

raised the issue directly with parties involved in public and private, and am aware that high-ranking administration officials have done the same. Yet even as Abuja had its most reasonable chance to succeed, arms have flowed to the parties each country it favors. I will work to finally activate the U.N. Commission that was created after the U.N. arms embargo was imposed against Liberia, and establish sanctions for those flaunting the international embargo. I will also submit that if this practice continues, the United States consider sanctions of its own against those working to undermine the Abuja Accords. At a minimum, we should revive the sanctions against individuals working against democratization efforts that were lifted when Abuja was concluded.

At this point, I request that an op-ed in yesterday's New York Times by Jeffery Goldberg be printed in the RECORD. I do not agree with all the conclusions it draws, particularly the proposal that the preferable course of action is to have U.S. marines occupy Monrovia. However, I do recommend the article as a cogent analysis of what went wrong, and what the United States can try to do the repair the Abuja process.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 15, 1996]

LIFTING LIBERIA OUT OF CHAOS

(By Jeffrey Goldberg)

George Boley stood in a clearing deep in a Liberian rain forest and said that he was misunderstood. "I am not a warlord," he told me in late 1994. "I don't know why they use this term to describe me."

Behind the self-styled chairman of the wildly misnamed Liberian Peace Council stood 80 soldiers. Most were teen-agers, some were as young as 9. All were armed, many were drunk. "These are professional fighting men," he said, without irony.

Mr. Boley, who holds a Ph.D. in educational administration from the University of Akron, is most assuredly a warlord, as are the other Liberian faction leaders who last week drove their country back into chaos.

Fighting in the capital, Monrovia, has killed untold numbers. United States troops have evacuated more than 1,600 Americans and other foreigners. But the United States must take stronger action to restore peace—and it can do so without endangering American troops.

The civil war began in 1989 when Charles Taylor, the warlord of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, invaded from neighboring Ivory Coast. The next year, Liberia's dictator, Master Sgt. Samuel Doe, was killed, setting off six years of gang warfare among several factions.

A peace accord struck in Abuja, Nigeria, last August was supposed to end the war. It handed Monrovia over to the warlords, who agreed to share power peacefully. But they never came through on their pledge to disarm their supporters.

So it was inevitable that violence would erupt this month after Mr. Taylor sent his men to arrest a rival, Roosevelt Johnson, on murder charges. Mr. Johnson's faction has indeed murdered civilians. But Mr. Taylor's fighters have also indiscriminately killed civilians, including five American nuns in 1992.

The fault for this new spasm of violence rests mostly with the warlords, of course. But the United States is also to blame. Last year, it missed a chance to adequately fin-

nance a disarmament effort by the United Nations and West African Peacekeeping Force, which has been in Liberia since 1990.

The peacekeeping force—with soldiers from nine countries—successfully defended Monrovia from a 1992 attack by Charles Taylor's faction. But it is now demoralized, cashstrapped and undermanned. Its ground forces, once at 12,000, are down to 5,000 or so poorly equipped men. Their commanders are for the most part Nigerian Army generals and are widely considered corrupt.

For Liberia, the best scenario would have United States Marines occupying Monrovia. But with Somalia still fresh on Americans' minds, this is probably not politically feasible. Still, a strong West African force of about 15,000 men could disarm the ragtag factions and weaken the warlords. This would take American cash and equipment—from ammunition and food to armored vehicles and helicopters. The United States would also have to send military trainers and communications equipment to Ghana and other willing and capable West African nations.

All this would cost more than \$20 million. But over the past six years, Washington has poured almost half a billion dollars of humanitarian aid into the country, not including the cost of the current evacuation—the third such operation since 1989.

America has a special responsibility to Liberia, founded in 1847 by freed American slaves. Liberia was also an American ally in the cold war, and \$500 million in American aid propped up the brutal Doe regime.

The only way to end the terror of the warlords is to take their guns away. If Washington helps West African troops do so, not a single American soldier would be endangered. And it would ultimately cost less than airlifting Americans out of Monrovia every time the city explodes.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Situations like Liberia—and indeed other conflicts that have not been resolved by post-cold-war politics—demand creative responses by the international community. Liberia poses challenges that do not fall under the traditional definitions of United States national security, but they do include threats to our well-being and national interests. For instance, as Liberian refugees spill over into Guinea, the stresses on some of the last remaining tropical rainforest in West Africa become untenable, and the rainforest shrinks, causing shortages of resources, food, and medicine. Large concentrations on refugees and displaced persons also heighten potential for outbreaks of disease. One case of Ebola or typhoid in a refugee camp, and we have a humanitarian disaster that can spread anywhere in just a plane ride.

Unfortunately, our option is not to pull out of Liberia and wash our hands of the problem: because of regional ramifications and threats of disease and environmental degradation, the issue is whether we meet the challenge of Liberia, or invest more after more destruction in the tragedies that would unravel in Sierra Leone, Guinea, Cote D'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Ghana, and perhaps elsewhere in West Africa. So, Mr. President, we don't really have a choice: the problem is maintaining stability in West Africa, whether we call it Liberia or Burkina.

For these reasons, yesterday I introduced a resolution, Senate Resolution

248 with Senators KASSEBAUM, SIMON, LEAHY, JEFFORDS, and PELL, declaring the breakdown of the Abuja process would have serious ramifications for United States interests in Liberia and throughout West Africa, and urging the administration to consider a number of steps. These include scrutinizing the budget to find funding for ECOMOG; this is key. We also suggest considering the provision of excess defense articles for communications and logistical support for troops willing to participate in ECOMOG. The resolution also urges the administration to use its influence with other governments to solicit interest in ECOMOG, and finally, it calls on the administration to lead U.N. efforts to establish finally a committee to enforce the U.N. arms embargo against Liberia. These are all suggestions that the administration should consider, and it is not an exhaustive list. The point is, we need decisive and creative action in Liberia—and part of that must be real support for the west African peacekeeping force.

So, once again I applaud the work of our diplomatic and military forces in Liberia today, and compliment the administration on its efforts to help calm the situation. At the same time, I urge them to focus fully on Liberia—not just to quell the current tensions, but invest in trying to prevent them from erupting again.

I also want to express our gratitude to Ghana's President Jerry Rawlings and his senior diplomatic team which has worked tirelessly and somewhat successfully to negotiate a ceasefire. Other ECOWAS states, particularly Cote D'Ivoire, have been very helpful in trying to reach the same goal. We also owe a debt of gratitude to Sierra Leone for making Freetown available as a transit point for those evacuated. While multilateral efforts may have failed to this point in Liberia, with each step—as painful as it is—the United States, ECOWAS, and the rest of the international community seem to be strengthening their abilities. We must learn from the past and look creatively to the future: we have no choice, unless we are willing to confront what could be even bigger disasters in the near future.●

HEALTH CARE

● Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, yesterday the U.S. Senate moved in a positive direction in reforming our Nation's health care system. S. 1028, a bill narrow in scope that builds upon and strengthens the current private market system, moved one step closer to becoming law.

During yesterday's debate, the merits of including medical savings accounts in the legislation were discussed at great length. I believe MSA's are a good idea. MSA's give people control over their health care dollars and encourage them to make their own decisions about health care benefits. They preserve medical freedom and provide plenty of incentives for cost control.

Choice is the keystone of MSA's. As many of my colleagues have pointed out, with MSA's people can choose their physician, their hospital, their health care plan. Additionally, MSA's will bring about lower health care spending. Consumers will become more savvy about their health care options, and certainly the system will benefit as a result.

The problem, Mr. President, is that it was absolutely clear that including an MSA provision would derail the entire bill and a real opportunity to enact meaningful health care reform would be lost. If the legislation had included that provision, my Democratic colleagues indicated they would filibuster the bill and the President indicated he would veto the entire measure. In short, this targeted, commonsense bill would have been killed.

I am dedicated to the passage of health care reform and I do not want a good bill to be sacrificed for one provision, however worthy that provision may be. It was for this reason that I did not support the inclusion of MSA's in the final bill, and it's also the reason this MSA effort failed.

Yes, Mr. President, medical savings accounts are a good idea. Although S. 1028 was not the right vehicle, I will look for other opportunities to promote and encourage them.●

TRIBUTE TO THE CADDO MAGNET ORCHESTRA

● Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to an exceptional group of students from my hometown of Shreveport, LA. The Caddo Magnet Orchestra, combined of 103 high school and middle school students from Caddo Parish in northwestern Louisiana, has for years been recognized as one of the most outstanding student orchestras in our State. Since its inception in 1980, the orchestra has consistently received superior performance ratings in all regional and State competitions and has won several prestigious awards from music festivals around the Nation. In light of its impressive reputation, this year the orchestra was invited to perform at Carnegie Hall, a rare privilege offered to very few young performers.

After many months of intensive rehearsal and fundraising, the Caddo Magnet Orchestra traveled to New York City last month for its March 24 Carnegie Hall debut, where its performance was met by a standing ovation from the 1,000 audience members in attendance. The evening's performance, consisting of pieces by English composers Gustav Holst, John Ireland, Edward Elgar and John Rutter, was flawless and has earned this orchestra national recognition.

Louisiana is enormously proud of these outstanding young people, not only for their individual talents, but also for their overall commitment to excellence and their spirit of community. The students worked together to make beautiful music, and the har-

mony they created represents all that can be achieved when we put forth our best efforts to reach a common goal. This is citizenship at its finest.

The members of the orchestra have represented the State of Louisiana with great distinction. I congratulate these musicians and their director, Ms. Johnette Parker, as well as the parents and faculty of Caddo Magnet High School and Caddo Middle Magnet School for their marvelous collective effort in reaching this pinnacle and for setting an example of excellence from which we all can benefit.●

TRIBUTE TO JUDI BAYLY AND HER IRISH SETTER, LYRIC

● Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I rise today to congratulate a Nashua, NH, resident, Judi Bayly and her 8-year-old Irish setter, Lyric, who dialed 911 and helped save Judi's life when she noticed Judi had stopped breathing.

Last month, Judi Bayly who has asthma and sleep apnea, stopped breathing temporarily. When the oxygen generator she uses became unplugged and the alarm sounded, Judi did not hear it as she slept. Lyric, her Irish setter, did and tried to alert Judi by barking, pawing and sniffing at her. Unfortunately, Judi didn't wake up so Lyric dialed 911. When rescuers arrived at Judi's house, Lyric continued to bark and guided them to her.

Amazingly, Lyric has also saved Judi's life twice before by dialing 911. Although Lyric is trained by Service Dogs America in New York to recognize Judi's seizures, Lyric has a special loyalty to Judi and is by her side constantly. As an emergency medical technician, Judi also trains dogs professionally. She has bred Irish setters before and she and her husband own three of Lyric's puppies. I admire Judi's devotion to her dogs and her promotion of the use of trained dogs.

Lyric is an exceptional dog and deserves the national recognition she has seen over the past few weeks. Lyric is an example of a truly sensitive and astute dog. As a dog lover myself, I congratulate Lyric and her owner on a job well done!●

REV. ROOSEVELT AUSTIN

● Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I rise to honor Rev. Roosevelt Austin and his wife, Dr. Nurame Austin, who will be celebrating their 40 years of dedicated service to the Saginaw community and the State of Michigan. Reverend Austin is the pastor of Zion Missionary Baptist Church in Saginaw, MI.

Reverend Austin was ordained June 25, 1953, at Western Seventh District Association in Opelousas, LA. This day was the start of a long and fruitful career of community service. Reverend Austin's pastoral experience began as a youth minister at Mt. Calvary Baptist Church in Opelousas, LA, the church where he was converted on April 7, 1936. Reverend Austin went on to receive

bachelor's and master's degrees in theology. He received a doctorate of divinity degree with honors from the American Divinity School in Chicago, IL.

Reverend Austin has always stressed the importance of education. He has become a shining example to the community of what a lifetime of learning can accomplish. He has served on local, State, and national congresses of Christian education. He has also served as a board member on the Commission on Quality Education for All Children for Saginaw Public Schools. Reverend Austin sees that improving the condition of our inner cities begins with improving the education of our children.

Reverend Austin's dedication to improving the condition of our Nation's inner cities has been a driving in his life's work. During the course of his career, Reverend Austin has taken part in many institutes, organizations, and community groups that focus on solving problems associated with poverty. He is a board member of the Saginaw chapter of the NAACP and also serves as a spiritual advisor to inmates at the Saginaw County Jail.

On May 4, 1996, Reverend Austin will be awarded an honorary doctor of humanities degree from Saginaw Valley State University for the leadership role he has played in seeking neighborhood improvement.

Through his life's work, Reverend Austin has touched and improved the lives of countless people. I know that my Senate colleagues will join me in congratulating Rev. Roosevelt Austin on his 40 years of outstanding service to the community.●

HIGHLAND HIGH SCHOOL ACADEMIC DECATHLON TEAM

● Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to commend the students and coach of the Highland High School Academic Decathlon Team. This team, comprising of 15 New Mexico students, is the New Mexico representative to the 1996 National Academic Decathlon competition in Atlanta, GA.

The academic decathlon is a unique program that encourages academically well rounded students to compete in a variety of events. The decathlon encourages students to develop a greater respect for knowledge, promotes wholesome competition in academic areas of study and interest, stimulates intellectual growth and achievement, and encourages public interest and awareness of outstanding programs in our schools. This valuable program challenges students to strive for goals and to work hard academically.

Mr. President, these 15 students and their coach have worked extremely hard since early fall to prepare themselves for this event. Through their hard work and their extensive efforts, they have been able to overcome obstacles and achieve very high goals. Too often, Mr. President, we reward students for their athletic prowess instead of their academic abilities. Today, I