had to compromise on