

10:15 a.m.; Senator THOMAS, or his designee, controlling the time between 10:15 and 11 a.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, tomorrow the Senate will begin the day with a period of morning business. At 11 a.m. the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the pipeline safety legislation. Relevant amendments are in order under a previous agreement, and Senators who have amendments are encouraged to inform the managers of that fact. It is hoped a vote on final passage can occur as early as tomorrow afternoon.

ORDER TO RECOGNIZE THE MAJORITY LEADER

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the majority leader be recognized at 11 a.m. tomorrow for up to 15 minutes for a tribute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment immediately following my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HAITI: A HUMAN TRAGEDY

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, let me turn to an event occurring to our neighbor to the south, Haiti, this very day. It is an event that has impact not just for the people of that impoverished country, but also for the United States.

Today, Jean-Bertrand Aristide will be inaugurated. This is the second time that Aristide is being inaugurated as Haiti's President. Aristide, with great popularity and great expectations, will today be succeeding his hand-picked successor of Rene Preval.

For Aristide, and more importantly for the Haitian people, this is a moment of great historic import and significant opportunity. Aristide's second inauguration represents a monumental opportunity because this man has the power to save his tiny nation from its own self-destruction—destruction due in large part to the collective ideas, hopes, and dreams that both President Preval and President Aristide himself have squandered over the precious years since 1994.

When last many Americans tuned into Haiti, it was 1994. In 1994, our country sent 20,000 troops to Haiti as part of an internationally endorsed effort to restore Aristide to power. That did occur in 1994. Tragically, though, during these past 6 years, both President Aristide, and then President

Preval, have failed to enact the necessary reforms to bring democracy, stability, and, yes, hope to Haiti. As a result, Haiti, today, still has a declining gross national product. Nobody knows what the unemployment is. Official estimates are between 60 and 70 percent unemployment. There is little to no foreign investment. In fact, there is less today than a number of years ago. They have the hemisphere's lowest per capita income and highest infant mortality rate. The Haitian National Police, HNP, a civilian police force, which the United States and the international community helped to establish 6 years ago, and that we worked very hard on and saw great success made, now, today, unfortunately, is declining in its expertise.

Six years ago, there was great promise for the Haitian National Police. Today, though, the HNP has become more corrupt, more engaged in politics, and is in a state of steady decline.

In 1994, when Aristide was returned to power, everyone was realistic. No one expected miracles. Haiti was, after all, a country that has been miserably governed by Haitians and non-Haitians alike for not just decades but for centuries. What could have been expected and should have been expected was the establishment of a foundation for change and the establishment of a foundation for progress that would help move that country away from its failed past and toward a hopeful and productive future.

Tragically, under both President Aristide, and then President Preval, there has been no movement in that direction. Moreover, the few Haitians who comprised the economic elite have shown no interest in becoming stakeholders in their country's overall social, political, and economic progress. For them, it seems, they think it is in their best interest to stand back from the turmoil that surrounds them so as to not risk their own wealth and security. That has been true of the economic elite, and it has been true of the political elite as well.

Despite this, in politics, as in theater and in life itself, there are second acts, second opportunities for redemption. President Aristide now has such an opportunity. His immense popularity and his political hold on the country give him the capability to reverse Haiti's destructive course. It is within his means to do the things that are necessary. Quite frankly, anyone who has spent any time looking at Haiti knows that there are four, five, six basic things that Haitians need to do to get their country moving in the right direction. It is within Aristide's grasp today to help Haiti begin to eliminate corruption, create free markets and new industries, to do basic things such as privatize Port-au-Prince port, which today, unbelievably, is the most expensive port in the entire hemisphere to ship anything into or out of. He has it within his power to improve the country's judicial system, to stabilize its

political system, to respect human rights, and to learn to establish and sustain an agricultural system that can begin to feed its own people.

It is within Aristide's means to help Haiti break out of its vicious cycle of despair, a cycle in which political stalemate stops government and judicial reforms which, in turn, discourage investment and privatization. Caught in a cycle such as this, the economy stands to shrink further and further until there is no economic investment to speak of at all.

That will occur unless some action is taken. Aristide already has given some indication—at least on paper—that he is willing to make some of these changes. In a December letter to President Clinton, he said he was committed to a broad range of governmental and political reforms, including: Rapid review and rectification of 10 contested Senate seats; creation of a credible new provisional electoral council in consultation with opposition party members; substantial enhancement of cooperation with the United States to combat drug trafficking; nomination of capable and respected officials for senior security positions, including the Haitian National Police; strengthening of democratic institutions and protection of human rights; installation of a broad-based government, including members of the opposition; initiation of new dialogue with international financial institutions to enhance free markets and private investment; and negotiation of an agreement for the repatriation of illegal migrants.

All of these things were spelled out in that letter from President Aristide to then-President Clinton. All of these things are readily achievable.

Aristide's pledge is encouraging. But, unless he has the political will to actually carry out these reforms and create a stable and democratic government, Haiti has no hope of making real and lasting economic, political, and judicial progress. Quite candidly, there's nothing the United States can do to fix Haiti if its government isn't willing to fix itself. Since the mid-1990s, we've spent more than \$2 billion—and the international community has poured in at least another \$1.5 billion—to try to bring democracy and stability to Haiti.

Yet if we look at where Haiti is today versus where it was 6 years ago, a casual observer going through that country would come to the conclusion that virtually nothing has changed, that nothing has happened.

Candidly, Mr. President, the fact is that extraordinary amounts of financial assistance and the good intentions behind them are no substitute for the political will and leadership necessary to rescue an unstable country in an economic freefall. Unless Aristide and his Family Lavalas Party take responsibility for the situation and commit to turning things around, history will repeat itself.

Unless President Aristide, his political party, and the leadership of Haiti

take responsibility for the situation and commit to turning things around, history will once again tragically repeat itself.

Unless Aristide makes concrete changes, we will once again be seeing makeshift boats and rafts overflowing with Haitians who want a better life trying to get to Florida. We will begin to see that again—people risking their lives as they float towards Miami for a chance of freedom and democracy and food for their children.

But should Aristide begin to demonstrate a legitimate commitment to change, the United States and the international community stand ready to resume our efforts to help the Government of Haiti. But it will take action, and it will take action from the President, President Aristide, and from the Haitians. Until then, until we see that kind of commitment, U.S. commitment will remain limited to directly helping the children of Haiti, the people of Haiti, and not the Government.

The United States, irrespective of what Aristide does, must remain involved in humanitarian efforts—efforts such as Public Law 480, the Food Assistance Program, a food assistance program that is helping tens of thousands of Haitian children every day, giving them the one meal a day they have, and for many of them giving them an incentive to go to school and become educated. We must continue to do that.

One of the bright spots of what has been going on in Haiti, and one of the things of which I think this country should be very proud, is how many Americans are in Haiti every single day working to make a difference. Many of them are religious. Many of

them belong to church groups. Many of them belong to other nonprofit organizations or groups. Some go for a week, some go for 2 weeks, and some have gone to live and stay. But there are thousands and thousands of Americans every day who are making a difference in Haiti.

We must continue as a U.S. Government to assist them as they try to assist the children of Haiti because it is the children who are the true casualties in Haiti. It is the children who have suffered the most from the lack of progress over the last 6 years. It is the children who have suffered the most from the inability and the unwillingness of the Haitian Government to move to make real changes in Haiti.

So the real victims have been the children. They are the victims of the turmoil. They are the victims of the instability. They are the victims of a lack of political will. We as a country and as a people simply cannot and will not turn our back on them.

This is a country where the infant mortality rate is approximately 15 times that of the United States. It has the highest infant mortality rate in our hemisphere. Of those Haitian children under 5 years of age, 129 of every 1,000 never make it to the age of 6.

Because Haiti lacks the means to produce enough food to feed its population, the vast majority of Haitian children who survive are malnourished and rely heavily on our humanitarian food aid.

Additionally, because of the lack of clean water and sanitation, only 39 percent of the population has access to clean water and 26 percent has access to decent sanitation. Because of that, diseases such as measles and tuberculosis are epidemic, and children die

from the simplest thing as diarrhea. That happens every single day in Haiti.

The future of Haiti's children ultimately is in Aristide's hands. It is time for President Aristide to match his words with his deeds and uphold his recent pledge to place his country and its people on a path of significant democratic societal reform. Lip service and piecemeal efforts, actions temporarily to appease the United States and the international community, frankly, will get Haiti nowhere.

This is Aristide's second act. The curtain comes up on that act today. He and the political rulers have a simple choice: To break with recent history and create a stable political system and a free and democratic, market-driven economy, or to perpetuate the status quo and the needless bloody tragedy that confines future generations of Haitians to lives of distress, disillusionment, and despair.

It is, quite candidly and quite bluntly, up to President Aristide to make that determination. This is the second act. This is the second opportunity. History will judge whether or not he takes that opportunity for the people of Haiti or whether that opportunity is squandered.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9:30 A.M.
TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 9:30 a.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 4:59 p.m., adjourned until Thursday, February 8, 2001, at 9:30 a.m.