

the modern state of which Timbuktu is a part, by overthrowing its hated dictator in a military coup and then handing over power to an elected civilian government.

"Africa is in the throes of a radical transformation," Toure said. "After 30 years of military dictatorship or one-party rule, we are moving to democracy. Sometimes that process is violent, and it gives the impression Africa is in crisis.

"Rwanda, Somalia, Liberia, these are all struggles for power in the new order. Some leaders are resisting change. But take Senegal, Mali, Zambia, where people have chosen the ballot over the bullet.

"Africa does have a future. But each country in history has gone through crisis in arriving at its future. America had a revolution. Europe had many wars. Africa also is in the process of finding its future."

But where does Africa's future lie? With South Africa, which also underwent violence before peacefully embracing change? Or with Somalia and Liberia, which have disintegrated into chaos?

The prognosis for most African countries seems to be hovering precariously between these extremes. Just 17 of the continent's 35 elections have heralded genuinely democratic forms of government, according to a study by the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

In countries such as Burkina Faso, Ghana and Kenya, dictators were voted back into power in questionable elections, and they continue to rule with little regard for democratic principles. In others, such as Nigeria and Zaire, corrupt regimes continue to resist change, making these nations candidates for possible future upheaval.

Mali is typical of those new democracies that are genuinely trying to improve the lives of their people. But they are doing so against a backdrop of poverty, ethnic rivalry and falling Western aid budgets, all of which threaten to confound even the best-intentioned efforts.

Do-or-die economic reforms, ordered by the World Bank as a prerequisite for continued international aid, have produced economic growth in some countries that previously had known only stagnation or decline. But the reforms are causing considerable hardship among ordinary people, threatening these fragile new systems with popular discontent.

Poverty is already a key dynamic fueling conflict in Africa, something overlooked by Toure's interpretation of Africa's crises as the inevitable byproduct of political transformation.

In Mali, which the United Nations ranked the world's seventh poorest country, 1992's peaceful democratic elections coincided with an eruption of hostilities between Tuareg nomads and local Malians in the desert region around Timbuktu.

Although these two groups have fought one another in the past, both sides blame the recent fighting not on ethnic differences but on the country's desperate economic situation. Along the fringes of the Sahara, poverty has been deepened by harsh droughts in the 1970s and 1980s that turned former arable land into desert.

"It's poverty and bad economic conditions that cause this antisocial behavior," said Timbuktu's Mayor Sabane of the fighting, which has subsided.

"The causes of the fighting are economic," agreed Mohamed Ag Ahmed, a leader of one of the Tuareg factions, the Movement and United Fronts of Azawad, which is demanding development aid for Tuaregs in peace talks with the government.

"We could all live on the same land without conflict. But the useful space has shrunk over time. The population of Mali increases

3.5 percent a year, and now there is less land available for an increasing number of people year after year."

The simple logic applies to many parts of the continent. Falling living standards, environmental degradation and high population growth rates risk pushing already impoverished communities to the brink of their capacity to survive, and into competition for scarce resources. It is perhaps no accident that Africa's worst crises of the 1990s all have occurred in nations ranked among the continent's poorest half.

Yet there is no reason why Africa should be as poor as it is. A recent International Monetary Fund survey notes that Africa's "overall low level of economic growth is anything but foreordained."

Sub-Saharan Africa's 540 million people account for 10 percent of the world's population, living on about 15 percent of the Earth. Their land is potentially some of the world's richest, blessed with half the world's gold, most of its diamonds, 40 percent of its platinum and rich reserves of other minerals, oil and natural gas.

But Africans share only 1.3 percent of the world's actual wealth, and a disproportionate burden of the world's suffering. According to the CIA, two-thirds of those in the world risking starvation this year live in Africa. Africa contains 62 percent of the world's AIDS cases and one-third of its refugees.

Africa's entire gross domestic product is smaller than that of the Netherlands, with a population of just 15 million.

Also, Africa is the only part of the developing world where living standards have fallen over the past decade. Despite receiving nearly half the world's total annual aid—\$20 billion a year in the 1990s—the average African is no better off today than he or she was at independence from colonialism more than three decades ago.

What brought Africa to this sorry point in its history? Colonialism undoubtedly played a part in setting independent Africa off on the wrong foot, said professor George Ayittey, a Ghanaian national and professor of economics at the American University in Washington.

Independence also proved a hollow word for Africans, for no sooner had they cast off their colonial rulers than Cold War politics intervened to create a new form of foreign interference. Western powers and the Soviet bloc poured billions of dollars into propping up unsavory dictators—\$100 billion in the 1980s alone—long after it was apparent that they had no popular support.

But increasingly, Africans are starting to realize that their own leaders are to blame for their plight, Ayittey said.

"The basic reason why we're having all this chaos in Africa is because we had bad leadership," Ayittey said. "The colonial state was very authoritarian but those who took over made things worse."

Uncounted billions of those aid dollars, which could have gone toward building roads or educating children, were squirreled away into Swiss bank accounts for Africa's leaders or spent on weaponry to keep them in power, while ordinary Africans grew steadily poorer.

With the lifting of outside support for Africa's dictators, many of their nations have been exposed as hollow shams, as personal piggy-banks for narrow elites who had failed to unite their multiethnic populations behind them.

In finding its future, Africa therefore has not only to battle harsh new economic realities, but also cope with the burdensome legacy of its past mistakes.

And it can no longer count on the largesse of the outside world to help it through. The

West already has given notice that African leaders who fail to heed the new rules of fair play and accountability will have their aid suspended. Yet even those who do can expect no democracy bonanza; in the U.S., a Republican congress is threatening to slash overall aid levels to Africa, and Europe is also cutting aid.

In Timbuktu, a city that lured countless European explorers to their deaths in their quests for its wealth, Mayor Sabane pleads with the world not to forsake Africa now.

"In Africa, we are apprentices in democracy. We need help," he said.

"The current generation is very worried about our situation and wants to lift us out of this malaise and improve our lives. But we must have friendship so that Africa can renew itself and find itself in the modern world."

But could it be too late for a continent that, time and again, has failed to seize opportunities? Will the legacy of mistakes prove insurmountable? Are ordinary Africans, betrayed so many times by past leaders, in the process of being betrayed again?

Or is the continent merely witnessing the death throes of the old order and the birth pangs of a new era, as most Africans would like to believe?

"There is a saying in Africa, 'never lose hope,'" Sabane said.

"We don't lose hope." ●

#### GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY FEEDS FREE MARKET

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, Tom Roeser of the Chicago Sun-Times is someone I disagree with frequently, even though I respect him.

On the whole question of assistance for minority businesses, he had a column in the Chicago Sun-Times recently that spoke candidly about something that provides real insight.

As we discuss affirmative action and what should be done to assist in providing opportunities for minorities, I recommend required reading of the Tom Roeser column, and I ask that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

The column follows:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, July 7, 1995]

#### GOVERNMENTAL SUBSIDY FEEDS "FREE MARKET"

(By Thomas F. Roeser)

Not long after I became an assistant secretary of commerce under President Richard Nixon, I stumbled upon an amazing discovery.

The big business community (mostly white-owned), which had long extolled "free" enterprise since the founding of this republic, was hooked far more than I realized on government subsidies.

The Cato Institute has just cataloged 125 programs in the federal budget designed to assist "business"—meaning, of course, mostly white-owned businesses. When I was sworn in, in 1969, I counted roughly \$13 billion worth of subsidies. Cato's figure today is \$53.7 billion.

The gist of Cato's recommendation is that these subsidies be cut. Very well. But recall that it is mostly white-owned industries that have thus profited since the founding of the republic.

It was clear that I was picked as assistant secretary for minority enterprise because, as a white conservative, I could be fired by a mostly white administration without prompting a racial furor. One recommendation I made lasted: Take a percentage of federal contracts—I called them "set-asides"—

and give them to minority-owned businesses. I recommended a 10-year program, after which it would be terminated. It has just now been challenged by the Supreme Court 25 years later.

It was the second proposal, however, that got me fired: Take a tiny percentage of the federal subsidies given to white industry and apportion them to qualifying minority enterprises. The strategy paper containing this recommendation, when sent to the president, resulted in my termination.

No problem. I went back to private industry, happier and wiser than when I had left it. All my life I have been judged a conservative. But I must tell you that whenever big business pays tribute to its growth by mistily referring to itself as "private enterprise," I am impelled to raise the window sash for fresh air. As a government official, I learned too much.

Let's remember, when we wonder what happened to minority enterprise, that white-owned business has leaned heavily on government as on a crutch while its leaders pretend, in speeches to chambers of commerce, that they do not.

This has meant that, for the most part excluding my set-asides, only minority-owned businesses have been expected to practice what white pro-business executives so eagerly trumpet as "free market capitalism."•

**PUBLIC BROADCASTING AND TELEVISION VIOLENCE**

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, today, I would like to draw my colleagues' attention to two recent articles from Current magazine about public television.

One story details the positive contributions of public television in the important area of children's programming. Many have long argued that in addition to its entertainment value, television can be used as a powerful educational resource, particularly for children. Public television has consistently set the standard for putting television to use for this purpose.

"Sesame Street," one of public television's most successful shows, is a favorite for many American children, and indeed for children around the world. Its goals, however, are much loftier than merely entertaining, or marketing to, children. "Sesame Street" works to teach children and prepare them for school. And it is succeeding. In fact, a 4-year study of more than 250 low-income households conducted by the Center for Research on the Influence of Television on Children at the University of Kansas concluded that preschoolers who watch "Sesame Street" regularly score higher on school readiness tests as long as 3 years later.

I am also pleased to report that the American people recognize the value of public television as a public resource. The second Current article examines the high level of public support that public broadcasting enjoys across the country. According to the article, a Roper poll taken in March revealed that Americans ranked public television and radio among the services that provide the best value for the tax dollars. In fact, over 50 percent of those

polled rated public television and radio as either excellent or good value.

In this age of television's appeal to the lowest common denominator, public broadcasting generally succeeds in broadening, edifying, and challenging its viewers, and influencing the television medium for the good. Most importantly, public television reaches 99 percent of American households—for free.

I ask that these two articles be printed in the RECORD.

The articles follow:

[From Current, June 19, 1995]

**PUBLIC RANKS PUBCASTING HIGH IN VALUE PER DOLLAR**

In a Roper Poll taken in March, Americans ranked public TV and public radio among the services that provide the best value for the tax dollar.

Only military defense of the country and the police had higher percentages of the sample calling them an "excellent value" or a "good value." Highways, public schools, environmental protection and the court system ranked lower.

"Quite frankly, I was really surprised," said CPB researcher Janice Jones. "I know that people value public television, but there are a lot of core services on that list."

CPB received the poll results as a regular subscriber to the Roper Poll last month, but the survey firm had added pubcasting to the annual question without CPB asking it to do so, Jones said.

Other tax-supported services had been rated in the poll for many years. The biggest changes between 1986 and 1995 showed environmental protection up 14 points, public transportation up 12, roads and bridges up 11, the police up 9 and military defense up 8 points. Even social welfare programs rose 4 points during that period.

In the poll, public TV was scored an "excellent value" by 13 percent, "good" by 44 percent, "fair" by 24 percent and "poor" by just 10 percent. Eight percent said "don't know."

Public radio got similar scores: "excellent value," 10 percent; "good," 43 percent; "fair," 28 percent; "poor," 10 percent, and "don't know," 10 percent.

Public TV's "excellent value" rating (13 percent) was exceeded only by military defense (17 percent) and the space program (14 percent).

The percentage of respondents who rated public TV and radio as a "poor value" for the tax dollar, 10 percent, was lower than all other services except defense and international intelligence gathering.

**VALUE FOR THE TAX DOLLAR**

Here is a list of some different services that the government provides using tax dollars it collects from the public. Thinking of what you get for what you pay in taxes, would you read down that list and for each one tell me whether you feel you get excellent value for the dollar, or good value, or only fair value for the dollar, or poor value for the dollar?

Rank and services provided with tax dollars	Percent excellent or good value
1. Military defense of the country .....	60
2. Police and law enforcement agencies .....	59
3. Public TV broadcasting .....	57
4. Public radio broadcasting .....	53
5. Medical, technological and other research .....	52
6. Overseeing the safety of food products .....	50
7. The space program .....	49
8. Overseeing the safety of prescription drugs .....	49
9. Highways, roads and bridges .....	45
10. Public schools .....	41

Rank and services provided with tax dollars	Percent excellent or good value
11. Environmental protection .....	41
12. Public transportation .....	40
13. Sponsorship of the arts .....	39
14. Overseeing soundness of financial institutions .....	35
15. The courts .....	33
16. International intelligence gathering .....	31
17. Contributions to the United Nations .....	30
18. Social welfare programs .....	28

Source: Roper Poll, March 18-25, 1995, courtesy of CPB.

**STUDY DETECTS "SESAME STREET" IMPACT ON KIDS**

Sesame Street, probably the most-studied children's program on TV, has another accolade for its collection: A major study concludes preschoolers who watch the show regularly score higher on school readiness tests as long as three years later.

The four-year study of more than 250 low-income families was conducted by John C. Wright and Aletha C. Huston of the Center for Research on the Influence of Television on Children (CRITC) at the University of Kansas.

Wright and Huston's report, released May 31, was meant to provide the first overall evaluation of Sesame Street since the groundbreaking program's second season, in 1971.

The children studied were either two or four years old at the beginning and five or seven at the study's end. About 40 percent were African-American, 40 percent were European-American, and 20 percent were Hispanic.

Key findings from the report:

As early as age two, preschoolers who watched Sesame Street and other educational programming scored higher on standardized tests of verbal and math abilities. The more they watched the show, the better they did on the tests, even two to three years later.

The younger the child was when viewing, the stronger Sesame Street's positive influence on school readiness.

Children who watch Sesame Street spent more time reading and pursuing other educational activities than non-viewers.

Children who regularly watched adult and children's non-educational programming performed less well on school readiness tests and spent less time reading or pursuing other educational activities.

The findings held true even after researchers used statistical controls to account for effects of income level, parental education, English-speaking ability, and other factors on the scores.

"Television is a marvelous medium for education that is vastly untapped. . . . The more you watch good programming, the better you do when you get to school. That's news; that's important," said Wright.

Although the study looked at all educational children's programming—not just Sesame Street—the Children's Television Workshop production so dominated preschoolers' viewing it was analyzed separately in Wright and Huston's report.

Because the period studied was 1989-93, newer programs like Barney and Friends and Lamb Chop's Play-Along hadn't been around long enough to make the most-viewed list, and PBS had not yet initiated its PTV Ready to Learn service.

Wright and Huston's report reinforced the findings of a less detailed study with a much larger sample size (10,000 children) released in April.

The CPB—commissioned study, prepared by Westat Inc., found that four-year-old preschoolers who watched one or more PBS programs were more likely to be able to identify colors, count to 20, recognize letters of the