

Cambodia and Haiti and the deployment of trained human rights monitors there have shown this to be the case. Can we justify the lack of commitment to play an active and properly resourced role in helping to reconstruct and redevelop Rwanda?

Tragically the same questions arise when we consider the fate of up to two million refugees, many of whom had participated in acts of genocide, living outside Rwanda's borders in camps in Zaire and Tanzania, of whom more than 50,000 died last year of cholera, dysentery and dehydration. Their continued presence in these countries has transformed the Rwandan problem into a regional crisis which could deteriorate, with unthinkable consequences, at any moment. Yet, apart from bouts of forced repatriation in August 1995, voluntary repatriation has been limited and vulnerable to events in Rwanda. Refugees are afraid to return, many of them fear being accused of having participated in genocide by those who have recently occupied their properties. The apprehension of reprisal killings, the massacre in Kibeho in which thousands of internally displaced persons were killed, the mass arrests, inhuman prison conditions, the lack of an effective judicial system and the control exercised by camp leaders through intimidation and hate propaganda—are all factors which have effectively impeded the process of voluntary repatriation.

An added and poisonous complication is that mixed in which the civilian refugee population are some 20,000 Hutu soldiers and 50,000 militia who are believed to have regrouped and rebuilt their military infrastructure. They have been accused by NGO's of diverting humanitarian aid and effectively holding the refugees hostage. Calls have been made, in an effort to break in logjam, to remove weapons from the camps and to isolate those responsible for incitement to violence and hatred.

The refugee situation is intimately bound up with developments inside Rwanda. The policy of voluntary repatriation can only be implemented when conditions inside Rwanda have sufficiently improved. In a climate where detention, on the basis of finger-pointing only, is perceived as the equivalent of a death sentence, deadlock is inevitable. We should understand therefore that assistance given in helping Rwanda to rebuild its institutions and restore justice and the rule of law is a humanitarian investment which will contribute to break the refugee deadlock, rescue the children from the shadow of the machete and the horrors of genocide. In doing so, to lessen regional tensions and lay the basis for the future.

Should we not listen carefully to those members of the NGO community on the ground who have been telling us, patiently but persistently for many months now, that if more assistance is not given by the international community to managing the refugee crisis by taking appropriate measures, both within and beyond Rwanda's frontiers, a further human disaster will ensue?

I have mentioned earlier that the Vienna Declaration has re-affirmed the vital principle of universality. At the World Conference we had an extraordinary opportunity to evaluate the legal and political structures underpinning our human rights commitments. Rwanda has put to the test our capacity to honour those commitments with the structures and processes we have developed. I fear that we are floundering. Universality has been described as an unblinkered view with no dead angles. But in failing to honour our commitments are we not damaging the very principle of universality? Are we not permitting ourselves a dead angle? And if we so permit, what is the value and worth the principle afterwards? And how will we be

judged by succeeding generations if we stand idly by?

In his address on the occasion of the opening of the new Human Rights Building in Strasbourg, Václav Havel referred to the war that was raging in Bosnia. He made the point—uncomfortably on such a festive occasion—that while we were all watching helplessly, waiting to see who would win, we had completely forgotten that what was happening just a few hundred miles away from the peaceful plains of Alsace was not just a war between the Serbs and others. It was a war for our own future—it was a war that was being waged against us all, against human rights and against the coexistence of people of different nationalities or religious beliefs. It was a war against meaningful human coexistence based on the universality of human rights. As he put it, it was an attack of the darkest past on a decent future, an attack of evil on the moral order.

As usual his perception is unerring. What happened in Bosnia was a conscious assault on the universal human rights ideal. Rwanda is the same type of assault because the genocide was targeted at destroying the agreed political accommodation of the Arusha Accord. We must not think of it as just another tribal war. We cannot distance ourselves from what is happening in the prisons in Rwanda or in the refugee camps. We have stood by and witnessed a genocide of a million people followed by the fastest refugee exodus in recent history. What is happening today in Rwanda is our problem because it interrogates and tests the mettle of our strongest-held convictions. Our capacity to react to this human tragedy is a significant challenge to our commitments to human rights at the end of the century. It is not too late to honour them.●

SECRETARY JESSE BROWN

• Mr. ROBB. Mr. President, I rise today to express my admiration and respect for Secretary Jesse Brown and my appreciation for his achievements on behalf of our Nation's veterans.

In choosing Jesse Brown as Secretary of Veterans Affairs, President Clinton couldn't have made a better choice from the standpoint of America's veterans. A combat-wounded Marine veteran of Vietnam, a former executive director of the Disabled American Veterans, Jesse Brown is a strong and aggressive advocate for the men and women who have served our country.

During his tenure in the Cabinet, Jesse Brown has compiled a truly outstanding record of success. To cite just a few accomplishments, Jesse Brown has:

Expanded the list of Vietnam veterans' diseases for which service-connected compensation is paid based on exposure to agent orange;

Expanded and improved health care services for combat veterans suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder;

Created a presumption of service-connection for ex-prisoners of war who contracted wet beri-beri and later suffered ischemic heart disease;

Established a host of new clinics offering veterans more convenient access to VA health care;

Expanded and improved services for women veterans, which include mammography quality controls and coun-

seling and medical programs for women veterans suffering the after-effects of service-related sexual trauma;

Successfully fought for a law allowing the VA to pay compensation benefits to chronically disabled Persian Gulf veterans with undiagnosed illnesses;

Established environmental research centers focused on the environmental exposures of Persian Gulf veterans and launched extensive epidemiological and other research efforts aimed at identifying the causes of illnesses from which these veterans and their families are suffering;

Made programs for homeless veterans a high priority—more than doubling the budget for specialized programs for homeless veterans, conducting the first National Summit on Homelessness Among Veterans, and carrying out a new program of grants to assist public and non-profit groups to develop new programs assisting homeless veterans;

Established a presumption of service-connection for veterans who experienced full-body exposure to mustard gas or Lewisite as part of our military's testing of these substances;

Conducted an outreach campaign through which 602,000 veterans' home loans were refinanced at lower interest rates, saving these veterans an average of \$1,500 per year; and

Wrote to 44,000 Persian Gulf veterans and 47,000 Vietnam veterans notifying them of their potential entitlement to benefits and encouraging them to file claims.

In addition to these efforts, Mr. President, Secretary Brown is working to improve the VA's benefits and health care systems, restructuring both its headquarters and field operations to enhance efficiency.

There's no question Jesse Brown is an untiring and outspoken advocate—both within the administration and on Capitol Hill—for adequate funding for VA medical programs and benefits processing. But as one who strongly supports a balanced budget, Mr. President, I admire those who make us think hard about prioritizing scarce Federal dollars, who help us understand the consequences of the policy decisions we make, and who force us to defend our actions.

Recently, Secretary Brown has been harshly criticized for speaking out on behalf of adequate budgets for the Veterans Administration. But characterizing his support as partisan—as some have done—ignores Jesse Brown's nearly 3 decades of steadfast commitment to our Nation's veterans and their families and his strong personal beliefs in our country's responsibilities to them. It also fails to recognize his own personal experiences as a combat veteran in Vietnam.

Jesse Brown reminds us all that, even in these tight budget times, our Nation has an obligation to its warriors and their survivors that we simply cannot ignore.

And that is why, Mr. President, that I am proud to call Jesse Brown my

friend—and why I appreciate his strong support for the veterans of our Nation.●

PAST POLITENESS

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, Colbert King, a member of the editorial page staff of the Washington Post, recently wrote an op-ed piece about a group of young people who are meeting to establish greater understanding.

It may seem like a small thing to many people, but it is precisely what needs to happen in our country.

I remember many years ago speaking to the Hillel Foundation at the University of Illinois. This is the Jewish student organization there.

It was an anniversary of some sort, and I suggested, among other things, that since at the University of Illinois there were people of both Jewish and Arab backgrounds that a few students getting together regularly might really contribute something. One of the students present said that would be meaningless but, interestingly, a few of the students got together and, for at least a short period of time, held some regular meetings between American Jews, Israeli Jews, and students from Arab countries. These were simply informal discussions long before President Sadat made his dramatic visit to the Knesset in Israel.

I wish I could report to you that something dramatic came out of these student meetings. I do not know that anything came out of them, other than one extremely important thing—greater understanding.

We are in a world that needs that, and I would like more people to read the op-ed by Colbert King, which I ask to be printed in the RECORD.

The op-ed follows:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 2, 1995]

PAST POLITENESS AND INTO HONESTY

(By Colbert I. King)

While countless adults have been living out the year clenching their teeth by day and hyperventilating at home by night over one racially tinged issue or another, a small group of youngsters have been quietly making sure they don't end up leading the same kind of lives. Seventeen area high school students—nine African American and eight Jewish—have been meeting since January to build a future in which their generation will live without alienation and bitterness. What they have achieved in 12 months should put us to shame.

In a town that worships influence and power, these young people have neither. But when it comes to tolerance, trust, and having friendships that cut across racial and religious lines, they're up there with the best of their elders. Not that they started out that way.

When they joined the first class of Operation Understanding, D.C.—a fledgling non-profit organization out to revive the historical relationship between Jews and African Americans through young people—many carried the same heavy baggage that adults well into their autumn years still lug around. To be sure, they were bright, curious, committed to their community, and loaded with leadership potential—all the things Operation Understanding, D.C., was seeking. But

they also tracked in a fair amount of ignorance, suspicion and prejudice—some of which they acted out through words and song during an Operation Understanding reception for parents and guests a few weeks ago. A small sample:

Jamie: "I know what it means to be black. How come it seems that the Jews don't know what it means to be Jewish in America?"

Andrew S.: "How come blacks are so lazy? And how come so many are on welfare?"

Johnathan: "Isn't there a Jewish Yellow Pages where they can use their own lawyers and doctors and accountants and only go to stores owned by Jews?"

Emily: "Why are black men so scary?"

Atiba: "How come Jews have all that money? They live the good life. How'd they get all that money anyway?"

Mimi: "How come blacks are such great dancers?"

You get the picture: mistrust, misconceptions, misunderstanding. These youngsters stand out, however, because they chose not to remain smug and comfortable with their hangups. They began meeting several times a month to get to know one another, to talk about each other's culture and history, to learn more about their own. They didn't do it through touchy-feely gab sessions. They got into each other's lives.

They went to Daniela's sister's bat mitzvah; it was Tiba's first time in a synagogue, Mimi went to Tiba's church on Palm Sunday—her first time in a black church. Everyone went to Muhammad's mosque in March.

They called on Capitol Hill and heard D.C. Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton and other black and Jewish members of Congress discuss how they coalesced on legislation. They met with a range of local speakers—as a sign they were long-suffering and up for just about anything, they even endured part of an evening with me. But they also got out of Washington and into communities that would give them a deeper understanding of African American and Jewish cultures and collaborative history.

Before their trip, however, they made a Shabbat dinner together. As youngsters of the '90s, they did it their way: a soul food Shabbat—fully equipped with fried chicken, biscuits, greens, sweet potatoes, and challah, backed by lit candles, recitation of the Motzai and prayer over the wine. What can I say?

And off they went to Crown Heights in Brooklyn—both the Lubavitcher and African American sides—Ellis Island and the Jewish Museum, and places that resonate with civil rights history such as Selma, Montgomery, Birmingham and Charleston.

They had hoped to go to Senegal and Israel, but despite the plate-passing at black churches and donations from foundations, corporations, congregations and individuals, they couldn't raise enough money. Maybe next year in Jerusalem and Dakar.

But a lot was learned at home. Jamie could hardly believe what he heard from Holocaust survivors in Atlanta and New Orleans. The visit to the Charleston plantation made Simone cry uncontrollably. "It was as if all the slaves who lived there came to me all at once," she said. They walked across the Edmund Pettus Bridge and spontaneously began singing "We Shall Overcome."

The Class of 1995 ends in April; a new group of high school juniors begins next month. Class No. 1 still meets monthly, but unlike most of us older folks, they're long past being polite with each other; now they're just honest. That's because after all they've gone through, they know respect and trust each other.

Black nationalists and Jewish chauvinists out there, have no fear: Operation Understanding is a life-changing experience, but racial and religious identities don't get lost.

If anything, these young people now have a stronger sense of themselves and their own history. They cherish both their similarities and differences. It's America's cultural and racial divides they will abide no longer. And no one's going to tell them who can be their friend. These are strong kids. They even think they can change the world.

This is what Operation Understanding's kinetic (no other word for it) president, Karen Kalish, hoped to achieve when she started the D.C. program. The idea came from United Negro College Fund president and former U.S. representative William Gray III; who started Operation Understanding in Philadelphia with George Ross of the American Jewish Committee 10 years ago. The Class of 1995 is the new generation of bridge builders they had in mind.

As the program ended, Jessica, who is Jewish, began singing "Lift Every Voice and Sing." She was joined by the group—as the eyes of many African American parents and guests began to glisten. Then Bridgette, an African American, began "Oseh Shalom"—and Jewish eyes were full. Those tears tell us a lot about our times.

Schmaltzy? Perhaps. But maybe if a few more Operation Understandings had been at work around the globe long ago, President Clinton wouldn't have had to visit Belfast this week, and 20,000 American troops wouldn't be gearing up for Bosnia. We're leaving our youth a pretty scratchy world. But rest assured, as far as Operation Understanding's graduates are concerned, America is going to be okay in their hands.●

RETIREMENT OF JULIAN GRAYSON

• Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, Julian Grayson has retired from service to the Senate. He worked here longer than most of us ever will, and, unlike many of us, he is universally admired and appreciated.

Mr. Grayson was a waiter for the Senate restaurants, and worked on the caucus lunches as well as in the Senators' private dining room. He started here in 1950, but left in 1964 to devote his full time to the Methodist ministry. After a successful career in that calling, he returned to the Senate in 1983 at age 67.

He is a man of great dignity and spirit, and all of us who are fortunate enough to know him know that he is a man of many parts. I will miss our frequent conversations, and hope that he will, too.●

SENATE QUARTERLY MAIL COSTS

• Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, in accordance with section 318 of Public Law 101-520 as amended by Public Law 103-283, I am submitting the frank mail allocations made to each Senator from the appropriation for official mail expenses and a summary tabulation of Senate mass mail costs for the fourth quarter of fiscal year 1995 to be printed in the RECORD. The fourth quarter of fiscal year 1995 covers the period of July 1, 1995, through September 30, 1995. The official mail allocations are available for frank mail costs, as stipulated in Public Law 103-283, the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act for fiscal year 1995.

The material follows: