

It is apparent that Federal coordination remains inadequate if notification of DHS is considered unnecessary by other responding agencies.

To ensure a comprehensive and coordinated approach to agroterrorism, my bills address many of the concerns raised by GAO and others. The Homeland Security Food and Agriculture Act will: increase communication and coordination between DHS and State, local, and tribal homeland security officials regarding agroterrorism; ensure agriculture security is included in State, local, and regional emergency response plans; and establish a task force of State and local first responders that will work with DHS to identify best practices in the area of agriculture security.

The Agriculture Security Assistance Act will: provide financial and technical assistance to States and localities for agroterrorism preparedness and response; increase international agricultural disease surveillance and inspections of imported agricultural products; require that certified veterinarians be knowledgeable in foreign animal diseases; and require that USDA study the costs and benefits of developing a more robust animal disease vaccine stockpile.

I look forward to working with the Agriculture Committee as agriculture security legislation moves forward. As ranking member of the Homeland Security Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management, I will continue to make agroterrorism a priority for the Federal Government, and I ask my colleagues to join me in this quest.

40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, 40 years ago, in 1965, African Americans were excluded from almost all public offices in the South. At that time, with 21 million people fenced out of the political process, our nation was suffering a devastating failure. A failure to fulfill one of its signature promises: representation for all.

As I speak here today, African-American and Hispanic voters are now substantially represented in the state legislatures and local governing bodies throughout the South. And 81 minority Members currently serve in the U.S. Congress.

This turn-around came as the result of a monumental struggle, a struggle in which Americans risked their lives to secure the right to vote. They marched in Alabama and across the South to protest the use of poll taxes, literacy tests, and other barriers erected in Southern States to exclude African Americans from the political process. African Americans were harassed, intimidated, and physically assaulted for simply trying to vote. Televised broadcasts brought the horrible images of attacks on peaceful protesters with nightsticks, tear gas, and police dogs into the living rooms of citizens

throughout the country. Some brave souls, and some innocent bystanders, lost their lives in this struggle for justice, which still today stands as a testament to the power of ideas and non-violence to bring about crucial social and legal change.

Two days after "Bloody Sunday," a day on which protesters in Selma, Alabama, were attacked by State troopers while crossing the Edmund Pettus bridge, President Johnson sent the Voting Rights Act to Congress. In response to the horrific events in Selma and after years of efforts in Congress and around the country, on August 6, 1965, the Voting Rights Act was signed into law.

The act outlawed barriers to voting, such as literacy tests, and empowered the Federal Government to oversee voter registration and elections in counties that historically had prevented African Americans from participating in elections. Since its enactment, the Voting Rights Act has been extended four times—in 1970, 1975, 1982, and 1992. Changes included increasing the act's scope to cover non-English speaking minorities such as Latinos, Asian Americans and Native Americans, Alaskan Natives, and other minority groups. It has also been used to examine and challenge new election formats that dilute minority votes and have a discriminatory effect.

The Voting Rights Act has been hailed as the most important piece of federal legislation in our Nation's history. Not just the most important piece of civil rights legislation, but the most important piece of legislation ever passed. This may well be true: it is from our political rights, our rights of citizenship, that all other freedoms flow. Without a meaningful chance to vote, there can be no equality before the law, no equal access to justice, no equal opportunity in the workplace or to share in the benefits and burdens of citizenship.

The Voting Rights Act is also considered one of the most successful pieces of civil rights legislation ever enacted. In Selma, Alabama, in 1965, 2.1 percent of blacks of voting age were registered to vote. Today, more than 70 percent are registered.

Still, we must remember that the fight is not over. On this 40th anniversary of the Voting Rights Act, many Americans are still disenfranchised by discriminatory redistricting plans, voter intimidation tactics, long lines at polling places and inadequate numbers of voting machines, and lifetime restrictions on voting rights for ex-felons.

In 2007, key elements of the Voting Rights Act, including the Federal pre-clearance requirement, are due to expire. The pre-clearance requirement is especially important. It requires Federal approval of any proposed changes in voting or election procedures in areas with a history of discrimination. The Supreme Court in *South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, the case that upheld

Congress's power to impose these requirements, aptly called this a shifting of the "advantage of time and inertia from the perpetrators of the evil to its victims." It simply means that voters in these areas do not have to refight the battles they won in the civil rights struggle. These provisions of the Act are crucial.

As we approach, the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Voting Rights Act on August 6, I urge my colleagues and the citizens of this great Nation to renew our commitment to protect and strengthen the right to vote for all Americans. That right is the foundation of our democracy and it must never again be denied to a group of Americans based on the color of their skin.

CYPRUS

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, I rise today to bring to the Senate's attention a troubling development in our efforts to support the reunification of Cyprus. I have recently learned that the State Department is encouraging members of Congress and their staffs to initiate certain visits to the country through an airport in the illegally occupied area of the island—an airport that is not authorized by the Republic of Cyprus as a legal port of entry. In fact, the airport is built on property that was expropriated from its lawful owners following the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974.

As you may know, Cyprus was forcibly divided by an invasion of Turkish troops more than 30 years ago. Today, the United States and the world community recognize that the Turkish invasion was illegal, and that the Republic of Cyprus, which controls 2/3 of the island, is the only legitimate government of Cyprus. For years, as reflected in our domestic law and echoed in several U.N. Security Council Resolutions, U.S. foreign policy has refused to give either recognition or direct assistance to the self-declared administrative authority in the occupied area, the so-called "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus." Indeed, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended following the Turkish invasion, has established that the United States supports a free government for Cyprus, the withdrawal of all Turkish forces from Cyprus, and the reunification of the island communities.

On the specific matter of flights into Cyprus, the U.S. is bound by the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation, to which both the U.S. and Cyprus are signatories. The Chicago Convention provides that "[t]he contracting States recognize that every State has complete and exclusive sovereignty over the airspace above its territory," including designation of official ports of entry. The Republic of Cyprus's sovereignty over the entire territory of Cyprus has been recognized and reaffirmed by numerous U.N. Security Council Resolutions as well as

long-standing U.S. policy. Because the Republic of Cyprus has never authorized direct flights into the airports in the occupied area, and because it has not designated these airports as official ports of entry, entering the country through these airports is a direct violation of the Chicago Convention. Simply put, our State Department should not be authorizing, encouraging, or even condoning such a blatant violation of international law.

Moreover, flights into an occupied airport violate local Cypriot law. If Cypriots visit the United States, they cannot just land a plane in the middle of the country—they must land at an airport that is an immigration and customs point of entry. We would rightly object if a Cypriot landed at an unauthorized airport in our country, and we should not be encouraging Americans to do so in Cyprus.

Over the past year, I believe the administration has been playing fast and loose with U.S. policy toward Cyprus, and has, at times, been less than forthcoming to me and others who are concerned with the viability of our efforts to facilitate reunification of the island.

In late October 2004, officials from the U.S. Transportation Security Administration—over the protests of the Government of Cyprus—conducted an inspection of the airport at Tymbou, which is one of the airports in the occupied area. When I expressed my concern to the State Department that such a visit was not appropriate because flights into that airport would violate international and Cypriot law and are inconsistent with U.S. law, the Department assured me that it was not changing its policy toward Cyprus. Instead, I was told that “the visit . . . was a liaison visit to conduct a general review of the aviation security posture and was fully consistent with the TSA’s mandate to promote international aviation security.” It now appears that this visit may have been an early step toward encouraging Members of Congress and staff to land at this illegal airport.

This past June, Members of Congress travelled, at the behest and funding of a Turkish Study Group, to occupied Cyprus and arrived at an occupied airport. Concerned that the State Department was permitting a blatant violation of international law and domestic Cypriot law, I raised this issue with the Secretary of State. I have now received a reply letter from Mr. Matthew Reynolds, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs, which I will submit for the RECORD.

The letter indicates that the State Department has “authorize[d] U.S. Government officials to travel directly to northern Cyprus using tourist passports.” It further states, “[w]e have taken great care to ensure that our steps are consistent with U.S. and international law. Neither U.S. nor international law prohibits U.S. citizens from traveling directly to the area administered by Turkish Cypriots. . . .

In fact, courts in the Republic of Cyprus have explicitly refused to penalize Greek Cypriots who have chosen to so travel.”

This position misses the mark on several levels. First, as I explained earlier, the Chicago Convention—to which the U.S. is bound—bars flights into a country’s territory without the country’s consent. Cyprus simply has not consented, and thus these flights are flatly inconsistent with applicable international agreements. Second, although international law does not penalize individuals for taking such unauthorized flights, that point is irrelevant—the Chicago Convention is directed at States, not individuals. Third, there can be no doubt that such trips are suspect—even the State Department seems to admit they cannot be undertaken on an official government passport. And finally, the decision by the government of Cyprus not to prosecute those who make illegal landings is a gesture of restraint, designed to promote the freedom of movement among the two communities. It is absurd to use this commendable restraint as a justification for encouraging further violations of the law.

As justification, Mr. Reynolds stated that “we have taken [these] steps in support of the U.N. Secretary General’s call on the international community to ease the isolation of the Turkish Cypriots.” I agree this is a noble cause in principle, but it must be pursued in a way that is consistent with international norms, local Cypriot law, and broader U.S. and international efforts to bring together the two communities on the divided island. Several U.N. Security Council Resolutions—which the Secretary General’s remarks did nothing to abrogate—confirm the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus.

Moreover, the economic isolation of the Turkish Cypriots is already being addressed effectively by the ongoing economic support and confidence-building measures sponsored or supported by the Republic of Cyprus. Flights that conflict directly with international and Cypriot law and divide the two communities on Cyprus serve only to discourage the government of Cyprus from undertaking such positive measures. Moreover, there is literally no reason to encourage such flights—the government of Cyprus permits, and is even prepared in appropriate circumstances to facilitate, free passage to the occupied territory for those who arrive at a legal airport of entry.

Cyprus joined the European Union in May 2004, and the EU has been very active on resolving the Cyprus problem, from providing a forum for resolving the dispute with Turkey to proposing direct economic assistance to the Turkish-occupied area. It is interesting to note, however, that the EU members respect Cyprus sovereignty—not one EU member country flies into the occupied airports. It is inappropriate for the U.S. to get ahead of the EU on the

resolution of this conflict within its territory.

I hope that my colleagues and their staffs who may be asked to visit Cyprus through an occupied airport will note the concerns I address here today. I would respectfully ask them to consider whether they think it is appropriate for a member of the Cypriot legislature to visit the United States through an illegal point of entry. I would also ask them to consider why the State Department has indicated that travel to occupied Cyprus should not be on an official passport or in an official capacity. I also urge members to read the Chicago Convention and the U.N. Security Council Resolutions on Cyprus to see that these actions are in direct contravention to our international commitments. And I ask them to consider whether it is appropriate for a U.S. official to land at an airport that was built on land illegally taken from its lawful owners following Turkey’s invasion of Cyprus.

While I have the floor, I would like to take a moment to review all the positive developments that we are witnessing in Cyprus, which continue despite the administration’s divisive actions. It is undeniable that the situation in Cyprus is moving forward. The Republic of Cyprus has proposed measures to open new crossing points along the cease-fire lines; withdraw military forces from sensitive areas; increase the ability of Turkish Cypriot-owned trucks, tourist buses and taxis to cross the Green Line that divides Cyprus; increase trade across the Green Line, and open up ports to greatly facilitate trade. Further, the Republic of Cyprus is unilaterally clearing all land mines from the National Guard’s minefields in the buffer zone.

The Republic of Cyprus is also ensuring the economic development in the occupied area. Since April 2003 (when the Turkish military relaxed its movement restrictions) there have been more than 2.3 million border crossings by Cypriots into the occupied area. These visits have contributed more than \$57 million to the economy of occupied Cyprus. In 2003 and 2004, the Republic of Cyprus paid more than \$43 million in social insurance for Cypriots in the occupied area. Turkish Cypriots have been provided by the Republic of Cyprus with more than \$9 million in free hospital and medical care, and more than \$343 million in free electricity. The Republic of Cyprus does not isolate its citizens living in the occupied area—more than 63,000 have been issued Republic of Cyprus birth certificates, more than 57,000 have been issued Republic of Cyprus identity cards, and more than 32,000 have been issued Republic of Cyprus passports.

It is also important to remember that the U.S. and Cyprus have always enjoyed a strong relationship. We have worked together on terrorism, the war in Iraq, suppressing money laundering, and other initiatives. For instance, in the lead up to the war in Iraq, Cyprus

approved overflight rights for U.S. and other Coalition military aircraft as well as use of Cypriot airports. Important areas of cooperation between the U.S. and Cyprus are spelled out by the U.S.-Cyprus Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty. The treaty has been in force since September 2002 and facilitates bilateral cooperation in the fight against global terrorism, organized crime, drug-trafficking and related violent crimes. Cyprus is the first European Nation to sign on to President Bush's Proliferation Security Initiative, which provides for shipping inspections and intergovernmental cooperation that is designed to stem the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The addition of Cyprus to the PSI is particularly significant because Cyprus has the sixth largest commercial shipping fleet in the world. It is plain that Cyprus and the United States share common goals and common values.

This is a critical time for Cyprus. The two communities of Cyprus are moving together, their economies and peoples forming links like never before. The actions of the U.S. must encourage and foster reunification, not push the communities apart with divisive actions that challenge the sovereignty of the legitimate government of Cyprus. All Americans, whether officials from the administration or from this body, should educate themselves about these important issues before considering a trip to Cyprus though an illegal port of entry.

I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD the following letter.

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, DC, June 30, 2005.

Hon. OLYMPIA J. SNOWE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR SNOWE: Thank you for your letter of May 27 regarding the policy and legal basis for allowing U.S. citizens, including U.S. Government officials, to travel directly into northern Cyprus. Our policy approach is based on our assessment of what is most likely to produce progress toward the Cyprus settlement that we all want to see. The Turkish Cypriot community's vote in favor of the Annan Plan in April 2004 marked a historic shift by that community in favor of such a settlement, and thus fundamentally altered the situation on the island.

Denying the Turkish Cypriots direct links with the international community, despite the fact they have done what the world asked of them, would in effect punish them for the fact that the Annan Plan was not accepted by the majority of Greek Cypriots. Such an approach inevitably would weaken Turkish Cypriot support for a settlement. It would also hamper efforts to narrow the economic gap between the two communities, unnecessarily raising the cost to the Greek Cypriots and the world of any prospective settlement.

Based on this analysis, we have taken steps in support of the UN Secretary General's call on the international community to ease the isolation of the Turkish Cypriots. One of the steps we took was to authorize U.S. Government officials to travel directly to northern Cyprus using tourist passports,

for the purpose of establishing the sorts of international links that we believe are appropriate. We regret that some view our limited steps vis-à-vis the Turkish Cypriot community to be in some way directed against the Republic of Cyprus. We continue to work diligently not only to maintain, but to enhance, our good relations with the Republic of Cyprus.

We have taken great care to ensure that our steps are consistent with U.S. and international law. Neither U.S. nor international law prohibits U.S. citizens from traveling directly to the area administered by Turkish Cypriots. Moreover, U.S. citizens are not alone in traveling to that area: Greek Cypriots, other EU nationals, and foreign nationals from non-EU countries regularly fly directly to and from Ercan (Tymbou) airport. In fact, courts in the Republic of Cyprus have explicitly refused to penalize Greek Cypriots who have chosen to so travel.

I hope this information is useful in understanding the policy and legal basis of our decisions and clarifies that our efforts are aimed solely at promoting a comprehensive solution to the Cyprus problem so that all Cypriots can live and work together in peace on a reunified island. If you have any further concerns on this matter, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

MATTHEW A. REYNOLDS,
Acting Assistant Secretary,
Legislative Affairs.

CNOOC

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, great concern has been raised by this Senator, and others, in recent weeks regarding efforts by the China National Offshore Oil Corporation, known as CNOOC, to acquire the prominent U.S. oil company, Unocal, based in California. The Unocal Board has endorsed a takeover bid by Chevron, also a California company, which its shareholders will vote on in the coming days.

This Senate needs to be aware, however, that CNOOC, which is essentially an arm of the Chinese government, may well be planning to raise its bid to acquire Unocal, and what greatly disturbs this Senator are reports in the press that they are waiting for Congress to adjourn for August before making a renewed bid—a move that directly challenges the Congress and the authority granted to it by the Constitution to regulate foreign commerce.

Moreover, this renewed bid heightens my concerns about the heavily subsidized nature of CNOOC's financing. When foreign firms compete for assets in the U.S., it is essential that they do so on a level playing field with U.S. companies. Government subsidies tilt this playing field, and in doing so distort competition. This harms U.S. workers, companies and investors.

Congress recently approved an amendment to the Energy Policy Act that requires the Administration to study these issues and report to Congress and the President. This amendment reflects Congress' strong reservations about the PRC's role in financing the acquisition of U.S. energy assets, and about CNOOC bid for Unocal in particular.

CNOOC's decision to increase its bid would heighten my concerns about CNOOC's efforts. If anything, it reinforces my belief that subsidies of this sort raise serious economic policy concerns and leave U.S. firms at an unfair competitive disadvantage. You can be sure that I will not be alone amongst my colleagues, in the Senate and in the House, who will be paying attention to what happens in the coming days, and if need be, will be prepared to act when Congress returns in September.

THE NATIONAL BOY SCOUT JAMBOREE

Mr. COLEMAN. Mr. President, I would like to welcome over 30,000 young men to Washington D.C. for the 2005 National Boy Scout of America Jamboree. I would also like to give my sincerest condolences to the families of the four Boy Scout leaders who were tragically killed Monday afternoon in an accident while setting up camp.

Occurring every 4 years, the national jamboree is one of Scouting's grandest traditions. It is a chance for thousands of young men to come together and celebrate our shared values and traditions as Americans. In a world that too often celebrates our differences, the National Boy Scout Jamboree is a unique opportunity to celebrate the qualities we all share as Americans.

It is also a chance for these young men to visit our Nation's Capital to be inspired by the monuments, to learn from our Nation's artifacts, and to see democracy in action. To those of us who work in Washington it is sometimes easy to forget just how amazing it is that a place like this, where free men can gather, debate, and decide their own fates, even exists.

I was recently reminded of the significance of Washington by a young boy scout from Plymouth, MN, named Eyan R. Lason. In anticipation of his trip to the National Boy Scout Jamboree this week, Eyan wrote an essay on what the trip and Washington mean to him. Eyan did not write his essay as a requirement or to win a prize. In fact, until the other day Eyan didn't even know that I had read his essay. No, Eyan wrote his essay because he has a true appreciation for the values and spirit that this city represents.

Eyan began his essay by describing his trip as "A journey back to where America was made, an expedition to see and feel everything that this country was based on, and is destined to become."

Eyan is right. During his time here in Washington he will see our Nation's values. But he would not find them in the architecture of our buildings, or the history on display in the Smithsonian. No, Eyan will find our Nation's values in the hearts of his fellow Scouts.

These young men represent the heart and soul of the American people. They know that courage is not the absence of fear, but strength and capacity to go