

advance the causes and unique, critical needs of rural states and agriculture in the form of federal funds and programs for agriculture, disaster aid, health care, education, energy needs, air transportation, highway maintenance, railways and water development; and

Whereas, Senator DASCHLE's powerful resources and status as Senate Majority Leader and Senate Minority Leader gave South Dakota unprecedented influence to pass legislation which was of the greatest benefit to all South Dakotans, especially to rural communities, farms and ranches; and,

Whereas, Senator DASCHLE was responsible for the allocation of unprecedented federal funds to South Dakota throughout his tenure in the United States Congress, and that Senator DASCHLE's last term ended with victories for South Dakota, including his quest to produce \$2.9 billion in disaster assistance for farmers and ranchers, against the long-standing resistance and indifference of the majority party in Congress and the White House; and,

Whereas, Senator DASCHLE's great influence and power on behalf of South Dakota and rural America will be missed in the unfinished battles for a Renewable Fuels Standard, a mandatory Country of Origin Labeling law, fair trade policies which are not predatory to South Dakota agriculture, sufficient drought relief, rural water development and a progressive agricultural agenda which supports a strong rural economy, as well as the fights to preserve social security and Medicare, lower prescription drug costs, and make health care coverage affordable and available to all Americans;

Now, therefore, we resolve that the Delegates of the 89th Convention of South Dakota Farmers Union commends and highly appreciates the lifetime dedication and service of Senator THOMAS A. DASCHLE to improve the economy and the quality of life in South Dakota and throughout the United States.

TROUBLING SITUATION IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I express my concerns about the troubling situation in Côte d'Ivoire.

As my colleagues know, in September 2002, rebellion broke out in Côte d'Ivoire, eventually dividing the country between the north, where rebels known as the Force Nouvelle established themselves, and the south, where President Laurent Gbagbo's government continued to exercise its authority. The Economic Community of West African states, or ECOWAS, helped to negotiate a ceasefire, and in January 2003 international efforts to mediate the crisis culminated in the signing of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement of early 2003, which provided for an interim Government of National Reconciliation to move the country toward new elections. The United Nations established a peacekeeping mission and over 6,000 troops from around the world deployed to monitor the ceasefire and help the parties implement the peace accord—further evidence of international will to help the people of Côte d'Ivoire regain a stable footing and reestablish a just and peaceful unified government.

Throughout these diplomatic efforts, 4,000 French soldiers have served as the backbone of the international presence

that has worked to guarantee the peace. Much as the United Kingdom played a pivotal role in stabilizing Sierra Leone, France made an admirable commitment to the people of Côte d'Ivoire. And despite the friction between France and the U.S. on other important global issues, we have continued to work closely and cooperatively to resolve this crisis.

But over the many months that have passed since the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement was signed, progress toward implementing the accords has stalled, as both parties failed to take constructive steps to move the country toward lasting stability. Then, on November 4, President Gbagbo broke the ceasefire agreement, and in an apparent bid to find a military solution, launched air raids on rebel positions in the north. On November 6, the Ivorian forces bombed a French position, killing nine French soldiers and an American aid worker, and wounding dozens more. France retaliated by destroying the Ivorian air force. What followed was an orchestrated campaign, conducted largely via broadcasts on state-controlled media outlets, to encourage citizens to participate in a rampage of anti-French violence and looting.

I am heartened by the unity and resolve of the international community in confronting this crisis, and by the rejection of Ivorian efforts to justify the bombings and to vilify France. U.N. peacekeepers performed bravely in trying to protect the zone of confidence during the recent hostilities. South African President Thabo Mbeki moved quickly to reach out to all parties and open the door to dialogue that could diffuse the situation, though sadly, his efforts were not embraced by all parties. On November 15, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution establishing an arms embargo on Côte d'Ivoire, and indicating that a travel ban and asset freeze will be applied to anyone from among the government or rebel ranks found to be an impediment to progress on implementing the peace accords. I welcome this resolution and its insistence on accountability from all parties to Côte d'Ivoire's conflict.

In addition to accountable, constructive leadership, there is a desperate need for grassroots reconciliation efforts. The tensions that came to a boil in 2002 have, sadly, been simmering for some time. In the 1990s, some pursued a deliberate effort to promote a divisive, destructive, xenophobic brand of nationalism in the country, and if a lasting peace is to take hold and the people of Côte d'Ivoire are to be free from fear of a return to violence and chaos, a great deal of work must be done to lessen ethnic tensions and build confidence and trust in Ivorian communities. In recent days, French nationals have been the targets of ugly invective, but in the recent past it has been northern Ivorians, immigrants, and Muslims who have been demonized. I urge the administration to make com-

bating ethnic and regional divisions a major focus of U.S. efforts in Côte d'Ivoire. Even as we work with the international community to hold leaders accountable for their actions, we must also assist in laying the groundwork for peace among the people themselves.

The downward spiral in Côte d'Ivoire is especially troubling because the country had, not long ago, been a beacon of stability and important economic engine in a deeply troubled region. After all of the suffering in Sierra Leone and Liberia, and all of the costly efforts launched to bring stability back to West Africa, the international community cannot afford to lose Côte d'Ivoire to perpetual crisis.

PROBLEMS IN THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I rise today to express my concern over recent news reports detailing turmoil inside the Central Intelligence Agency since the arrival of the new Director, Porter Goss, and former members of his staff in the House of Representatives.

As a senior member of the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs with oversight responsibility for homeland security and the committee responsible for drafting the legislative reform on intelligence now in conference, I am deeply concerned about the impact the new leadership at the CIA may have on our national security.

Since the terrorist attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001, the Congress has been engaged as never before in efforts to reform our intelligence collection capability in terms of our ability to improve the technical means to collect and share critical information in a timely fashion. The key component to that reform is human capital. Time and time again in outside commissions, reports to the Congress, and in hearings, we have been told that our intelligence and law enforcement communities lack sufficient qualified personnel to collect and analyze information. I introduced legislation, S. 589, the Homeland Security Federal Workforce Act, which passed the Senate with bipartisan support last year and is now in the House, to help rectify that problem. Other Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle have also introduced legislation to improve our intelligence and law enforcement workforce.

This is why I am so disturbed by the news reports that senior members of the CIA are being forced to resign, are being pressured to fire subordinates, and there are fears that they may even be asked to tailor their analysis to support the administration's policies, according to the November 17, 2004, New York Times. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. AKAKA. Among those who have been forced out or retired recently are the Deputy Director of the CIA, the Deputy Director of Operations, the second ranking member of the clandestine service, and the former head of the CIA bin Laden unit. Other resignations, retirements, or reassignments may follow.

Apparently, Director Goss brought with him at least 4 former staffers from the House of Representatives and inserted them into senior positions at the agency where they have begun to force these resignations.

This is troubling for two reasons: First, we cannot afford to lose any intelligence personnel, especially seasoned officers, in the midst of the war on terrorism. We have so few people we cannot fully staff the Terrorist Threat Integration Center, TTIC, that the President created to provide a coordinated counterterrorism response to the 9/11 attacks. Secondly, our intelligence staff have been working 24/7 since the war on terrorism and the war in Iraq began. They need morale boosters, not the morale downers that come from the forced resignations of well-respected leaders.

So desperate is the personnel situation that the intelligence reform bill, S. 2845, now in conference, authorizes the establishment of a National Intelligence Reserve Corps for the temporary reemployment of former intelligence community employees during periods of emergency.

Some would argue that the CIA is a "damaged agency" that needs to be reformed through "hard love." Perhaps that is the case. Perhaps the operations directorate needs to be given new direction. I understand that both President Clinton and President Bush, in his first term, were focused on reforming the clandestine operations through the efforts of Director Tenet and that those reforms were yielding results. But if those results are insufficient, more needs to be done.

If a ship needs to change course and requires a new crew, the new crew needs to know both how to pilot a ship and how to plot a course. So far, the current upheaval at the Central Intelligence Agency makes me worry that the current new crew may not measure up to that challenge. I would like to be proved wrong because our national security depends on it.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the New York Times, Nov. 17, 2004]
NEW C.I.A. CHIEF TELLS WORKERS TO BACK
ADMINISTRATION POLICIES
(By Douglas Jehl)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16.—Porter J. Goss, the new intelligence chief, has told Central Intelligence Agency employees that their job is to "support the administration and its policies in our work," a copy of an internal memorandum shows.

"As agency employees we do not identify with, support or champion opposition to the administration or its policies," Mr. Goss said in the memorandum, which was circulated late on Monday. He said in the document

that he was seeking "to clarify beyond doubt the rules of the road."

While his words could be construed as urging analysts to conform with administration policies, Mr. Goss also wrote, "We provide the intelligence as we see it—and let the facts alone speak to the policymaker."

The memorandum suggested an effort by Mr. Goss to spell out his thinking as he embarked on what he made clear would be a major overhaul at the agency, with further changes to come. The changes to date, including the ouster of the agency's clandestine service chief, have left current and former intelligence officials angry and unnerved. Some have been outspoken, including those who said Tuesday that they regarded Mr. Goss's warning as part of an effort to suppress dissent within the organization.

In recent weeks, White House officials have complained that some C.I.A. officials have sought to undermine President Bush and his policies.

At a minimum, Mr. Goss's memorandum appeared to be a swipe against an agency decision under George J. Tenet, his predecessor as director of central intelligence, to permit a senior analyst at the agency, Michael Scheuer, to write a book and grant interviews that were critical of the Bush administration's policies on terrorism.

One former intelligence official said he saw nothing inappropriate in Mr. Goss's warning, noting that the C.I.A. had long tried to distance itself and its employees from policy matters.

"Mike exploited a seam in the rules and inappropriately used it to express his own policy views," the official said of Mr. Scheuer. "That did serious damage to the agency, because many people, including some in the White House, thought that he was being urged by the agency to take on the president. I know that was not the case."

But a second former intelligence official said he was concerned that the memorandum and the changes represented an effort by Mr. Goss to stifle independence.

"If Goss is asking people to color their views and be a team player, that's not what people at C.I.A. signed up for," said the former intelligence official. The official and others interviewed in recent days spoke on condition that they not be named, saying they did not want to inflame tensions at the agency.

Some of the contents of Mr. Goss's memorandum were first reported by The Washington Post. A complete copy of the document was obtained on Tuesday by The New York Times.

Tensions between the agency's new leadership team, which took over in late September, and senior career officials are more intense than at any time since the late 1970's. The most significant changes so far have been the resignations on Monday of Stephen R. Kappes, the deputy director of operations, and his deputy, Michael Sulick, but Mr. Goss told agency employees in the memorandum that he planned further changes "in the days and weeks ahead of us" that would involve "procedures, organization, senior personnel and areas of focus for our action."

"I am committed to sharing these changes with you as they occur," Mr. Goss said in the memorandum. "I do understand it is easy to be distracted by both the nature and the pace of change. I am confident, however, that you will remain deeply committed to our mission."

Mr. Goss's memorandum included a reminder that C.I.A. employees should "scrupulously honor our secrecy oath" by allowing the agency's public affairs office and its Congressional relations branch to take the

lead in all contacts with the media and with Congress. "We remain a secret organization," he said.

Among the moves that Mr. Goss said he was weighing was the selection of a candidate to become the agency's No. 2 official, the deputy director of central intelligence. The name being mentioned most often within the C.I.A. as a candidate, intelligence officials said, is Lt. Gen. Michael V. Hayden of the Air Force, the director of the National Security Agency, which is responsible for intercepting electronic communications worldwide. The naming of a deputy director would be made by the White House, in a nomination subject to Senate confirmation.

In interviews this week, members of Congress as well as current and former intelligence officials said one reason the overhaul under way had left them unnerved was that Mr. Goss had not made clear what kind of agency he intended to put in place. But Mr. Goss's memorandum did little to spell out that vision, and it did not make clear why the focus of overhaul efforts to date appeared to be on the operations directorate, which carries out spying and other covert missions around the world.

"It's just very hard to divine what's going on over there," said Senator Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon, who said he and other members of the Senate intelligence committee would be seeking answers at closed sessions this week. "But on issue after issue, there's a real question about whether the country and the Congress are going to get an unvarnished picture of our intelligence situation at a critical time."

Mr. Goss said in the memorandum that he recognized that intelligence officers were operating in an atmosphere of extraordinary pressures, after a series of reports critical of intelligence agencies' performance in the months leading up to the Sept. 11 attacks and the war in Iraq.

"The I.C. and its people have been relentlessly scrutinized and criticized," he said, using an abbreviation for intelligence community. "Intelligence-related issues have become the fodder of partisan food fights and turf-power skirmishes. All the while, the demand for our services and products against a ruthless and unconventional enemy has expanded geometrically and we are expected to deliver—instantly. We have reason to be proud of our achievements and we need to be smarter about how we do our work in this operational climate."

LIFTING HOLD ON NOMINATION OF DEBORAH MAJORAS

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, last May, I announced my intention to object to any unanimous consent request for the Senate to take up the nomination of Deborah Majoras to be the Chair of the Federal Trade Commission, FTC. I did so because despite several requests, I had received no assurance from Ms. Majoras that under her leadership, the FTC would take any steps to address anticompetitive practices that drive up gasoline prices nationwide and particularly in the Pacific Northwest. Oregon consumers typically pay some of the highest gasoline prices in the Nation.

Today, I received a letter from Ms. Majoras describing how she is moving forward on certain commitments she made to me concerning the FTC's policies for the oil and gasoline industry.