

insurance premiums. I decided that I was going to approach my employees and say: I would much rather pay you extra to work in my business and leave it up to you to line up your own health care coverage.

Again, they were part-time employees who we expected, in many cases, to work for us for 3 months, sometimes 2, 3 years, and then they would be moving on.

By taking this approach, I also gave them portability. In other words, when they left my business, they were not faced with the issue of what is going to happen with my insurance when I get to a new employer; what is going to happen, from the employee's perspective; what am I going to do when I am no longer working for my current employer as far as health coverage is concerned.

That is how I decided to handle it. I think most small employers will view it the same way I did. When they see that untenable exposure, they are going to decide not to have coverage for their employees. In order to stay competitive, they might decide to pay them more or some other way to compensate them for that loss in health care coverage.

The fact remains, from my own personal experience, it is not hard for me to believe that many small employers, as many as half, will elect not to provide health care coverage for their employees.

We need to do everything we can to encourage the small business sector to survive. This is not the only place where we draw a bright line, where we recognize how important the small business sector is to us. In other places in the law, we have tried to define what a small business is. In some cases, we drew it at 150 employees or less; in some cases, 100 employees or less; or maybe, in some cases, 50 employees or less. In fact, in some cases, they even tried to define the very small employer of 15 employees or less.

It is not an unusual policy for the Senate in legislation to draw a bright line to define what a small employer would be. In this particular instance, it is entirely appropriate to make that at 50 employees or less, and if you have 50 employees or less, you would be exempted from the provisions of the Senate bill that is before us.

Small businesses are important for the economic growth of this country. Small businesses are important to generate new ideas. When an American has a great idea, many times they go into business for themselves, and they try to market that idea. If it works, it may eventually grow into a large business. If it does not work, they may eventually end up having to work for another employer. But many times they are contributors to their communities. They are contributors to the employee base. They are contributors to the leadership within that community and help make that community a better place in which to live.

I believe we need to be sensitive to what small employers can contribute to our economy and the vital role they play. I believe this mandate, this bill will make it much more difficult to stay in business, and, consequently we will begin to lose that pool of talent that is so vital to the health of this country.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. REID. Mr. President, under the order that is now before the Senate, if the Senator from Colorado yields back his time, we will do so and finish this debate in the morning under the time that is scheduled.

Mr. ALLARD. Is the Senator from Nevada yielding back his time?

Mr. REID. Yes.

Mr. ALLARD. I will yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. REID. We will complete the debate in the morning. The Senator from Colorado will have an hour in the morning.

Mr. ALLARD. That is my understanding, there will be an hour.

Mr. REID. Evenly divided.

I yield back our time and the minority has yielded back their time.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent there be a period of morning business, and Senators be permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

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

#### PRESIDENTIAL TRADE NEGOTIATING AUTHORITY

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I am very much concerned about our loss of direction with regard to Presidential trade negotiating authority. Many Members of the House, and some of my colleagues here in the Senate, advocate a wholesale surrender—a wholesale surrender—of Congress' constitutional authority over foreign commerce, as well as the evisceration of the normal rules of procedure for the consideration of Presidentially negotiated trade agreements.

I am talking about what is commonly known as "fast-track,"—fast track—though the administration has chosen the less informative moniker—the highfalutin, high sounding "trade promotion authority." "Trade promotion authority" sounds good, doesn't it? "Trade promotion authority," that is the euphemistic title, I would say—"trade promotion authority." The real title is "fast-track."

What is this fast-track? It means that Congress agrees to consider legislation to implement nontariff trade agreements under a procedure with mandatory deadlines, no amendments, and limited debate. No amendments. Get that. The President claims to need this deviation from the traditional prerogatives of Congress so that other countries will come to the table for future trade negotiations.

Before I discuss this very questionable justification—which ignores almost the entire history of U.S. trade negotiating authority—I think we ought to pause and consider—what?—the Constitution of the United States. I hold it in my hand, the Constitution of the United States. That is my contract with America, the Constitution of the United States.

Each of us swears allegiance; we put our hand on that Bible up there. I did, and swore to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

Each of us swears allegiance to this magnificent document. As Justice Davis stated in 1866:

The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances. No doctrine, involving more pernicious consequences, was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government.

*Ex Parte Milligan*, 71 U.S. 2 (1866). This was the case that refused to uphold the wide-ranging use of martial law during the Civil War.

Thus, Mr. President, let us review the Constitution to see what role Congress is given with respect to commerce with foreign nations. Article 1, section 8, says that "The Congress shall have power to . . . regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes . . ."

This Constitution also gives Congress the power "to lay and collect . . . Duties, Imposts, and Excises." The President is not given these powers. Congress is given these powers. There it is. Read it. The President is not given these powers. These powers have been given to Congress on an exclusive basis.

Nor is this the extent of Congress's involvement in matters of foreign trade. It scarcely needs to be pointed out that Congress's central function, as laid out in the first sentence of the first article of the Constitution, is to make the laws of the land. Were it not for that first sentence in this Constitution, I would not be here; the Presiding Officer would not be here; the Senator from the great State of Minnesota, Ohio, Florida, the great States, Alabama, we would not be here. Congress makes the laws of the land. Some people in this town need to be reminded of that.

For example, Congress decides whether a particular trade practice in the U.S. market is unfair. Congress decides whether foreign steel companies can use the U.S. market as a dumping ground, which they have been doing, for their subsidized overcapacity. Are we to give this authority to the President and make Congress nothing more than a rubber stamp in the process of formulating important U.S. laws? As the great Chief Justice of the United States John Marshall might have asked: Are we "mere surplusage"? Is the Senate mere surplusage?

The Founding Fathers' memories were not short. Those memories were not occluded by real-time television news, nor were they occluded by the proliferation of "info-tainment." The Founding Fathers had a vast reservoir of learning, particularly classical learning, to draw upon and a treasure trove of political experience.

Our Founding Fathers were not enamored with the idea of a President of the United States who would gather authority unto himself, as had been experienced with King George III of England. Most of the administrations that have occurred—there have been at least 10 different Presidents with which I have served; I have never served under any President, nor would any of those framers of the Constitution think well of me if I thought I served under any President. The framers didn't think too much of handing out executive power.

So this exclusive power to regulate foreign commerce was not centered upon the legislative branch by whim or fancy. There were weighty considerations of a system founded on carefully balanced powers.

The U.S. Congress tried to give away some of its constitutional authority by granting the President line-item veto power a few years back. Fie on a weak-minded Congress that would do that, a Congress that didn't know enough and didn't think enough of its constitutional prerogatives and powers and duties to withhold that power over the purse which it did give the President of the United States. Mr. Clinton wanted that power. Most Presidents want that power. Congress was silly enough to give the President of the United States that power. It was giving away constitutional power that had been vested in this body of Government, in the legislative branch.

Thank God, in that instance at least, for the Supreme Court of the United States. It said Congress can't do that. Congress can't give away that power that is vested in it, and it alone, by the Constitution of the United States.

So the U.S. Congress tried to give away some of its power. But, ultimately, as I say, that serious error was corrected by the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court saved us from ourselves. Hallelujah. Thank God for the Supreme Court. Boy, I was with the Supreme Court in that instance. Yes, sir. They saved us from ourselves.

The ancient Roman Senate, on the other hand, was successful in giving away the power of the purse. And when it did that, when the ancient Roman Senate gave away the power of the purse, first to the dictators and then to the emperors, it gave away an important check on the executive. First, Sulla became dictator in 82 B.C. He was dictator from 82 to 80. Then he walked away from the dictatorship, and he became counsel in 79. He died in 78 B.C., probably of cancer of the colon.

Then in 48 B.C., what did the Roman Senate do again? It lost its way, lost its memory, lost its nerve, and restored Caesar to the dictatorship, Julius Caesar, for a brief period. In 46 B.C., it made him dictator for 10 years. Then in 45 B.C., the year before he was assassinated, the Roman Senate lost its direction, lost its senses and made Caesar dictator for life.

Well, I don't know whether or when we will ever reach that point. But we need to understand how extraordinary, how very extraordinary this fast-track authority is that President Bush is running around, over the country, asking for—fast-track authority, but he is not calling it that. He is calling it something else.

From 1789 to 1974, Congress faithfully fulfilled the Founders' dictates. During those years, Congress showed that it was willing and able to supervise commerce with foreign countries. Congress also understood the need to be flexible. For example, starting with the 1934 Reciprocal Trade Act, as trade negotiations became increasingly frequent, Congress authorized the President to modify tariffs and duties based on negotiations with foreign powers. Such proclamation authority has been renewed at regular intervals.

What happened in 1974? At that time we relegated ourselves to a thumb's up or thumb's down role with respect to agreements negotiated on the fast track. Stay off that track. Congress agreed to tie its hands and gag itself when the President sends up one of these trade agreements for consideration.

Why on Earth, you might ask, would Congress do such a thing? What would convince Members of Congress to willingly relinquish a portion of our constitutional power and authority? What were Members thinking when they agreed to limits on the democratic processes by which our laws are made? And why, in light of the fact that extensive debate and the freedom to offer amendments are essential to effective lawmaking, would Congress decide that we can do without such fundamentally important procedures when it comes to trade agreements?

The U.S. Senate is the foremost upper house in the world today. Why? There are many reasons. But two of the main reasons are these. The U.S. Senate has the power to amend, and the U.S. Senate is a forum in which men and women are able to debate in an unlimited way—they can limit them-

selves; otherwise, in this forum, I can stand on my feet as long as my feet will hold me and debate. And nobody—not the President of the United States, not the Chair—can take me off my feet, not in this body. Nobody. And I am not answerable to anybody for what I say here. Our British forebears took care of that when they provided in 1689 that there would be freedom of speech in the House of Commons.

Well, we are doing it to ourselves when we pass fast track. We are saying: No amendments. You just either stamp up or down what the President sends up here.

Again, why, in light of the fact that extensive debate and freedom to offer amendments are essential to effective lawmaking, would Congress decide that we can do without such fundamentally important procedures when it comes to trade agreements?

I submit that, in 1974, we had no idea of what kind of Pandora's box we were opening. At that time, international agreements tended to be narrowly limited. Consider, for example, the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Agreement of 1985. The implementing language of that agreement was all of four pages, and it dealt only with tariffs and rules on Government Procurement.

Fast track began to show its true colors with the 1988 U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement which, despite its title, extended well beyond traditional trade issues to address farming, banking, food inspection, and other domestic matters.

The U.S.-Canada agreement required substantial changes to U.S. law, addressing everything from local banking rules to telecommunications law, to regulations regarding the weight and the length of American trucks. These changes were bundled aboard a hefty bill and propelled down the fast track before many Members of Congress knew what had hit them.

Most ominously, the U.S.-Canada agreement established the Chapter 19 dispute resolution procedure. This insidious mechanism, which was only supposed to be a stopgap until the U.S. and Canada harmonized their trade laws, gives the so-called trade "experts" from the two countries the authority to interpret the trade laws of the United States. We are not talking about judges now. We are not talking about persons trained in the laws of the United States. We are talking about trade "experts," frequently hired hands for the industries whose disputes are under consideration.

Moreover, unlike our domestic courts, there is no mechanism by which American companies that are adversely affected by Chapter 19 panel decisions might obtain appellate review. The system simply does not work. It goes against fundamental American principles of fairness and due process.

In short, the U.S.-Canada agreement was nothing less than a dagger pointed at the heart of American sovereignty.

That agreement—and the process by which it was concluded—undermined both the legislative and judicial authority of the United States.

So where are we now? Today, American trade negotiators are faced with a completely different reality from what it was in 1974. Our trading partners know the game—shut out the people and appeal to the elite conceptions of a smoothly functioning global economy. In 1993, Lane Kirkland, then-president of the AFL-CIO, made an observation about NAFTA that is just as pertinent today as it was then, when I voted against it. Here is what he said:

Make no mistake, NAFTA is an agreement conceived and drafted by and for privileged elites, with little genuine regard for how it will affect ordinary citizens on either side of the Mexican border . . . The agreement's 2,000 pages are loaded with trade-enforced protections for property, patents, and profits of multinational corporations, but there are no such protections for workers.

In the new world of international trade negotiations, our trading partners, frequently assisted by their American trade lawyers, place on the table their ideas for elaborate changes to U.S. law. For example, our free trade area of the American trading partners propose dozens of pages of changes to our trade laws, modifications that are intended to eviscerate those laws.

The American workers who would be displaced if those modifications were implemented are given no role in this process. None. We, their representatives, are given a minimal role, a little teeny-weeny portion. But we are not yet voiceless, not yet drowned out by the elite consensus on the virtues of free trade. Well, I am for free trade—who would not be—as long as it is fair, fair trade. But that is quite another matter.

Let the free traders come to West Virginia. Come on down, Mr. President, and talk to those steelworkers over at Weirton. Come on down and talk to the steelworkers who are being laid off in Weirton, WV. Don't go over to Weirton and burn the flag. Those are patriotic citizens over there. But they are losing their jobs. Let the free traders come to West Virginia and talk to the steelworkers, talk to their families, talk to their neighbors. Let them talk to labor leaders from North America and Latin America. Let them try to explain why the disintegration of ways of life that give both opportunity and security is good "in the long run."

As John Maynard Keynes once wrote, "Long run is a misleading guide to current affairs. In the long run, we are all dead." I will add: dead, dead, dead.

I am getting sick and tired of these administrations, Democratic and Republican, who run to West Virginia and want the votes there and turn around and fail to take a stand for American goods, American industries, and American men and women workers.

John Maynard Keynes also wrote, "Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any in-

tellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist."

How many Washington Post editorialists will lose their jobs if our trade laws are eviscerated? How many libertarian think tanks will be shut down when the free trade dystopia is established? Shall we take their views—the views of some defunct economist—as gospel, or shall we listen to those who earn their living by the sweat of their brow?

When God evicted Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, they were told to earn their bread from the sweat of their brow, and that is why we are still doing it. I say listen to those who earn their living by the sweat of their brow. Go to Weirton to the steel town; go to Wheeling to that steel town, at Wheeling-Pitt with over 4,000 workers. I believe that is right. Go over there. Say to them: Boys, get in touch with your Senator and get in touch with your House Members and tell them to vote for—they do not call it fast track. What is it they call it? It is a sugar-coated pill. Tell your Senator to vote for that, and actually they will not say it out loud, but that is fast track. Tell your Senator to vote for that.

I am for expanding international trade. Who wouldn't be. But let the trade be fair. Let us have a level playing field, and let us not neglect our responsibility in this Senate to participate meaningfully in the formulation and implementation of U.S. trade policy.

I am not saying the Senate ought to vote on every duty and every tariff on every little toothbrush and every little violin string that is sent into this country. I am saying there are some big questions this Senate ought to be able to speak to and to vote on. At least on 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6, let's have a vote by this Senate.

One way we can reassert our constitutional role with respect to foreign trade is to create a Congressional Trade Office modeled after the Congressional Budget Office.

My colleagues might recall this was one of the many ideas discussed in the report of the U.S. Trade Deficit Review Commission. Senator BAUCUS and I are working on legislation that would give us a trade office with the information resources and expertise necessary to permit us to properly discharge our oversight responsibilities.

That is what we need. We need to exercise our oversight responsibility. We cannot do it if we gag ourselves, if we cannot speak, if we cannot amend. We cannot fulfill our responsibilities under the Constitution. We cannot fulfill our responsibilities to the people who sent us here.

Can anyone guess how many trade agreements have been negotiated without fast track? The President is running around saying: Oh, I have to have this; I have to have this in order to enter into these trade agreements. Can anyone guess how many trade agreements have been negotiated without

fast track since that extraordinary authority was first granted to the President in 1974? The answer is in the hundreds. We have had fast track on this Senate floor 5 times in the last 27 years, but in the meantime, hundreds of trade agreements have been negotiated, the most recent examples being the U.S.-Jordan agreement and the U.S.-Vietnam agreement.

I think we need an analysis of all the trade agreements concluded over the past 27 years. Let us try to determine if the Founding Fathers were completely off the mark when they gave Congress authority over foreign commerce.

I believe that any impartial study of this history will demonstrate that we can have trade agreements without surrendering our constitutional authority over foreign commerce. If negotiation of trade agreements is in the interests of other nations, they will be at the table. They will be at the table, in my judgment, Congress or no Congress. Is there any serious argument to the contrary?

Let me be clear. I am thinking of a Presidential nominee some years ago who said this. For the moment I have forgotten his name. He said this: I didn't say that I didn't say it; I said that I didn't say that I said it.

And then he said: Let me be clear. I didn't say that I didn't say it; I said that I didn't say that I said it.

He said then: Let me be clear—after the audience had laughed.

Let me be clear. I am not suggesting that we noodle away at a Presidentially negotiated trade agreement by considering myriad small amendments. No, Congress should not focus on the minutiae. There may, however, be a small number of big issues in such an agreement that go to the root of our constituents' interests. We must have the authority to subject those issues to full debate and, if necessary, amendment.

In closing, I reiterate that we should put our trust in this document which I hold in my hand, the Constitution of the United States—not in fast track but in the Constitution of the United States and in the people for whom it was drafted and ratified: the people of America.

Let us not give away even one piece of our national birthright, the Constitution, without at least demanding hard proof that its tried and true principles must be modified.

Let us preserve our authority as Members of Congress to participate fully in the process of concluding international trade agreements. Let us not permit the globalization bandwagon to roll over us, to weaken our voices, to sap the vigor of our democratic institutions, and to blind us to our national interests and the needs of our communities.

If we cannot uphold this banner—the Constitution of the United States which I hold in my hand—if we cannot uphold this banner, the banner of our

more than 200-year-old constitutional Republic, if we cannot play a constructive role in taming the free-trade levianthan, then we are unworthy of our esteemed title.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

#### IN RECOGNITION OF RAYMOND BOURQUE

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I would like to take a moment that I know my colleague from Massachusetts shares with me to pay special recognition and tribute, celebrating the career of one of New England's most beloved sports figures, Raymond Bourque, who announced his retirement today.

Over the course of a 22-year career in the National Hockey League, this future-certain Hall-of-Famer set a standard for all athletes—playing with a special kind of determination and grit and, above all, class that has been recognized by his fellow players and by sports fans all over this country and indeed the world.

He came to us in Boston from Canada as a teenager to play for our beloved Boston Bruins, earning Rookie of the Year honors for that first year in 1979 to 1980.

Many make a large splash with a lot of headlines in the first year, but Ray proved, even as he won Rookie of the Year, to be more marathon than sprint. Through perseverance and a deep dedication to his craft, he played his way into the hearts of sports fans across the region and throughout the league.

For over 20 years, touching literally four different decades for those 20 years, he was the foundation on which the Boston Bruins built their teams and chased the dream of bringing the Stanley Cup back to Boston. Alas, that was not to happen.

The statistics, however, of his chase speak for themselves: The highest scoring defenseman in league history; a 19-time All-Star; a five-time Norris Trophy winner as the league's best defenseman. But in many ways it was more than goals and assists and legendary defense that won him the tremendous admiration of Boston fans. It was his performance beyond the game itself.

December 3, 1987, is a day that remains indelibly imprinted in the hearts and minds of Boston sports folklore. It is next to Fisk's homer, Havlicek's steal, and Orr's flying goal. That day Bruin Hall-of-Famer Phil Esposito's No. 7 was retired and raised to the rafters of the old Boston Garden. Ray Bourque also wore No. 7 and most believed he was going to continue to wear his number for the remainder of his career.

That night, Ray touched generations of fans and nonfans by skating over to Esposito, removing his No. 7 jersey to reveal a new No. 77 that he was to wear for the rest of his illustrious career. He handed the No. 7 jersey to a stunned and emotional Esposito and said, "This is yours, big fella. It never should have been mine."

The Stanley Cup was the one thing that was missing during his years in Boston that continued to elude him and his teammates. In fact, Ray had the most games played without winning a Stanley cup—1,825. However, that distinction did not diminish him in the eyes of his fans or his teammates, the teammates who were proud to call him captain. It only made them all want to give him one last opportunity to prevail. With that in mind, Boston gave Ray his leave and he set his sights on that final goal—to win a Stanley Cup—only this time he set out to do it with the Colorado Avalanche.

Even after Ray left the Bruins in the midst of the 2000 season in search of that goal, the Boston fans never left him. His new Colorado team immediately recognized his value as a leader and they awarded him the moniker of assistant captain upon his arrival. When he finally raised the cup over his head in triumph this past season, all of New England cheered for him. In fact, in an unprecedented show of support for another team's victory, over 15,000 Bourque and Boston fans joined in a celebration on Boston's City Hall Plaza when Ray brought home the Stanley Cup earlier this month. It belonged to Ray and to Boston for those moments as much as to Colorado and the Avalanche.

Today we learned that Ray Bourque has laced up his skates as a professional in competition for the final time. He will retire and come home to Massachusetts to be with his wife, Christiane, and their three children, Melissa, Christopher, and Ryan. He will watch his eldest son, 15-year-old Christopher, as he plays hockey at a new school.

It is both fair and appropriate to say that for all of his children, as well as all young children, you could not have a better role model, not just in hockey but in life.

I have been privileged to share a number of charitable events with Ray Bourque. He is tireless in his contribution back to the community and in the leadership to help to build a better community.

If Ray's career were only measured in numbers, he would be an automatic Hall-of-Famer. But when you take the full measure of the man, he has shown to be one of those few athletes who transcends sports. He could have played a couple of years more. He could have made millions of more dollars. But he chose to go out on top and to return to his family. He felt his family had made enough sacrifices for him, and it was time for him to be there for them.

In Massachusetts, and fans everywhere, I think there is a special sense of gratitude for his success, for his happiness, and we are appreciative of all of his years with the Bruins and proud to have him back home in Massachusetts.

We wish him and his family well.

#### SOUTH DAKOTA NATIONAL PEACE ESSAY CONTEST WINNER

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I am honored today to present to my colleagues in the Senate an essay by Austin Lammers of Hermosa, SD. Austin is a student at St. Thomas More High School and he is the National Peace Essay Contest winner for South Dakota.

I ask unanimous consent that the essay be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### FAILURE IN AFRICA

Imagine how horrible living in a third world country would be during a giant civil war, and the people that are supposed to help allow death, famine and increased war. Death and war is precisely what has happened in this past decade in the warring countries of Somalia and Rwanda. Outsiders, such as the United Nations, can occasionally help in violent civil outbreaks but they are not consistent and rarely make the situation much better. Third parties should not interfere in civil conflicts unless they are well prepared, respond quickly, and benefit the country they are interfering.

Drought and famine has been the reason for civil war in Somalia since 1969, but the most recent civil war erupted between rebel and governmental forces in 1991 (Fox 90). The rebel forces seized Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, and forced President Siad Barre to flee the country (Potter 12). The takeover which destroyed the economy also began a famine for about 4.5 million people who were faced with starvation, malnutrition, and related diseases (Johnston 5). The UN wanted to intervene; but according to the Charter, the UN can only act to stop war between nations, not civil war within a single country (Potter 26). Therefore, in December 1992 UN Secretary General, Butros-Ghali, passed Resolution 794 that permitted the UN to secure Somalia (Potter 27).

Following Resolution 794 the UN began the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) which monitored the new cease-fire between the rebels and the government forces while delivering humanitarian aid (Johnston 28). The cease-fire did not last long, and soon the sides were fighting again, but this time with UN peacekeepers caught in the middle (Benton 129). As the fighting grew worse, the UN soon abandoned UNOSOM (Johnston 29). A U.S. led force; the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) to make a safe environment for delivery of humanitarian aid replaced UNOSOM (Benton 133). In May 1993, UNOSOM II replaced UNITAF; but only starvation was relieved, there was still governmental unrest (Benton 136).

The U.S. decided to leave Somalia when on October 3, 1993, a Somalia rebel group shot down a U.S. helicopter, killing eighteen American soldiers (Fox 19). The U.S. was evacuated by 1994, and by 1995 all UN forces had left (Fox 22).

After the abandonment by UN in 1995, the new police force created by the UN committed numerous human rights abuses (Potter 17). Also bad weather, pests, and the UN ban on the export of livestock to the U.S. and Saudi Arabia have worsened the economy in Somalia (Johnston 56). The drop in economy has caused lowered employment and increased starvation (Johnston 60).

The UN should not have intervened in Somalia, but rather let Somalia deal with their own internal problems. While the UN was in Somalia, they made the war bigger and thus causing more starvation. After the UN was