

to national security would be taken away. But the drafters of the amendment tell us that is not what is intended because the language is "in addition to" and not "in place of."

If you look at the specifics of the existing language about intelligence, counterintelligence, investigation, and the language of the amendment, the duties, primary duty, intelligence, counterintelligence, or investigative work, they are not too far apart. I think we can reach an accommodation there.

The other provision that has provided the controversy is the issue of the President wanting flexibility, and the provisions of the Gramm-Miller amendment have picked up the language of the House bill, which would give the President flexibility on these six categories: Performance appraisal, classification, pay rates and systems, labor-management relations, adverse actions, and appeals. The amendment provided by Senator NELSON and Senator BREAUX would give the President four of those six. It would give the President, No. 1, performance appraisal; No. 2, classification; 3, pay rates and systems; 4, adverse actions. But that would be subject to review by the Federal Services Impasses Panel, a seven-appointee panel, all of whose appointees are the President's.

It seems to me we are very close here. I voted against cloture on the Lieberman bill because we do not have in the bill, as it is presently drafted, an adequate provision as to the directorate to have all of the intelligence agencies under one umbrella, and an adequate provision giving the Secretary of Homeland Defense direction to coordinate all of those agencies, to put all those dots on one screen, to have the best likelihood of preventing another 9-11.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the amendment I have already filed and have ready to propose be printed at the conclusion of my statement today.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I am opposed to cloture of the Lieberman bill until I have a chance to offer that amendment. I have also voted against cloture on the Gramm-Miller bill because, again, although I have had discussions with Senator GRAMM, as I have had discussions with Senator LIEBERMAN, we have not reached fruition. I want an opportunity to include this language about the intelligence directorate on the Gramm-Miller amendment.

While I have not taken a position, as I said on Thursday, on whether I will ultimately support the Nelson-Chafee-Breaux amendment, which is backed by labor, or whether I will support the Gramm-Miller amendment, which is the President's preference, it is my hope we can yet work out an accommodation. But I think it is much more im-

portant the Senate pass a bill and we go to conference with the House, whichever provisions are included. I grant the provisions labor wants included are important to labor, and I grant the provisions the President wants included are important to the President. But as important as all of those provisions are, they are not as important as getting a bill that can be conferred with the House, which can be signed by the President, so we can set up this Department of Homeland Security and we can have, under one umbrella, all of the intelligence agencies. It is not that the Secretary is going to tell the CIA agents around the globe where to go, or the FBI agents where to go, or the National Security Agency what to do, or the Defense Intelligence Agency, but as to the analysis, they should all come under one umbrella. That really is the critical factor. That is why I believe the conclusion of this bill on that issue is of greater importance than any other matter in the bill and of greater importance than any other matter which the Congress will consider during this session. So I am prepared to vote for cloture on the Gramm-Miller amendment should I get the chance to offer my amendment.

I do not think, as the Senator from Texas said, that he is absolutely entitled to a vote on his proposal without amendment. The rules of the Senate provide that there can be amendments to the Gramm-Miller proposal, just as there can be amendments to the Lieberman bill, just as there can be amendments to any bill. To repeat, I have not yet taken a position as to whether I will favor what labor seeks through the Nelson-Chafee-Breaux proposal or what the President seeks through the Gramm-Miller proposal, but it is of greatest importance that this provision on the Directorate of Intelligence Analysis be adopted and everything be placed under one roof.

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

EXHIBIT 1

(Purpose: To give the Directorate of Intelligence the authority, subject to disapproval by the President, to direct the intelligence community to provide necessary intelligence-related information)

In section 132(b), add at the end the following:

(14) On behalf of the Secretary, subject to disapproval by the President, directing the agencies described under subsection (a)(1)(B) to provide intelligence information, analyses of intelligence information, and such other intelligence-related information as the Under Secretary for Intelligence determines necessary.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 5 minutes as in morning business.

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

REPORT ON TRIP TO AFRICA

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, during the month of August, Senator SHELBY

and I made an extensive trip to Africa. In Africa, we visited many countries and noted some very material changes. For example, the Government of the Sudan finally wants to have good relations with the United States and is willing to make significant concessions to the rebels in the south Sudan. Through the good offices of the President's emissary, former Senator Danforth, a treaty has been worked out which has great promise if implemented and if enforced.

The Muslim-Islamic military has come down from the northern part of Sudan, invaded Christian cities, killed all the men and taken the women and children and sold them into slavery, a practice which is really hard to believe in the 21st century. The peace treaty brokered by Senator Danforth has the promise of ending that. But as we talked to clerics in both Khartoum, Sudan, and in Eritrea, it will have to be enforced by the United States.

We saw in South Africa great advances since my last trip there in 1993 when there was so much contention between the blacks and the whites on apartheid. A government was formed in the 1994 elections. President Mandela has become the national hero and a great many of those problems are on their way to resolution. Great progress has been made.

We saw in Mauritius, an island off the east coast of Africa, tremendous progress being made on trade with a sweater factory yielding compensation up to \$300 a week, whereas in some countries in Africa they do not earn more than \$250 a year.

To reiterate, in accordance with my custom of reporting on my foreign travel, this is a brief summary of a trip with Senator RICHARD SHELBY, R-Alabama, from August 6-22 to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, South Africa, Mauritius, Tanzania, Kenya, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sicily, Italy. We explored the emerging trade relationship with Africa during implementation of the 2000 African Growth and Opportunity Act, AGOA, and the 2002 Trade Promotion Authority, TPA, legislation. We also looked at health issues—primarily the African HIV/AIDS crisis and poverty and famine that impact upon the U.S. foreign aid posture and the issue of "trade versus aid."

The delegation travel began on Tuesday, August 6, 2002, stopping overnight in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, en route to South Africa. Brazil's economy outweighs that of all other South American countries and will be aided in this respect by the new TPA and a \$30 billion loan guarantee by the World Bank. I spoke about this with U.S. Consul General Mark Boulware. He is optimistic that the TPA will help further expand the economy of Brazil now that the Brazilian currency, the real, is no longer pegged to the U.S. dollar. Despite open anti-American protests following comments by U.S. Treasury Secretary Paul H. O'Neill suggesting widescale corruption in the Brazilian

monetary system, our delegation was treated well and found the brief visit to Brazil informative.

The delegation proceeded to Cape Town, South Africa, where we were informed by U.S. Ambassador Cameron Hume that South Africa is a middle-income, developing country with an abundant supply of resources, well-developed financial, legal, communications, energy, and transport sectors, and a modern infrastructure supporting an efficient distribution of goods to major urban centers throughout the region. President Thabo Mbeki has vowed to promote economic growth and foreign investment, and to reduce poverty by relaxing restrictive labor laws, stepping up the pace of privatization, and cutting unneeded governmental spending.

However, President Mbeki has been disappointing in the battle against HIV/AIDS. Despite estimates that one in four South Africans is HIV-positive, Mbeki has refused to accept the premise that HIV causes AIDS, and did not attend this year's World HIV/AIDS Conference in New York City. Mbeki's inaction in the face of this crisis has recently been criticized by former South African President Nelson Mandela.

The United States continues to provide large sums of money and resources to confront this growing epidemic. In this year's supplemental appropriations bill, Senator RICHARD DURBIN, D-Illinois, and I proposed that \$700 billion be allocated to confront AIDS in countries such as South Africa where it threatens large segments of the population. President Bush has proposed a compromised figure of \$500 billion. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control, CDC, has assigned five employees to South Africa to work on the AIDS epidemic, and the National Institutes of Health has recently contributed \$11 million. Ambassador Hume believes that we are essentially "force feeding" South Africa with assistance on this issue, suggesting that South Africa is still dragging its feet.

I questioned Ambassador Hume on the future of race relations in South Africa. Despite the existing divide, for the time being race relations are comparatively good, but the great conciliator Nelson Mandela is slowing down at age 84 and the technocrat Mbeki lacks his personal stature. Nonetheless, South Africa has come a long way with the assistance of the United States since the U.S. Senate voted to override President Reagan's 1986 veto of legislation forbidding certain U.S. corporate investments in South Africa's apartheid regime an important moment in the relationship between our two countries.

Our delegation also conducted discussions of a classified nature with U.S. officials in South Africa and other countries we visited.

South Africa's fledgling post-apartheid government was the topic of discussion at a dinner hosted by Amba-

sador Hume with parliamentarians from South Africa's National Assembly and National Council of Provinces. Progress is being made in governance and oversight. I discussed with Johnny de Lange, the Chair of the National Assembly's Judicial Committee, the extent of permissible electronic surveillance and physical search undertaken under South African law.

Our next series of meetings occurred in Durban, South Africa. There we met with Consul General Liam Humphreys and his staff to explore, among other things, post-September 11 security procedures. Durban is an important "feeder port" for U.S.-bound goods, and the crews that accompany them. As such, potentially lethal materials and individuals traveling under false credentials may enter U.S. ports if authorities in Durban are not vigilant. It is therefore imperative that individual visas—and not blanket crew visas—be issued to individuals only after cross-referencing U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation files for potentially derogatory information. It is important to continue our oversight of FBI information sharing for this purpose and to ensure the proper coordination of visa and cargo manifest procedures—particularly as proposals take shape for our new Department of Homeland Security.

Durban is geographically located in the KwaZulu Natal province of South Africa, the only province in which the ANC is not in power. At a dinner hosted by Consul General Humphreys, Senator SHELBY and I exchanged views with two leaders of the provincial majority Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP: Provincial Minister of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs and delegate to the National Council of Provinces Narend Singh, and Reverend Musa Zondi, a member of the National Assembly and the Deputy Minister of Public Works.

Minister Singh noted the tremendous progress of South Africa and the KwaZulu Natal region when compared to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, where land reform—or more appropriately, the lack thereof—has been an unyielding challenge.

I questioned Deputy Minister Zondi about the nature of race relations in South Africa. Minister Zondi is optimistic about race relations, and noted that relations in South Africa are far better than Saudi Arabia or Egypt where radical Islamic tensions place these societies on the cusp of "a full-scale race war." Minister Zondi also noted with affection his friendship with the late Reverend Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia, a spiritual leader who promoted employment practice standards for U.S. companies doing business in South Africa. Zondi said that Reverend Sullivan did a great deal to make U.S. corporations more socially conscious. Minister Zondi visited Reverend Sullivan in Philadelphia in 1985 and believes strongly in the so-called "Sullivan Principles," the labor code promoted by Reverend Sullivan.

From Durban the delegation traveled to Mauritius to explore trade and other issues in advance of the Presidential visit for the AGOA Conference in January 2003. Since independence in 1968, Mauritius has developed from a low-income, agriculturally based economy to a middle-income diversified economy with growing industrial, financial, and tourist sectors. Mauritius has the highest median income in sub-Saharan Africa and an unusually high literacy rate. Investment in the banking sector alone has reached over \$1 billion. Employment in Mauritius is at or above 95 percent, according to our dinner guest Raouf Bundhun, the Vice President of Mauritius.

I asked the U.S. Ambassador to Mauritius, the Seychelles, and the Comoros, John Price, about the need for expanded commercial opportunities and enhanced security in the Indian Ocean region. I heard concern about the recent developments of official Seychelles passports reportedly being sold for \$65,000 to those who wish to move freely in the Indian Ocean region. I also heard concern about aggressive recruitment in the Comoros by Islamic fundamentalists of young, impressionable individuals for schooling in radical theology and military training under the guise of Islamic education.

I also inquired about how the new TPA law and AGOA will help Mauritius further progress economically. Ambassador Price informed us that the new TPA will help entrepreneurs such as Sunil Hassamal, who showed us the sweater factory that he has built from the ground up and who now employs 2500 workers. On the labor front, we were assured by Ambassador Price that despite some recent unfavorable press coverage of the treatment of Chinese laborers at one problem factory, in Mauritius no child labor is being employed, that overtime is being paid, that working conditions are tolerable, and that a viable minimum wage is being paid along with appropriate benefits, and that a 60-hour work week is respected—as required by AGOA.

We met with Mauritian Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnauth and Deputy Prime Minister Paul Berenger to explore trade and security issues. Prime Minister Jugnauth is nearing the end of his term as Prime Minister, and will next year pass the reins to Deputy Prime Minister Berenger and assume the ceremonial role of President of Mauritius.

I questioned Prime Minister Jugnauth and Deputy Prime Minister Berenger about what the U.S. should do if Saddam Hussein does not respond to demands for inspections. Prime Minister Jugnauth responded that the U.S. should not attack Iraq without clear provocation, for this act would "lose the respect of the world." Jugnauth said that the U.S. must be careful that it is the U.S., and not Saddam, who will be perceived as "sympathetic." Berenger said that we should await a resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian crisis before addressing Iraq.

I asked Minister Berenger about U.S. security interests in the region. He seemed to qualify what we understood to be the official Mauritian position on the Chagossian island of Diego Garcia by stating that, in return for full sovereignty over all the other Chagossian islands, Mauritius would be willing to defer the issue of Diego Garcia—"agreeing to disagree" over its final status while seeking to build U.S. confidence in the prospect of eventual Mauritian succession.

On the situation in the Mid-East, Berenger favored a new arrangement within the Palestinian Authority, PA—involving the establishment of a purely symbolic President of the PA such as Yasser Arafat but with all real power going to a new PA Prime Minister.

Our delegation next traveled to Tanzania, beginning our oversight of regional and broader security and trade issues in the lesser-developed countries of sub-Saharan Africa. At a luncheon meeting with U.S. Ambassador Robert Royall and the Tanzania country team, we learned that Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world, with \$250 per capita annual income. The economy is heavily dependent upon agriculture, which provides 85 percent of exports, and employs 80 percent of the workforce. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and bilateral donors have reportedly been awaiting meaningful Tanzanian land reform prior to investing more heavily in the country. Under the government's socialist land policy, true private ownership is unlawful and investors can acquire merely leaseholds forfeitable at the government's discretion.

I was disappointed to hear that Tanzania is not yet fully prepared to export commodities to the U.S. without further local economic reform and development. Tanzania has the potential to follow the example of Mauritius, a country with an 85 percent literacy rate, 95 percent employment, and an entrepreneurial spirit. I suggested that a Tanzanian delegation visit Mauritius and learn from its example. I also noted that with the passage of TPA, Congress expects real movement in the direction of "trade rather than aid" and I suggested to Ambassador Royall that he should provide President Bush with a list of achievable goals for Tanzania.

We also discussed the AIDS epidemic. A team of researchers from the Centers for Disease Control, CDC, in Atlanta, Georgia, recently completed test kit evaluation in Tanzania, and has acquired data on which AIDS tests are the best performers in statistical pools. New CDC offices are also being constructed in Dar es Salaam, to assist with the disbursement of \$7 million in U.S. aid, including \$2 million dedicated to blood safety.

We also explored the economic and political issues surrounding the tourism industry and the problems with refugees flowing into Tanzania from war-torn countries on its long western

border. Tanzania currently has approximately 550,000 recent refugees—80 percent Burundian and 20 percent Congolese and Rwandan—and 400,000 "old caseload" refugees from relocations in the 1970s.

Ambassador Royall is working to help return these refugees as soon as possible in a fair manner. Ambassador Royall is also working closely with USAID, the U.S. Department of the Interior, and local U.S. non-governmental organizations to assure that the system of national parks that supports Tanzania's tourism industry, accounting for approximately 60 percent of GDP, can be sustained and expanded in conjunction with private sector support. Organizations with which we met, such as the African Wildlife Foundation, work closely with the Tanzanian national park system and the U.S. government. For example, USAID is providing assistance to the Tanzanian Park Service in maintaining roads and natural habitats in two national parks to protect this segment of the Tanzanian economy.

The delegation also visited the United Nations' International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, ICTR, which is hosted by Tanzania and located in Arusha. At the ICTR, we were briefed by Lovemore Munlo, the Deputy Registrar, and Kingsley Moghalu, who serves as Special Assistant to the Registrar. Our visit to the ICTR coincided with the arrest by Angolan authorities of Augustin Bizimungu, Rwanda's former armed forces chief who had been indicted by the ICTR for a major role in the 1994 Rwanda genocide. His arrest came less than a month after the U.S. offered up to \$5 million under the Justice Department's "Rewards for Justice" program for tips leading to the arrest of eight Rwandan genocide suspects, including Bizimungu. Currently, 21 individuals suspected of genocide or complicity therein are on trial in the ICTR in eight separate trials. Former Prime Minister Jean Kambanda of Rwanda confessed in 2000 to war crimes and was convicted by the ICTR. He was subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment. Currently, two-thirds of the top leadership of the Kambanda government are on trial for genocide and related war crimes. For lower-ranking participants in the genocide, Rwandan courts have prosecuted over 6,000 individuals—many of whom face the death penalty, which is not available at the ICTR.

Later, I questioned U.S. Ambassador to Kenya Johnnie Carson as to whether the U.S. was late in responding to the 1994 Rwandan genocide. While conceding that we were not swift, he assured me that we acted as quickly as we could and that the genocide would have continued—and would have been much worse—if we had not acted when we did. He suggested that the French were in a much better position to intervene to prevent the genocide.

The ICTR is expected to remain in existence until 2008 or 2009, by which

point the last of the appeals should have run their course. We were able to observe the proceedings of the trial of Eliezer Niyitegeka, former Minister of Information in the interim government of Rwanda in 1994.

From Tanzania, the delegation proceeded to Nairobi, Kenya for additional trade and security meetings. Ambassador Carson led a country team briefing focused upon political stability after nearly a quarter century of rule by current President Daniel Moi, security arrangements for the war on terrorism, HIV/AIDS, and related matters. Carson's team noted that Presidents Clinton and Bush and Secretaries of State Albright and Powell have all been privately assured by Moi at various points that he will step down after his term ends and that free elections will be called, likely in the period December 1, 2002 through March 31, 2003. Moi is now backing as his successor Uhuru Kenyatta, the 41 year-old son of Kenya's independence leader, Jomo Kenyatta, and a leader in the majority Kenya African National Union, KANU, party. If he can hold the traditional KANU coalitions together, Kenyatta is favored to succeed Moi.

Kenya is a strong security partner of the United States. For example, the United States is the only country with which Kenya has entered a "Military Access Agreement," "MAA" allowing for U.S. military assets to be deployed there. Kenya appears well positioned to facilitate regional and other international security issues such as our global war against international terrorism.

I also asked whether we are doing enough to combat the AIDS epidemic in Kenya. According to Carson, the hard data shows that the rate of infection among adults appears to be decreasing in Kenya. The CDC is engaged in programs in West Kenya to find new vaccines, to provide education and awareness programs, and to support 40 counseling/testing centers. USAID is also active in AIDS education, prevention, and behavior change. The Peace Corps also plays a role in Kenyan public health projects relating to HIV/AIDS.

We next met with Kenya's Foreign Minister Marsden Madoka. Minister Madoka said that Kenya's cabinet had yet to discuss the Kenyan reaction if the U.S. were to move against Saddam Hussein for regime change. While noting that the cabinet would naturally have the final say, he did say, importantly, that "chances are that Kenya would support the U.S. under these circumstances." On the issue of HIV/AIDS, I asked Minister Madoka how serious the problem is and what the United States can do to help. Minister Madoka said that Kenya has lowered the prevalence rate from 14 percent to 13 percent nationwide. There is, however, a long way to go in addressing this crisis and its collateral effects.

We then traveled to Sudan. Sudan has been ravaged by civil war since 1956

with intermittent breaks. The Sudan country team, led by Charge de Affairs Jeffrey Millington, contrasted the Bush policy of engaging Sudan in light of recent reform efforts contrasted with the Clinton Administration's approach to maintain sanctions because of human rights violations and religious suppression. With the Bush engagement policy, peace talks between the government of Sudanese President Omar el-Bashier and Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement, SPLM, leader John Garange are moving forward in talks in Machakos, Kenya. Sudan is not only attempting to remedy its own civil strife with the Machakos negotiations, but its leadership is at least speaking in terms of engaging the United States in its views toward democracy, human rights, religious freedom, and suppressing international terrorism.

On the domestic side, the government of President Bashier is conducting ongoing peace talks with the SPLM, which controls much of the southern regions of the Sudan. Former Senator John Danforth, with whom we met in Nairobi on August 18 after returning from Khartoum, accepted his role as Special Envoy to negotiate this conflict on September 6, 2001, and first visited the region on November 6, 2001. Senator Danforth is working with a small team made up of veteran diplomats including Michael Miller from the National Security Council East Africa staff, Charge Millington and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Charles Snyder.

Senator Danforth has been successful to date. On July 20, 2002, breakthrough agreements were reached leading to the "famous handshake" between Sudanese President Omar el Bashier and SPLM leader John Garange on July 27, 2002 in Kampala. The July 20 Machakos round produced an agreement in principle not to apply Sharia (Islamic law) in the post-reconciliation South, and would provide the people of the South the right to self-determination after 6½ years (including a referendum on secession). Still to be determined in further Machakos rounds will be the precise form of government in the South for the 6½ year trial period such as judiciary, infrastructure, security, and the ultimate status of the SPLM, including whether John Garange can keep a standing army. Senator Danforth, in preparation for upcoming rounds, has skillfully tested the two sides' willingness to come together on four vital humanitarian issues: (1) continuation of a ceasefire in the Nuba Mountain region between North and South, where Evangelicals working with Christian populations have been the target of religious persecution; (2) a polio vaccination program; (3) prevention of attacks against civilians; and (4) prevention of "raiders," who with the encouragement of the government in Khartoum, have killed male populations and enslaved their women and children. Satisfaction of the four Danforth pre-

conditions would lay the groundwork for final agreements in Machakos on a more permanent peace in the Sudan.

A key aspect of our trip involved gathering information on religious persecution. Persecution of religious minorities, focused particularly on Christians in Muslim countries such as Sudan, led in 1998 to the passage of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, "IRFA", which I introduced with Representative FRANK Wolf. The IRFA established the Office of International Religious Freedom and the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom with the mission of reviewing and making policy recommendations on religious freedom.

We met with Reverend Ezekiel Kondo, the Provincial Secretary of the Province of the Episcopal Church of the Sudan. Reverend Kondo raised the following issues: (1) the persecution of those who convert from Islam to Christianity, which is apparently continuing and is not covered by Machakos; (2) the withholding of permits to build new churches and to license existing churches, which remains a problem with non-Muslim clerics; (3) the refusal to grant visas for religious leaders to leave the country for professional conferences and for religious leaders from abroad to visit Sudan; and (4) the need for more precise coverage of the Nuba Mountain region dispute within the context of the Machakos agreements. Reverend Kondo is skeptical that Muslim attempts to reach out to non-Muslims will work if the basic rights for non-Muslims are not committed to in writing, implemented, monitored and enforced.

When I referenced this religious persecution with President Bashier's Peace Advisor, Dr. Ghazi Sulahaddin, and his Foreign Minister, Mustafa Ismail, I was told that the current Sudanese government should be given a chance to show the international community that the acts underlying the persecution have occurred during many years of civil war, and a process toward reconciliation only began in 1997. Both men assured us that Sudan is on the path to religious freedom and respect for human rights in general. President Bashier pledged that it is "the obligation of Muslims to provide religious freedom," and that he has made this issue a priority and has commanded local officials to "study this issue closely."

Dr. Sulahaddin, and Foreign Minister Ismail highlighted for us their views on U.S.-Sudan relations. Sulahaddin said there is a "huge" potential for normalization and improvement of relations between our countries and Sudan does not engage in terrorism because the taking of innocent life is contrary to Islamic beliefs. He argued that the U.S. had no basis for concluding that the Sudanese plant that was targeted for missile strikes by the U.S. in 1998 actually produced nerve gas. He emphasized the positive aspects of the new interaction between U.S. and Sudanese in-

telligence agencies, and the resulting shift toward more engagement and intensification of dialogue with the Bush administration.

Foreign Minister Ismail stressed that the international community, particularly the United States, should be patient with Sudan since the real beginning of movement toward democracy, human rights, religious freedom and other elements of a free society only began in 1997-1998 with the drafting of the new Sudanese Constitution. This in combination with the debilitating effects of the North-South war has caused "growing pains," according to Minister Ismail. Minister Ismail handed to Senator SHELBY a report that provides details that Sudan has done everything that it can to fight terrorism.

President Bashier stated his appreciation for the existing cooperation between the U.S. and Sudan, including the special role of our country and Senator Danforth in brokering the Machakos talks. In stressing the need for the ultimate unification of Sudan following the 6½ year trial period envisioned by Machakos, President Bashier drew an analogy between the Sudanese civil war and the U.S. Civil War. Bashier said that if the U.S. had not remained unified the Union could have ended up "more like Canada or Mexico."

On regime change in Iraq, Dr. Sulahaddin said, any attack on Iraq would fragment the Arab world, and urged the U.S. to seek a unified stance in the United Nations among various Arab countries. President Bashier said that he hopes that the U.S. will seek alternatives to military action because the Iraqi people have suffered enough.

Our delegation next moved to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to further explore trade, security and health issues. We met with the U.S. country team led by Charges de Affairs Thomas Hull. Hull briefed us about the state of Ethiopia in the wake of its two-year border war with Eritrea. The U.S. intelligence relationship with Ethiopia has grown even stronger after September 11. The Ethiopians believe that the war on terrorism serves their own domestic security interests, as Ethiopia must also contend with radical Islam as a constant threat. Other issues that were discussed included potential U.S. basing in Eritrea in preparation to act militarily against Saddam Hussein and the impact such basing might have on Ethiopian security concerns vis-à-vis Eritrea. Ethiopia is also concerned about cross border terrorist incursions into its country from Somalia.

We then met with Ethiopia's Prime Minister Meles Zanawi, who was quite articulate and spoke in depth about many subjects. He said that Ethiopia is a close ally in the war against terrorism, but for Ethiopian reasons. The

reasons to which he refers is the constant threat of radical Islam to Ethiopia and its African neighbors. He referred to the war on terrorism as something of a godsend for Ethiopia, because it has focused the world on the practices of radical Islam. Ethiopia, according to the Prime Minister, is at the epicenter of terrorism and a secular island in the sea of Islam.

We questioned Prime Minister Meles about the U.S. policy of regime change in Iraq. He responded that Saddam should be removed in order to force countries like Saudi Arabia with large Islamic populations to choose whether to allow radical Islam to take hold or to fight against that very radicalism. He calls this a fight for their very survival.

Regarding trade, Ethiopia stands to gain by the combination of the AGOA and the TPA, and Meles appreciates the role of the United States in engaging sub-Saharan Africa on trade. He said Ethiopia wants access to the U.S.'s trillion-dollar economy.

We also sought the Prime Minister's views on the Sudanese peace process and its effect upon Ethiopia. According to Meles, the Sudanese Muslim government has already taken anti-Islamic actions by agreeing in principle to non-application of Sharia in the South. This, according to Meles, will make it easier to achieve breakthroughs on other issues. The Prime Minister also sees the exploitation of oil and gas reserves in a stable Sudan, and the willingness of the United States to engage the peace process, as positive incentives for the Sudanese to move the peace process forward.

With regard to Somalia, Prime Minister Meles compared Somalia to Afghanistan and Yemen as a potential haven for terrorists. When I asked what the U.S. should do to address the situation, Meles noted that the United States must devote nonmilitary resources rather than attempting to broker a Machakos-type agreement. Somalia is not ready for a negotiated agreement because there are too many actors on that stage.

We also discussed the HIV/AIDS crisis and human suffering in Ethiopia. The Prime Minister linked solutions to both crises to United States assistance in bolstering Ethiopian infrastructure and institutions, providing access to U.S. markets through expansion of trade, and removal of Ethiopia from the cycle of reliance on foreign aid.

U.S. appropriations for HIV/AIDS projects in Ethiopia have increased from \$4 million to \$18 million in the past two years. At this time, both USAID and the CDC are active in Ethiopia. USAID focuses both on famine relief, drought issues and along with the CDC, HIV/AIDS prevention and education efforts. CDC has also opened HIV/AIDS diagnostic clinics in Addis Ababa. While the HIV/AIDS rate is 13 percent, consistent with Kenya prevalence percentages, actual numbers of those with HIV/AIDS is higher in Ethiopia as the population is higher.

From Ethiopia we moved to neighboring Eritrea. Ethiopia's annexation of Eritrea as a province in 1962 started a 30-year struggle for independence that ended in 1991 with Eritrean rebels defeating governmental forces. A two and a half year border war with Ethiopia that erupted in 1998 ended under UN auspices on December 12, 2000. Final lines of demarcation are being arbitrated.

According to U.S. Ambassador to Eritrea Donald McConnell, the relationship between the United States and Eritrea is sweet and sour. Ambassador McConnell gives Eritrea an "A+" grade in joining with the United States in the war against terrorism. Eritrea may soon be assisting the United States to change the regime in Iraq by allowing our troops to use bases in Eritrea. Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki said in our meeting with him that there must be a change altogether in the Iraqi regime if Iraqi behavior is to change.

In terms of promoting stability in the region, Ambassador McConnell told us that Eritrea might face greater challenges from radical fundamentalism. President Isaias is skeptical of Sudanese intentions and believes that the Bashier government will continue to quietly encourage radical fundamentalists to further destabilize the region. President Isaias said that the Sudanese leadership is committed to radical Islam and are worse than bin Laden, and that they preach hatred under the guise of Islam. He believes that the United States must remain constructively engaged in the region to prevent radical Islamic views from overtaking neighboring countries or threatening their security.

While in Eritrea, we continued to hear of religious persecution in Sudan and the importance of the United States in stopping it. In separate discussions with Abune Philipos Woldetensae, the Patriarch of the Eritrean Orthodox Church, and Abba Menghisteb Tesfamariam, the Bishop of the Catholic Church of Eritrea, we were told that the Sudanese are oppressing Christians in southern Sudan. Abune Philipos went so far as to say, Christian believers in Sudan will not exist if the U.S. Government does not bring pressure to resolve their persecution by Islam. Bishop Menghisteb recounted how five of his fellow Catholic Bishops from Sudan have told him as recently as July 28, 2002 of Christian women and children being sold into slavery.

The Sudanese Bishops also told him that President Bashier is attempting to Islamize the entire country by using Sharia law to suppress Christians. According to both clerics, some new Eritrean churches may be facing problems obtaining permits to worship. These two men stay in close contact with the head of the Eritrean Muslim community, as well as leading Protestants, which make up the traditional four churches in Eritrea. The new churches not belonging to this traditional group

of four have been told in recent weeks that they must register with the government and provide information on their activities and source of funding, according to Ambassador McConnell.

We discussed other human rights issues such as the detention without charge of two Eritrean employees of the U.S. embassy due to national security concerns. There is just so much the U.S. can do as it relates to the internal affairs of a country like Eritrea, and we remain hopeful of an acceptable resolution of the detention of the two employees.

The United States can help Eritrea by remaining engaged in the region. Among other things, we can assist Eritrea in becoming an exporter of valuable products by focusing foreign aid on building their infrastructure. Then Eritrea can take advantage of AGOA and TPA and become a viable U.S. trade partner and thus expand our bilateral relationship.

Our codet then traveled to Sicily for refueling the night before returning to the United States.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that copies of op-ed pieces which I have written for the Morning Call and the Harrisburg Patriot and the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette also be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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

[From The Morning, Call, Sept. 16, 2002]

PROSPERITY AND PEACE IN AFRICA WILL HELP
FIGHT AIDS

(By Arlen Specter)

PHILADELPHIA—"I want access to America's trillion-dollar economy," Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi told Sen. Richard Shelby, a Republican from Alabama, and me in our mid-August fact-finding travels through Africa. If the developing nations of Africa can stop the spread of HIV and AIDS and end their bloody wars, the continent stands at the brink of real economic development with expanded foreign aid and new U.S. trade laws, which will open our markets.

Wherever we went—South Africa, Tanzania, Sudan, Ethiopia, Mauritius, and Eritrea—we heard of the debilitating effects of the AIDS epidemic. In many African countries, the U.S. National Institutes of Health and Center for Disease Control are providing funding and personnel to combat AIDS. President Bush recently announced a new \$5 billion aid package to Africa to spur economic development and AIDS control. This year's World HIV/AIDS Conference in New York City is promoting education, testing, and treatment. Follow-up action by African governments and increased foreign aid offer some promise, but winning the war against AIDS will be very difficult.

Prospects for ending civil wars are brighter. On July 20, a breakthrough agreement was reached between the Sudan government and the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM) largely due to the mediation efforts of former Sen. John Danforth. Sudan's President Omar el-Bashier told us of his keen interest to improve relations with the U.S. and to have his country taken off the terrorist list. This has led Sudan to offer unlimited, surprise visits by U.S. intelligence agents to its weapons factories and laboratories to assure it is not developing weapons of mass destruction, and Sudan has

also agreed to grant religious freedom to Christians who have been persecuted and sold into slavery for decades by their Islamic oppressors. Much more needs to be done to, but our former colleague, Sen. Danforth, gave us a detailed report on the reasons for his optimism.

In Addis Ababa and Asmara, we heard assurances from Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki that the war over their boundary dispute had been resolved. Both men, along with other regional leaders, were focusing on the conference for "Samalia Reconciliation" held in Kenya last week, sponsored by IGAD, the Intergovernmental Authority for Development. Anarchy in Somalia, with numerous war lords, causes regional instability and breeding grounds for al Qaeda.

In our visit to the Rwanda War Crimes Tribunal in Arusha, Tanzania, we observed a trial on charges of genocide. That Tribunal established an historic precedent in 2000 by convicting a head of state, former Prime Minister Jean Kambanda of Rwanda.

Perhaps the Rwanda criminal proceedings have even been a factor in ending the wars in Angola and Sierra Leone in the last few years. Peace negotiations are also now promising in Burundi and Congo. An optimistic note was sounded by Charles B. Snyder, deputy assistant secretary of state for Africa: "I like to think peace is contagious."

If answers can be found to war and AIDS, the isle of Mauritius, located 1,200 miles off the east coast of South Africa, is a prototype for economic prosperity. Mark Twain once said upon visiting the island that "One gets the impression that God made Mauritius first, and then modeled Heaven after it." We visited a sweater factory that was started by a Mauritian in 1985 and now employs, 2,500 people using the most modern equipment. Some of the piece workers there earn \$300 a week, a stark contrast from the \$250 annual earnings in Tanzania. Our Ambassador John Price and the factory owner, Sunil Hassamal, expect those earnings to increase as a result of the U.S. African Growth and Opportunity Act passed in 2000 and the newly enacted legislation on Trade Promotion Authority.

Perhaps the most remarkable development since my last trip to South Africa in 1993 is what has happened to that country. With the election victory of the African National Congress in 1994, apartheid has given way to a stable government where blacks and whites work together and Nelson Mandela is everybody's hero.

[From the Patriot News, Sept. 1, 2002]

CHRISTIANS FACE MANY OBSTACLES IN SUDAN (By Sen. Arlen Specter)

A peace agreement between the government of Sudan and the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement offers the prospect of ending slavery and the persecution of Christians in Sudan.

The civil war, which has raged since 1956 with only intermittent lapses, has seen governmental Muslim forces attack Christians in the south, kill the men and kidnap the women and children who are then sold into slavery.

In September 2001, President Bush appointed former Sen. John Danforth as his Special Envoy to broker a peace agreement between the warring factions. After intense negotiations, a break-through agreement was reached on July 20 leading to the "famous handshake" one week later between Sudanese President Omar el Bashier and SPLM leader John Garange.

Sen. Richard Shelby, R-Ala., and I traveled to Sudan in mid-August to discuss these issues with the parties with special emphasis

on what was happening on religious persecution.

I tried to visit Sudan, but could not do so because of dangers from the civil war. Instead, I visited neighboring Eritrea where I met with Sudanese Christians in exile and I then traveled to Addis Ababa where I discussed religious persecution with Patriarch Abuna Paulos of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

These meetings plus fact finding in Egypt and Saudi Arabia in 1998 provided part of the bases for legislation that Rep. Frank Wolf, R-Va., and I introduced that later became the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998.

In Khartoum last month, Rev. Ezekiel Kondo, the Provincial Secretary of the Episcopal Church of Sudan, advised that persecution of Christians by the government of Sudan was continuing, but there was hope that a peace agreement would produce real change. Rev. Kondo said Christians weren't able to build churches, were denied visas to attend out-of-country conferences and Islam converts to Christianity faced death.

When we traveled to Asmara, Bishop Abba Menghisteb Tesfarmariam of the Eritrean Catholic Church told us about complaints of five Sudanese Catholic Bishops at a conference in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in July, that Catholics were persecuted and sold into slavery by their Islam oppressors.

In Asmara, we also met with 97-year old Patriarch Abune Philipos Woldetensae of the Orthodox Church who emphasized that Christians will not be permitted to practice their religion even with guarantees in the peace agreement unless the U.S. makes it happen.

In our meetings with Sudan's top officials, Sen. Shelby and I stressed the importance of carrying out the guarantees for freedom of religion. President Omar el-Bashier, foreign Minister Mustafa Ismail and Peace Advisor Ghazi Sulahaddin all pledged to do so. When we discussed the issue with Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki, he scoffed at the prospects for Sudan to honor the commitment on religious freedom because Islam fundamentalists are fanatic about spreading their religious beliefs as part of gaining control of people and countries.

From meeting many people in the region and especially Sen. Danforth, it is my judgment that Sudan very much wants to gain favor from the U.S., which is the principal reason for a peace agreement with the SPLM.

Repeatedly, the Sudanese officials asked about being taken off the terrorist list.

Sudan's government has made other significant concessions such as giving U.S. intelligence agents unlimited access to weapons factories and laboratories for surprise "visits" to check for production of weapons of mass destruction.

The "Strategic Paper on Just Peace in the Framework of Comprehensive Political Settlement in Sudan" specifies "Religious belief and cultural identity are natural aspirations at the individual and group level, but cannot be imposed on others by any single party."

A final written agreement must spell out religious rights and deal with many specific pending issues.

Whatever the words, only the deeds matter.

Ultimately, U.S. pressure will be indispensable.

The International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 provides the mechanism to monitor and, where necessary, impose U.S. sanctions to guarantee religious freedom in Sudan and elsewhere.

[From the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Sept. 13, 2002]

TRY THE SUDAN MODEL FOR INSPECTIONS IN IRAQ

(By Arlen Specter)

WASHINGTON.—On a trip to Sudan in August, Sen. Richard Shelby and I learned about "visits" to Sudan's weapons factories and laboratories by U.S. intelligence agents that could provide a model for U.N. inspections in Iraq.

Sudan's president, Omar el-Bashir, told us his country was very eager to improve relations with the United States with a view to ultimately getting off the terrorist list. In addition to promising to stop persecuting Christians, Sudan is allowing U.S. agents unlimited, unannounced visits to any location—to break locks, inspect and photograph. Our agents told us they are confident that Sudan is not developing weapons of mass destruction at any of these installations.

Obviously, the situations between Iraq and Sudan are very different, so many questions would have to be answered. The first question is whether Saddam Hussein will ever honor his commitment to the United Nations to permit such inspections.

Last April, Secretary General Kofi Annan told me of his frustrations in dealing with Saddam's "cat and mouse" game. First, Saddam stalls, then his people say yes with qualifications, then another Iraqi official says no and meanwhile Saddam is free to do what he pleases. Since the United States downplays such inspections, there isn't much push to get them done. While it is true that no inspection regime can guard against factories or laboratories we don't know about, visits on the Sudan model would go a long way.

Then there is the doubt about whether the Bush administration really wants inspections. Inspections might delay a planned attack. In any event, Bush's team doubts their value. The President addressed the United Nations yesterday and stated that the U.N. Security Council resolutions must be adhered to by Iraq. Inspections are an integral part of those resolutions, and could be patterned after the inspections currently being used in Sudan. A very high-level expert in the U.S. intelligence community told me unrestricted, surprise inspections could provide adequate information on what Iraq is doing on WMD at those locations.

As President Bush has escalated the rhetoric for regime change, even his customary Republican allies have joined the international chorus in raising questions and insisting that he receive congressional authority to go to war against Iraq. Former National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, Republican Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana, Jack Kemp and even columnist Robert Novak represent a strong conservative base in urging caution, restraint and even no action.

Former Secretary of State James Baker has proposed a U.N. resolution calling for the use of force to compel Saddam to honor his 1991 commitments to permit inspections. That could provide the basis for an international military coalition if the Security Council agrees and Iraq continues to resist. If the United Nations does not adopt the Baker idea, it gives the United States a strong reason to unilaterally enforce Iraq's inspection commitments if the United Nations won't.

In order to make the case for military action, President Bush will have to deal with other tough issues: the cost in casualties, who will replace Saddam and what will be the repercussions in the region and beyond. But if Saddam continues to turn away inspectors, this will raise the common-sense

conclusion that he has something to hide, like weapons of mass destruction. And as the risk looms large that Saddam is continuing to develop such weapons, those issues will be subordinated to avoiding another Sept. 11 or worse.

Mr. SPECTER. I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for 30 minutes.

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

HONORING CONGRESSWOMAN PATSY T. MINK

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I rise to offer a few words in tribute to a distinguished colleague and dear friend, Congresswoman PATSY TAKEMOTO MINK, who passed away Saturday afternoon in Honolulu, HI. I am deeply saddened by the passing of my friend and colleague, PATSY MINK, and I join our Congressional delegation, and the people of Hawaii and the Nation in extending heartfelt sympathy to John and Wendy Mink, her husband and daughter, Eugene Takemoto, her brother, and all of PATSY's extended family and her loyal staff in Washington and Hawaii.

I feel a tremendous sense of loss at the untimely death of Congresswoman PATSY TAKEMOTO MINK. Her passing leaves a void in the House of Representatives, the Hawaii congressional delegation, and the political life of our Nation. It is difficult to put her spirit into words, but those that come immediately to mind as fitting characterizations of the woman we honor today include courageous, forthright, tenacious, gutsy, outspoken, bold, meticulous, and determined. She was my friend, a dedicated public servant for Hawaii, a strong pillar in our state's delegation, and an advocate for those in America who feel scared, small, alone, mistreated, neglected or forgotten.

PATSY was a petite woman with a powerful voice and a peerless reputation as a champion for equal opportunity, civil rights, and education. She was a courageous and tenacious leader whose lifetime of public service made Hawaii a better place. Her leadership in health, education, child welfare, and social services will endure and continue to benefit Hawaii's people and all Americans.

In the course of her life, PATSY was a pioneer, a trailblazer for women, workers, minorities, the poor, and the powerless. In the history of Hawaii and our Nation in the 20th century, PATSY MINK is one of the giants whose vision of hope and passion for justice led Hawaii to statehood and whose efforts broke down barriers and opened doors to opportunity for everyone, regardless of race, gender, or religion. Her passing silences a dynamic voice, but her many accomplishments, her unimpeachable

integrity, and passion for justice stand as an incredible legacy to a magnificent woman.

I commend to my colleagues and all those interested in PATSY's remarkable life, a biography by Esther Arinaga and Rene Ojiri included in a book titled *Called from Within: Early Women Lawyers of Hawaii*, edited by Mari Matsuda. I wish to recap some of her brilliant life and career for the RECORD.

Born on December 6, 1927, in Paia, Maui, PATSY was independent and ambitious from the start. As an illustration, one family story recalls that she insisted at age four on beginning school a year early. She was driven throughout her young life, and was elected student body president at Maui High School. She graduated as valedictorian in 1944, a year marked by global strife and war.

PATSY's childhood curiosity about medicine led her to study zoology and chemistry at the University of Hawaii. After graduating in 1948, she applied to medical school, only to be rejected along with other bright young women aspiring to be doctors, in a time when women made up only 2 to 3 percent of an entering class. Another factor daunting her efforts was the return of our war veterans and a resulting boom in applications for graduate and postgraduate programs. Although discouraged, PATSY took wise counsel from a mentor and applied to law schools. She gained admission to the University of Chicago. It was during her years of law studies that she would meet and marry John Mink, a respected hydrologist and geologist, her loyal campaign advisor, and her lifelong companion. It was in Chicago that they would have their daughter, Wendy, a professor at Smith College.

Returning to Hawaii, PATSY gained admission to the Hawaii bar in 1953, but only after a successful challenge of a statute that required a woman to take the residency status of her husband, who was a native Pennsylvanian. Such an action represented only one of several challenges to sexism that she would undertake during her professional career. In being admitted to the bar, she also logged one of many firsts by becoming the first Japanese American woman to do so in Hawaii.

In the 1950s, PATSY began to take a serious interest in politics and make her mark on the Democratic Party by helping to build the party and draw many young people into its ranks. PATSY's first step into public elected office in the territorial legislature in 1956 awoke for Hawaii and the world a powerful voice that would only gain strength in its impact and not be silenced until the new millennium. From that moment forward, PATSY's professional and political record would run as if by perpetual motion.

The momentous year of 1959 brought Statehood for Hawaii, and by then, PATSY had easily won election to the territorial Senate. Leading up to Statehood, while the legislature

worked on landmark issues that would lend shape to Hawaii's new society, PATSY authored an "equal pay for equal work" law and scrutinized the Department of Education toward improving education for Hawaii's children—a cause close to my heart, as one who previously served as a teacher and principal in Hawaii's schools.

In 1965, PATSY brought her views to the national stage when she became the first woman of color elected to the United States House of Representatives to represent Hawaii's 2nd Congressional District—a seat I was proud to hold for almost 14 years, before I entered the Senate. PATSY was articulate about the causes she tenaciously shepherded. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's fireside chats, heard years ago on Maui by a young PATSY, had provided her with a foundation of ideals and rhetoric from which she would draw upon for many years in her political career.

During her first tenure in Congress, PATSY served her various constituencies, both in Hawaii and around this Nation, with a strong commitment to wide-ranging domestic issues, including education, the environment, child care, open Government, workers' rights, and equal opportunity. She introduced the first Early Childhood Education Act, authored the Women's Education Equity Act, supported strip mining regulation, and became an early critic of the Vietnam War. In 1971, she entered the Oregon Democratic Presidential primary. Her candidacy reflected her determined independence and frustration with Government cutbacks in social services spending and the ongoing war.

In 1971, in connection with planned underground nuclear tests at Amchitka Island in the Aleutian chain, she filed suit with 32 other Members of Congress to compel disclosure of reports under the Freedom of Information Act, FOIA. She took issue with alleged Presidential authority to exempt certain information from FOIA and withhold it from judicial or legislative review. In the final outcome, in what had been described by PATSY as a sort of Waterloo of the Freedom of Information Act, the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that Congress could legislate new disclosure guidelines to permit judicial review of the President's actions. In the end, the case gained tremendous historical significance when the U.S. Supreme Court cited it as precedent for the release of the Watergate tapes.

In perhaps her farthest-reaching accomplishment, PATSY co-authored title IX of the Higher Education Act Amendments, which prohibits gender discrimination by educational institutions receiving Federal funds. The landmark provision was enacted in 1972 and has since, in its 30 years of existence, introduced equality in college sports and contributed greatly to the rise in women's athletics.

An unsuccessful Senate bid ended her first set of years in Federal office in 1977, but it did not quiet her political