

both Houses have already acted to release funds for homeland security time and time again, last year and this year.

Then, the people of this country are being urged to pressure their representatives to act on this Department. This Department was conceived in the bowels of the White House by four Federal workers—four members of the White House staff!

Take time to study what we are about to do! Read title 8 of the House-passed bill. It scares me! Read title 8.

I think the agenda of this White House is becoming very clear. It is not homeland security that this White House is lusting after. Bin Laden is not the only target at which this administration is pointing its six-gun. Clearly in the bull's eye is also the job security of thousands of Federal employees and the core values of rights for the workers. And there it is. I will have more to say on this subject.

I am talking about the Constitution and about this Institution, Mr. President. Think of it! Think of the blood that has been shed by men and women over these past 216 years to uphold this Constitution, to protect the security of this country.

There is a man in the chair (Mr. CLELAND) who has given everything but his life for his country. I would be ashamed to run against him. I would be ashamed to be a candidate, put myself up against that man—or this man here behind me (Mr. INOUE).

We had better go slow. We can easily tear down in a few weeks what it has taken centuries to build.

I saw them tearing a building down,  
A group of men in a busy town;  
With a "Ho, heave, ho" and a lusty yell,  
They swung a beam and the sidewall fell.  
I said to the foreman, "Are these men skilled  
The type you'd hire if you had to build?"  
He laughed, and then he said, "No, indeed,  
Just common labor is all I need;  
I can easily wreck in a day or two,  
That which takes builders years to do."  
I said to myself as I walked away,  
"Which of these roles am I trying to play?  
Am I a builder who works with care,  
Building my life by the rule and square?  
Am I shaping my deeds by a well-laid plan,  
Patiently building the best I can?  
Or am I a wrecker who walks the town,  
Content with the labor of tearing down?"

#### CRISIS IN HAITI

Mr. DODD. First, I commend my colleague from Hawaii for his fine leadership on the pending matter before the Senate dealing with the Defense appropriations bill.

The matter that I wish to address regards the nation of Haiti, a tragedy that is unfolding a short distance from our own shores, literally only 90 or 100 miles away from the coast of the United States. As yesterday's New York Times article entitled "Eight Years After Invasion, Haiti's Squalor Worsens," written by David Gonzalez, makes abundantly clear, the people of Haiti in that article, as we know, are on the verge of despair.

I ask unanimous consent that the article written by David Gonzalez in the New York Times be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### EIGHT YEARS AFTER INVASION, HAITI'S SQUALOR WORSENS

Sonia Jean-Pierre's life is one of apocalyptic misery. With hardly any food or work, her only refuge is a concrete cell. The searing sun is blotted out by cardboard pasted over the windows. On the wall by her bed, she has scrawled, "Jesus Christ is coming soon," like a promise of salvation to greet her every morning.

Ms. Jean-Pierre and hundreds of neighbors live as squatters inside the old Fort Dimanche Prison once the brutally efficient killing chamber of the Duvalier dictatorships. A prison no longer, it has been renamed, hopefully, Village Democratie. The poor cram themselves into the dingy cells and even inside the old sentry towers that look out over the surrounding shanties, where 2,000 more souls live without water, schools or electricity. Some are so desperate they eat pancakelike disks of bouillon-flavored clay. Poverty is the only jailer.

"We are free prisoners," said Ms. Jean-Pierre, who rested one recent afternoon on the cool concrete floor. "We are still living like prisoners."

Nearly eight years after the United States led an invasion of Haiti to oust a military junta and restore President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power, Village Democratie is just one measure of this country's despairing slide.

Increasingly exasperated with Mr. Aristide's government, which has yet to resolve a two-year-old deadlock with its opposition, the United States and European countries have blocked some \$500 million in aid, hoping to encourage greater democracy. Critics say the decision has merely eroded the hopes and deepened the poverty of this country's seven million or so people.

For a nation as poor as Haiti, withholding the money has become both carrot and stick. Haiti still lingers near the bottom of the United Nations' annual survey of living conditions. Life expectancy is less than 53 years. Preventable diseases go untreated. The yearly income of the average family is less than is needed to sustain a single person.

Mr. Aristide calls the withholding of the aid an "embargo." His American supporters, including the Congressional Black Caucus and well-paid lobbyists, say it is immoral to withhold the aid and punish the Haitian people, as government agencies go without budgets, plans or projects to provide water, health care and schools. Some \$150 million from the United States, they note, might not only improve roads, water and health but also create jobs.

Still, diplomats and aid officials say, Mr. Aristide's use of the term "embargo" reflects calculated rhetoric more than reality. Trade and travel continue, and relief, including contributions from the United States, flows into Haiti through nongovernmental groups. Solving Haiti's problems, they argue, will take more than just an infusion of aid. Most important, they say Mr. Aristide has yet to prove that his government has escaped the corruption and destructive self-interest of governments past.

Meanwhile, the political stalemate, which arose over a disputed election, and the international response to it, have stalled what little functioning government democracy might have brought.

"The situation is getting worse for the majority of the people," said the Rev. Jan

Hanssens, a Roman Catholic priest who sits on the Justice and Peace Commission of the Bishops' Conference. "There is certainly no hope unless there is a drastic reassessment of Haitian society itself. If things simply go on as now, there is no chance."

Along the streets of Village Democratie, faith in politicians is as elusive as a decent job. Faded posters of Mr. Aristide, wearing the presidential sash and with his arms outstretched, are his only presence.

Laughing young men crouched at the entrance to the former prison and gambled a few wrinkled gourde notes, the country's currency. Inside, past corridors whose crumbled walls reveal a weed-choked courtyard, people walked home after church clutching hymnals titled "Songs of Hope."

Inside tiny rooms with cardboard walls, slim shafts of sunlight cut through the haze of charcoal smoke from braziers where pots of rice boiled. There are no sewers or running water anywhere in the neighborhood, and when the rains come they leave fetid puddles where malaria-carrying mosquitoes breed.

"Artistide said here is the room of the people," said Dorlis Ephesans. "But he has never showed his face here."

Some of the residents had tried to leave Haiti during the 1991 coup that ousted Mr. Aristide. Some made it to Miami, some died and others like Israel Arince, were caught at sea and returned.

The same America that sent him back to Haiti and restored Mr. Aristide to power in 1994, Mr. Arince said, now make life impossible.

"They have blocked the country from getting aid," he said. "We are human beings and we do not like to live like this. Only animals should live here."

In La Saline sum, down a busy road near the prison that is often choked with carts and traffic, pigs waded through streams of human waste and poked their snouts into mountains of garbage in a drainage canal. Young women dropped plastic buckets into a sewer and hauled out a gray water they would use to wash their floors. Potable water is too expensive.

"There is no way to be healthy here," said Elisena Nicolas, who spends a third of her income on water. "But you have to keep the children clean."

As hard as it is to conceive, people come to La Saline to escape rural misery. In the Central Plateau town of Cange, doctors with the Zanmi Lasante clinic and children commonly died from malaria or diarrhea, while tuberculosis and AIDS killed their parents. Even polio, once thought to have been eradicated, has resurfaced recently.

Although the clinic receives no international aid, doctors said they worked with many Haitian government clinics in nearby villages where the frozen aid has left them unable to cope. In recent years, their volunteer clinic's patient load has tripled to 120,000, with patients sometimes walking five hours for free care.

Dr. Paul Farmer, an American who helped found the clinic in the 1980's, said he could not prove that the blocked aid resulted in more suffering, but the deteriorating conditions were evident. International aid, provided on an emergency basis to charitable groups, was no substitute for a working government, he said.

"One of the world's most powerful countries is taking on one of the most impoverished," he said of the United States decision to withhold aid. "I object to that on moral grounds. Anybody who presides over this blockade needs to know the impact here already."

But Haiti's record of official corruption and mismanagement, regardless of who was in power, has given pause to many international aid officials. A recent study by the World Bank concluded that 15 years of aid

through 2001 had had no discernible impact in reducing poverty, since projects were carried out haphazardly and government officials did not sustain improvements.

Today, for instance, a maze of rat-infested pipes is all that is left of a potable water project after funds ran out before the pipes could be connected to the water main.

At the same time, political opponents and diplomats said, the government has money to provide cars for legislators or pay off neighborhood groups that are its foot soldiers and that the opposition charges, have been used to intimidate government opponents.

As a result, diplomats and aid officials said Mr. Aristide must not only resolve this political crisis, he must also show that he will allow economic and administrative reforms to guarantee that any forthcoming aid will be honestly spent.

"We are saying we want to help you," said a European diplomat, who noted that the European Union was ready to provide \$350 million. "But you must help us help you. You comply, I'll comply."

Absent any aid or a political pact, people scrape by as they have for years, sharing what little they have or sacrificing themselves for their children. In the neighborhood of Fort Sinclaire, a dilapidated maze of shacks, indigent teenagers with tuberculosis sleep on sheets spread out on hard concrete porches.

A soft carpet of soggy wood chips blankets the entrance to the neighborhood, as men carve wooden bowls to sell to tourists who have yet to return to Haiti. Lionel Agustin, a woodworker, sometimes earns two dollars a day, not enough to prevent him from losing his home a few years ago.

A friend lets him sleep on a rickety cot inside a gym where the weights are improved for gears and other car parts. The walls are tauntingly decorated with wrinkled posters of bodybuilders with bulging chest and bicep Mr. Agustin is thin, and he sometimes eats only a bowl of rice.

"We don't know when they are going to fix things," he said. "We suffer. And when you suffer enough, you die."

Mr. DODD. Madam President, I share with my colleagues briefly the situation in Haiti. This is one of the most desperate countries in the world, a few miles from our shore. There has been pending over the last 2 years a \$500 million request through the Inter-American Development Bank. The United States of America, and several of its allies, are holding up the disbursement of these funds to one of the poorest countries in the world. Seven million people in that country are suffering incredibly. It is being held up over a question of whether or not institutions in that nation are as strong as they ought to be, whether or not there is corruption, and whether or not the elections that occurred in 2000 were fair, open, and honest.

I am not going to argue about any of that. There is corruption. The agencies, administration, and structures are very weak. The elections in 2000 had major flaws in them. I am not arguing about that, either. But for the strongest, wealthiest nation in the world, that stands 90 to 100 miles away from one of the poorest nations in the world, and to have us deny Inter-American Development Bank funds, through our power and influence, to reach these desperately poor, dying people, where

life expectancy is age 53, where there are problems with malaria, diarrhea, and tremendous hardship—polio has re-emerged on this island—I think is terribly wrong.

This article, written by David Gonzalez, points out how desperate the situation is in Haiti. I will not read all of the article but he talks about shanties, he talks about the former prison at Fort Dimanche, a prison in Port-Au-Prince where now 2,000 people live without any water, schooling, or electricity. These are fellow human beings who are in great despair, living under the worst possible of circumstances.

In rural areas as well, local clinics have shut down and one clinic, according to David Gonzalez's article, in the Central Plateau town of Cange, doctors with the Lasante Clinic dealt with 120,000 patients who came to them in recent years. The clinic's patients tripled to 120,000, patients sometimes walking 5 hours for care.

As I mentioned, tuberculosis, malaria, and now even polio, once thought to be eradicated, is emerging. I am hopeful that the IDB, the Inter-American Development Bank, would listen to those who have been supportive of this Bank. I have been supportive, as many of my colleagues have, over the years. For the IDB to hold back on these funds any longer is wrong.

Haiti is sinking deeper and deeper into irreversible poverty. The extent of the heartache now being endured by the Haitian people is simply unspeakable. Their suffering is devastating and it is far reaching. In some places there is no potable water, there are no sewers, there are no basic medicines on hand to treat disease, no medical infrastructure in place to ward off otherwise easily preventable diseases.

Haiti ranks as one of the lowest on the U.N. survey of living conditions. As I mentioned, life expectancy is age 53. Of course, the despair and hopelessness which prey upon the victims of such suffering cannot be quantified.

It is the people of Haiti, in my view, who should be our concern today, not the flaws of their political institutions. I am deeply saddened and incensed in many ways that we are planning electoral negotiations over the clear, tangible plight of a people.

Ironically, it is the United States that has taken the lead in preventing Haiti from receiving assistance from the International Development Bank, the institution that is supposed to be the premier regional development agency. Proponents of withholding crucial IDB funding point to Haiti's weak institutions, to the need for drastic and timely economic and administrative reforms, as a prerequisite for restarting assistance.

It is true, Haiti is an impoverished nation with weak institutions. It is true there is corruption at high levels. I do not deny that. And, yes, there is a serious need for reform in these areas. It is also very true that poor countries breed weak institutions and seek to

strengthen themselves and help their people with the assistance of international humanitarian aid, but that is not the real reason that assistance is being withheld. The real reason funds are being withheld is political—namely, as leverage in an ongoing Organization of American States negotiations to resolve issues related to the May 2000 elections of that country.

The Secretary-General of the OAS has endeavored over the last 2 years to resolve the political stalemate in Haiti and the disputed 2000 parliamentary elections. He has put on the negotiating table a balanced and credible proposal for resolving the election dispute and is working to ensure the security and other matters of concern to the Haitian society that are being seriously considered by the Haitian Government. I believe they are.

That said, Haiti has flawed elections. Absolutely. We are talking about a country without a long historical tradition of democracy. While this worsens, and public faith in government is reduced to zero, what remains of the fragile democracy is eroded further. Even in the United States, with our proud history, peaceful transition of power, orderly elections, and representative governments, we have had significant troubles with our own elections. Merely look at what happened in the year 2000 in this country with our elections. No one is perfect.

In one of the most desperately poor nations in the world, it should not be a great surprise that institutions and electoral processes are not what we would like them to be. By not providing basic help, by the United States blocking the assistance reaching the desperately poor people, we are not strengthening the institutions but making it worse and harder for the Nation to get back on its feet.

I have always strongly opposed linkage between ongoing political dialog and the Haitian access to resources of the Inter-American Development Bank. These moneys have been held hostage for too long. The damage to the Haitian economy is devastating. The good-faith efforts of the Government in responding to the OAS initiative should be more than enough justification for beginning the process of loan disbursements from the Inter-American Development Bank. Although the state of despair in Haiti is all the justification that should be needed for an institution whose primary obligation, as the IDB, is to promote economic and social development in this hemisphere, and they are doing anything but that.

Shame on the Inter-American Development Bank for being used in this manner. It does not speak well for an institution that for the most part has a good reputation. Shame on the Government of the United States for pressuring the IDB to do so. Seven million people are desperately in need of help. We have gone on now for years denying this basic assistance. It is time to put

a stop to playing politics with Haitian lives, and it is time to respond to the unfolding crisis in Haiti. I urge the administration to withhold, to lift the embargo, on the dollars.

For those who have supported the IDB year in and year out, it has been terribly disappointing to me that they have continued to acquiesce in the demands of the Bush administration to deny the disbursements of these dollars. I hope they will take the action of saying they have waited long enough and they will provide the assistance needed to the Haitian people.

We are about to leave for a month and the situation is growing worse. I ask my colleague to take a look at the David Gonzalez article in the New York Times yesterday. This is a snapshot of what is going on in the country and what desperately poor people are suffering as a result of the lack of support. They would suffer anyway. I am not suggesting this will solve all their problems. It is hard to believe we are holding up the funds—seeing how these people live, how these children are being raised, only a few miles off our shore, when we could make a little bit of a difference. We could also strengthen the very institutions we are complaining so strongly about if we provided that kind of help.

#### VETERANS HEALTH CARE NETWORK

Mr. KERRY. Madam President, I regret to come to the floor today with a concern that I find absolutely extraordinary—even shocking.

This is a memorandum which represents an extraordinary broken promise to the veterans of our country. I want to share it with my colleagues who I think would share with me a sense of outrage over what is contained in this memorandum.

This is a memorandum from Laura Miller, Under Secretary of Veterans Affairs for Health for Operations and Management, which she circulated on July 18. It orders the directors of the Veterans Health Care Network in the country to end their veterans outreach activities.

Let me read from the memorandum. It says specifically:

In this environment, marketing the VA services with such activities as health fairs, and veteran open houses to invite new veterans to the facilities, or enrollment displays at VSO meetings are inappropriate. Therefore, I am directing each network director to ensure that no marketing activities to enroll new veterans occur within your networks.

In other words, the promise made to veterans and their families that these services will be available to them—and many of them don't know exactly what all the services are—that is why we put into place the outreach efforts in order to guarantee that people aren't denied those services which they might have forthcoming. Those services are not

now going to be provided. They are not going to be reaching out to veterans to make them aware of them. I find that absolutely extraordinary.

There are approximately 70 million people who are potentially eligible for VA benefits and services because they are veterans and family members or survivors of veterans. They stand to lose those benefits because the VA is simply going to hide or retreat from reaching out in the way that all of us here in Congress specifically codified and put into law that they do.

I know the Secretary of Veterans Affairs is a Vietnam veteran and is a distinguished, decorated veteran. I absolutely can't believe that he knows this went out. I can't believe that it went out under his order, particularly when you compare it to his own statement on the VA Web site. There is a statement by the Secretary that says:

Our goal is to provide excellence in patient care, veterans' benefits and customer satisfaction. We have reformed our department internally and are striving for high-quality, prompt and seamless service to veterans.

With respect to "prompt," in this memo the Deputy Under Secretary says:

The most recent enrollment shows a 13.5 percent increase in users this year compared to the same time last year, and a 15 percent increase in enrollment while expenditures rose 7.8 percent. Against the outcome of this situation is a waiting list for patients to be seen in many clinics across the country and general waiting times that exceed VHA's standard of 30 days. Moreover, actuarial projections indicate a widening gap in the demand versus resource availability.

"Demand versus resource availability"—those of us from New England sat with the Secretary several months ago and made it clear to the Secretary that there is an increasing crisis in our VA system because of the lack of resources.

The "greatest generation" veterans—those of World War II—are now demanding services of the VA in greater numbers than before. Our military efforts these days are increasing the awareness and the need of many people who served for those services. Yet here we are being told we have demand that is exceeding the resources.

The resources don't have to be exceeded. That is a matter of budgeting priority of this administration. There are many areas where it is obvious that the administration has decided it is more important to put money, rather than for the veterans, and in order to keep the promise to the veterans of the country.

In today's Greenfield Recorder in Massachusetts, a VA spokesperson said the reason the VA has cut these services is "because right now we can't give them the kind of care that they deserve."

That is an extraordinary statement in the face of the current situation

with troops in Afghanistan and other parts of the world, with the increasing demand of our military and with potential operations in Iraq that are the subject of hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee today.

Under Secretary Miller's memorandum notes that enrollment has increased by some 15 percent. So the budget ought to reflect that. The budget ought to reflect that we need to keep the promise to our veterans. The fact is, almost every single budgeting effort in the last few years has been inadequate for the VA. The VA has consistently received less funding than necessary facing this growing demand.

In the fiscal year 2002 budget, there was initially an \$80 million shortfall for veterans medical care in New England alone. And although this region has confronted the most severe shortages, the situation throughout the country has been similarly bleak.

This year, and in previous years, colleagues in the Senate have fought to try to up that amount of money. Last week, Congress passed a supplemental with some additional \$417 million, but the fact is, the increase in this year's spending is not adequate to meet the demand. It is critical that we provide veterans services to nearly 5 million veterans in 2003.

It is almost so obvious that it should go without saying, but I hope this is going to be reversed immediately. I hope the administration is going to keep America's promise to our veterans. And I hope they will plus up that budget sufficiently to meet the demand and to keep faith with the promise made already to the past several generations of veterans and the promise that is today being made to the next generation of veterans.

I yield the floor.

MAJ. GEN. WILLIE B. NANCE, JR.,  
U.S. ARMY

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, very soon one of our Nation's finest soldiers will retire from active duty after more than three decades of dedicated service to our country. Major General Willie B. Nance, Jr., will retire from the United States Army on November 1, 2002, after serving for 34 years. During his distinguished career, General Nance served in a remarkable range of roles, from buck private to two-star general, from foot soldier to the manger of one of the most sophisticated weapon systems our nation has ever built. General Nance, I am proud to say, is a native of Mississippi, and I believe it appropriate that the Senate take note of his distinguished career as his retirement approaches.

General Nance entered the Army in 1968 as a member of the Mississippi All-Volunteer Company, a group of 200 Mississippi volunteers who enlisted at the same time under an Army volunteer enlistment campaign. Having proven himself early as a soldier, he was recruited directly from Basic Training