

trumpet the provincial reconstruction teams, United States military-civil affairs teams that are trying to win hearts and minds in the provinces by building schools, or latrines for schools. And they talk of the program to train the Afghan National Army, which should produce a 9,000-member force by next year.

But the national impact of all of this is virtually nil. As one director of a donor agency, which completed 160 construction projects last year, said, "The dimension of the destruction is such that people don't see it."

Compared with the enormous military-political Gordian knot that needs to be cut, the attention to human needs can only be described as paltry, even irrelevant.

Little has been done to disarm and dismantle the power bases of the factions, and as time goes on the armed men who rule the districts, regions and whole provinces are becoming more and more entrenched and increasingly powerful economically. They are likely to dominate politics during the next year, which could fatally erode all public trust in the process and the results. The country could end up being ruled by a mixture of drug lords and fundamentalist mujahedeen—in other words, people not much different from the Taliban.

Everyone has a different idea of what the United States should be doing, but most Afghans and Westerners working here agree that there are two basic requirements for nation-building that the United States cannot afford to ignore—providing security and establishing a functioning political system. They are interconnected, most here agree; in fact, it is impossible to have one without the other.

Only a legitimate, national political system will have the authority to establish a police and justice system with the necessary powers to establish real security. Without real security, there can be no widespread development; American soldiers cannot stand on every street corner, or monitor every business transaction and tax collection.

The problem here, as in Iraq, is that the American military is still running the show and views Afghanistan through the prism of the campaign against terrorism and not according to the country's political and economic demands. But if Afghanistan is to seize the chance this year to start becoming a stable and prosperous society, there is much, much more to be done.

Many are saying that Washington needs to exert more political pressure—on Mr. Karzai to act more decisively on this government to work more proactively, on the police nationwide to ensure law and order, on commanders to disarm, on ministers to reform their ministries and even out the balance of power, on warlords to give up their fiefs and join the government, on Pakistan to stop supporting the Taliban and other opponents of the Bonn process. The list goes on.

All those steps would be a help. But fundamentally, the Americans need to create an atmosphere in which democratic politics can take hold. That means doing more than attending to human needs and offering military training. It means, in the view of many Western officials here and prominent Afghans, putting pressure on the warlords, disarming them and cutting their power bases, leveling the political playing field so that the coming elections are free and fair.

LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 2003

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the need for hate crimes legislation. On May 1, 2003, Sen-

ator KENNEDY and I introduced the Local Law Enforcement Act, a bill that would add new categories to current hate crimes law, sending a signal that violence of any kind is unacceptable in our society.

I would like to describe a terrible crime that occurred in Champaign, IL. On December 16, 2001, a Muslim Tunisian-American university student was beaten by a mob of several men. Participants in the attack restrained the victim's brother and his friends to prevent them from coming to his aid. The student was beaten by more than six of the men, one of whom broke his nose with a blunt object.

I believe that Government's first duty is to defend its citizens, to defend them against the harms that come out of hate. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act is a symbol that can become substance. I believe that by passing this legislation and changing current law, we can change hearts and minds as well.

THE INDICTMENT OF CHARLES TAYLOR

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I see that the senior Senator from New Hampshire, Mr. GREGG, is on the floor. Knowing of his longstanding interest in Sierra Leone, I wonder if he wants to speak briefly about the indictment last week of Charles Taylor by the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

Mr. GREGG. I thank the Senator from Vermont. He is correct about my longstanding interest in Sierra Leone. With respect to the Special Court, I am well aware of the events of the past week, where the Prosecutor of the Court, David Crane, unsealed an indictment for Charles Taylor, while Mr. Taylor was in Ghana.

Unfortunately, the international community did not act in time and Mr. Taylor was able to escape to Liberia. In doing so, the world missed a great opportunity to bring to justice one of the world's most notorious war criminals and advance the cause of international justice.

Mr. LEAHY. I agree with the Senator from New Hampshire. I spoke about this subject last week. Since then, it has come to my attention that some officials in the State Department and other governments are upset at Mr. Crane for the timing of this indictment, as they saw it as disruptive to the peace talks in West Africa.

While I can appreciate those concerns, I agree with one of Mr. Crane's statements on this issue, which I will read:

[T]he timing of this announcement was carefully considered in light of the important peace process begun this week. To ensure the legitimacy of these negotiations, it is imperative that the attendees know they are dealing with an indicted war criminal. These negotiations can still move forward, but they must do so without the involvement of this indictee. The evidence upon which this indictment was approved raises serious questions about Taylor's suitability to be a guar-

antor of any deal, let alone a peace agreement.

I was wondering if Senator GREGG had any thoughts on this issue.

Mr. GREGG. I agree with Mr. Crane's statement about the indictment of Charles Taylor. As much as anyone, I want to bring peace and prosperity to West Africa. But, Mr. Crane has a mandate to bring to justice those most responsible for the atrocities committed in Sierra Leone, and the trail led to Charles Taylor. Not indicting Mr. Taylor would have been outrageous. Justice would not have been served.

I also want to read from a Washington Post editorial, dated June 5, 2003, that summarizes the issue. It said, and I am quoting:

After years of afflicting his own country with the worst kind of brutality and aiding and abetting a cruel civil war in neighboring Sierra Leone, Mr. Taylor is now being pressed on his own soil by rebel movements bent on driving him from power. That he was out of the country this week was no accident. The purpose of his trip to Ghana, organized by the Economic Community of West Africa and a United Nations contact group that includes the United States, was to join peace talks with Liberian opposition groups. Military and political weaknesses, not strength, drove him from his haven in Liberia to the Ghana peace parley. Fear of international justice is what has sent him scurrying back home. . . . The idea of Mr. Taylor working out an eleventh-hour agreement that restores peace and stability to Liberia strikes many human rights observers as ludicrous given both his record of broken pledges and his overwhelming contribution to that country's misery. Faced with tightening international opposition, he now says he will consider stepping aside if that will bring peace. He's now even making noises about supporting a transitional government of national unity while remaining on the sidelines. Mr. Taylor, as usual, has it all wrong. He is in no position to guarantee any deal, let alone a peace agreement, as Mr. Crane said yesterday. Indicted as a war criminal, Charles Taylor today is nothing more than a wanted man.

In short, I agree with the Post's editorial and commend Mr. Crane for taking decisive action to indict Charles Taylor.

Mr. LEAHY. I share Senator GREGG's sentiments. I would also point out that Mr. Crane's office unsealed the indictment in a responsible way. According to information I received, the Special Court's chief of security was instructed to inform all organizations with personnel in Liberia, including the U.S. Embassy, Freetown, that "within 24 hours the Special Court was going to take an action that could possibly destabilize Monrovia." These actions were undertaken to ensure that all government and humanitarian personnel had notice to withdraw or stay home.

This effectively "unsealed" the indictment to governments and humanitarian organizations without tipping Mr. Taylor off. In addition, 3 hours before the press conference and public announcement, and minutes after the Court had confirmation that Ghanaian authorities were served with the arrest

warrant for Mr. Taylor, private letters were hand-delivered to all representatives of a number of key governments in Freetown.

Mr. GREGG. Does the Senator share my view that the United States and other members of the international community should continue to strongly support the Special Court and vigorously pursue Mr. Taylor and other indicted war criminals?

Mr. LEAHY. Yes. In fact, I am going to work with Senator McCONNELL, with the goal of providing \$2 million in the fiscal year 2004 foreign operations bill for additional support to the Court.

Mr. GREGG. I support the efforts of the Senator from Vermont and thank him for discussing this issue with me.

Mr. LEAHY. I thank the Senator from New Hampshire. In closing, I would just add that there have been recent reports of a possible "deal" with Mr. Taylor under which he would go into exile in exchange for immunity from the Court. While I want to see an end to the fighting in West Africa, which has claimed many innocent lives, an immunity deal with Mr. Taylor would be a grave mistake. It will undermine peace and reconciliation efforts in the region. It will let a major war criminal escape justice. It would be unacceptable.

HONORING SERGEANT DUANE RIOS

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I rise today with great sadness and tremendous gratitude to honor the life of yet another brave Hoosier killed in action in Iraq. Sgt. Duane Rios of Griffith, IN was 25 years old. On Saturday, April 5, 2003, while serving as an engineer with the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force, Duane was mortally wounded. Duane had reached Eastern Baghdad, where he was killed in a firefight. Sgt. Rios was a brave American who left behind family, friends and the comforts of home to defend the principles of democracy and freedom that we all enjoy.

Duane Rios is the fourth Hoosier to be killed while bravely serving our Nation in Operation Iraqi Freedom. Today, I mourn along with Duane's family, friends, fellow Marines and community. While all are very proud of Duane, there is also a tremendous sense of loss. Duane's life was too short, yet he will always be remembered for his heroism and dedication to his country. Such a life shall serve as an inspiration to all as we continue to fight for the liberation of Iraq.

Duane Rios was a charismatic and friendly person who never passed someone without smiling and saying hello. Duane attended Griffith High School, graduating in 1996. After graduation he married his high school sweetheart, Erica. He will be greatly missed by all who knew him. It was with great pride that he left for Iraq, prepared to do his duty and was willing to make the ultimate sacrifice, if fate dictated, for a country he loved dearly.

President Chester Arthur once said: "Men may die, but the fabrics of free

institutions remain unshaken." These words force us to see the larger picture and give some solace as we mourn the loss of Duane Rios and honor the sacrifice he made for America and for all humanity.

It is my sad duty to enter the name of Duane Rios in the official record of the U.S. Senate for his service to this country and for his profound commitment to freedom, democracy, and peace. When I think about this just cause in which we are engaged, and the unfortunate pain that comes with the loss of our heroes, I hope that families like Duane's can find comfort in the words of the prophet Isaiah, who said: "He will swallow up death in victory; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces."

May God grant strength and peace to those who mourn the loss of such young lives, and may God bless the United States of America.

VOTE EXPLANATION

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. President, I was not present for rollcall vote No. 221 on the Graham amendment. Were I present for that vote, I would have voted in favor of the amendment.

Mr. President, I was not present for rollcall vote No. 222 on the Lautenberg amendment. Were I present for that vote, I would have voted in favor of the amendment.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

THE AMERICAN SPA: HISTORIC BATHHOUSES OF HOT SPRINGS, ARKANSAS

• Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, on May 29, 2003, the National Trust for Historic Preservation named Bathhouse Row in Hot Springs National Park, AR, one of America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places.

I come to the floor today to applaud the National Trust's efforts to preserve these bathhouses. I also want to bring the dire condition of these historic sites to the Senate's attention and urge my colleagues to support my and Senator LINCOLN's work to provide critical funding this year to save the eight bathhouses in Hot Springs.

During the early 1900s, a variety of bathhouses were built in Hot Springs, AR, to accommodate the thousands of travelers who sought the curative waters from 47 natural thermal springs. These bathhouses were elaborately constructed with remarkable architectural design, including stained-glass skylights and patterned mosaic floors and walls. The bathhouse provided restful baths and services—some peculiar and bizarre—that inspired the resort nickname "The American Spa." In short, Bathhouse Row shaped America's "Golden Age of Bathing" and was internationally renowned, with the likes of Babe Ruth and the infamous Al Capone visiting the resort.

Arkansans have long known what the National Trust for Historic Preservation has announced to the Nation: that these one-of-a-kind historic treasures are on the verge of disappearing due to neglect. These amazing buildings are literally falling apart. But the story for the bathhouses doesn't have to end there. We have a plan that works for both preservationists and budget hawks. Reasonable Federal investment into reconditioning these buildings will be leveraged by private leasing agreements. Once restored, private ventures will breathe new life and usher a new generation of use into Bathhouse Row for all Americans to enjoy.

Lastly, I think that it is important to note that Congress has recognized the national importance of Hot Springs for 171 years. On April 20, 1832, the Congress had the foresight to establish Hot Springs Reservation—making it the oldest park currently in the National Park System. On March 4, 1921, Congress changed the name to Hot Springs National Park.

Today, Congress has the opportunity to act again in support of Hot Springs. I believe that our predecessors in Congress intended for the park to protect Bathhouse Row and the unique glimpse that it provides into our Nation's social and historic past.

I urge my colleagues to support funding in the fiscal year 2004 Interior appropriations bill for Bathhouse Row in Hot Springs National Park. ●

SALUTING LOUISIANA FAITH IN ACTION GRANTEEES

• Mr. BREAU. Mr. President, I am proud to serve as ranking member of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, a position which allows me to focus on issues important to older Americans. One of the most critical concerns of our Nation's seniors is the need for long-term care services. And though the lack of available long-term care service is a substantial problem today, the demand for long-term care services will overwhelm an already-strained system as our Nation's 77 million baby boomers age.

Family caregivers are the cornerstone of our long-term care system, providing 80 percent of all long-term care in this country. Most older and disabled Americans prefer to remain in their own homes or in the community and many do so, thanks to the support and love of family caregivers. But we all know that family caregivers cannot provide around-the-clock care—many have jobs and children to raise. Caregiving is stressful and it places heavy emotional, physical and financial burdens on caregivers. Research shows that caregivers need a variety of services to support them in their caregiving roles. One innovative and valuable service to family caregivers is the "Faith in Action" program sponsored by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.