

Tokyo's political leadership has not yet realized that Japan's increasing economic strength has led to an increasingly vulnerable foreign-policy position, not only vis-à-vis its only ally, the United States, but also vis-à-vis its many neighbors in East and South East Asia. An Asian-Pacific economic entity under Japanese leadership is even less popular with its neighbors than a European Union under a theoretically conceivable German leadership.

In the long run, Japan will remain dependent on a tolerable relationship with the United States. This conflict will benefit no one in the world. America is wrong in today's trade war, which is not to say Japan is right. Restraint is desirable from both sides. Both nations must realize that a structural reform of their economies is a must.

Helmut Schmidt, the former German chancellor, co-founded (with former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing) the annual economic summits of the seven leading industrial countries. This year's opens Thursday in Halifax, Nova Scotia. This article is from *Global Viewpoint*, adapted from one originally published in the Hamburg-based *Die Zeit*.•

### THE LANDMINE USE MORATORIUM ACT

• Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, last Friday I introduced S. 940, the Landmine Use Moratorium Act of 1995, which seeks to spark international cooperation to stop the maiming and killing of tens of thousands of people each year by landmines.

I further ask to have printed in the RECORD a portion of a statement issued on June 16, 1995, by the U.S. Catholic Bishops at their semi-annual meeting in Chicago, entitled "Sowing Weapons of War: A Pastoral Reflection on the Arms Trade and Landmines." In that statement the Bishops call on the United States to lead an international effort to ban the use of antipersonnel landmines. That is the goal announced by President Clinton at the United Nations last December, and my legislation aims to move us toward that goal.

The statement follows:

EXCERPT FROM SOWING WEAPONS OF WAR: A PASTORAL REFLECTION ON THE ARMS TRADE AND LANDMINES

Banning Landmines: An Urgent Task. Finally, we would like to add our voice to appeals of Pope John Paul II and the growing movement to control and eventually ban anti-personnel landmines. The Holy Father has issued "a vigorous appeal for the definitive cessation of the manufacture and use of those arms called 'anti-personnel mines'." . . . In fact, they continue to kill and to cause irreparable damage well after the end of hostilities, giving rise to severe mutilations in adults and above all, in children." Some 100 million of these hidden killers are strewn around the world, killing an estimated 500 people per week, most of whom are civilians. In Cambodia, one of every 236 people is an amputee because of mine blasts. While landmines can be used responsibly for legitimate defense, they are often indiscriminate in use, especially in the intra-state conflicts which are so prevalent today. Moreover, landmines are indiscriminate in time because, as the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace has pointed out, they cause "unacceptable damage to civilian populations long after the cessation of hostilities." From Cambodia to Angola, large areas have been rendered un-

inhabitable, preventing refugees from returning to their homes, inhibiting post-war reconstruction, and producing an ongoing threat to innocent life.

The United States should lead an international effort to reduce and ultimately ban the use of anti-personnel landmines, just as was done with chemical and biological weapons. The current moratorium on U.S. exports of landmines is commendable; it should be made permanent and should be extended globally. The United States should also take steps, such as those called for in legislation now before Congress, to further restrict its own use of landmines, while it pursues with urgency and persistence international agreements to restrict use globally. The decision to ratify the Conventional Weapons Convention and to seek to strengthen it during its review this year is welcome. Finally, our government should continue to take a leadership role in developing an international effort on the costly and time-consuming process of demining, so important to the protection of innocent life and reconstruction in so many war-torn countries.●

### WHO CARES ABOUT AFRICA?

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, recently, the magazine *America*, published by the Society of Jesus, ran an article by its associate editor, Father James Martin, titled "Who Cares About Africa?"

Because it contains so much common sense about a continent that we are not paying enough attention to, I ask to have it reprinted in the end of my brief remarks.

The reality is every continent on the face of the Earth is making gradual improvement in its quality of life and standard of living, with one exception: Africa.

The irony is as democracies have spread in Africa recently—an almost totally unrecognized phenomenon—instead of helping those fledgling democracies, we are cutting back on aid in general and aid to Africa more specifically.

It is a flawed policy both in humanitarian terms and in political terms.

I urge my colleagues to read Father Martin's article.

At this point, I ask that the article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

#### WHO CARES ABOUT AFRICA?

"Kwanza begins today," the radio announcer said, launching into an explanation of the cycle of January African-American feast days. "The word Kwanza," he said brightly, "means 'first' in African." I groaned. He meant Swahili, of course.

Can you imagine any reasonably educated person saying that *primo* means "first" in European? But not knowing beans about Africa is taken for granted among many Americans. Before I went to Kenya for a two-year stay, a (well-educated) friend asked me if Kenya was in Nairobi. This is, to continue the analogy, like asking if Italy is in Rome. After I returned to the States, someone mentioned how exciting it must have been to be in Kenya when they elected Nelson Mandela.

But on this count, I had been just as guilty. When I began working with refugees in Nairobi, I had to ask them where their home countries were. "Sudan is, uh, north of here, right?" I finally bought a map.

#### THE DARK CONTINENT

American interest in Africa, it would seem, is piqued only during times of crisis: Ethi-

opia, Somalia, Rwanda. Some of this is laudable. Only the most cynical would say that Americans were not moved to compassion after seeing pictures of the Rwandan refugees or starving Somalis.

The problem is that once the United States ceases to be involved, we no longer hear anything about it. It's the flavor-of-the-month syndrome. For example, as soon as the United States pulled out of Somalia in March 1994, Somalia dropped out of the news, giving the false impression that things were just fine there. And, just as predictably, when U.S. troops returned to Somalia in March of this year to escort the remaining U.N. troops out, it was back in the news. As a result, the American public's understanding of Africa is based primarily on these short-term involvements. And while U.S. policy mavens may be more well informed, the public's misunderstanding often drives policy makers into responding inappropriately.

Even the level of involvement and awareness among African Americans has been a disappointment to Africans. Some Kwanza celebrations, important as they are for fostering a sense of values and cultural continuity, can end up as grab bags of various traditions—Kente cloth from Ghana, Swahili from East Africa, history from Egypt—and may sometimes run the risk of cultural tourism. Many agree. Makau Mutua is a Kenyan who runs Harvard Law School's Center for Human Rights and also serves as chairman of the Kenyan Human Rights Committee. "I think the knowledge of African Americans about Africa has to be based on fact, not fiction," he told me in a recent conversation.

But what can we expect? For even the most diligent Africaphiles, it is difficult to find news about Africa in the mainstream media—unless, of course, the United States is involved. They don't call it the Dark Continent for nothing.

With the exception of a few major newspapers, and magazines like *The Economist*, the print media all but ignore the tremendous richness of African cultures, to say nothing of the continent's variegated politics. There are 52 African countries, comprised of thousands of ethnic groups with their own languages, spiritualities, traditions, and arts. Even speaking of things "African" is misleading, since that adjective is forced to encompass the long-literate Christian traditions of Ethiopia in addition to those of the semi-primitive, nomadic East African Maasai tribe in addition to . . . well, you get the picture. By any measure it is a fascinating mix of cultures that is, for the most part, ignored.

As for television, its coverage runs heavily to the following: famine, poverty, war and especially animals—National Geographic-style. (One example: How many stories did you read about Rwanda before last year that didn't have to do with Diane Fossey's gorillas?)

During my first week in Kenya I met a Somali refugee named Amin. I assumed from my prior CNN education that, like any "typical" refugee, he was poor and uneducated, probably illiterate. He certainly looked the part: an unkempt, older man wearing a faded blue suit, shiny with age. I had already started a language course, so I asked him if he would be more comfortable speaking Swahili.

"Actually," he said in the King's English, "I would be equally comfortable in English, French or Italian." As it turned out, he had received his doctorate in philosophy at the University of Florence. He was, in short, far more educated than I was. Meeting him made me realize how poorly I understood Africa.

My point is not that we should all dash out and buy armfuls of books about Africa (although it's not such a bad idea). The point is

rather than this ignorance inevitably affects U.S. responses to the various crises that we say concern us so.

#### RECEIVED WISDOM

Let's take two recent examples: Somalia and Rwanda. As with much of the reporting about Africa, both countries have been viewed through certain lenses, or "angles," replicated over and over by much of the media. Somalia, we were told, is a violent tribal society whose warfare exacerbated a natural shortage of food, causing widespread famine. The United Nations, led by the United States, went in, distributed food and restored some order—that is, until the ungrateful Somalis starting fighting us. Then we had to get out.

Similarly, Rwanda was presented as a society divided into violent tribes—Hutu and Tutsi—that degenerated into lawlessness when, after the President's assassination, the people rose up and massacred one another. Fortunately, the West came to help out the Rwandan refugees who had fled to Zaire and Tanzania.

This is not the place for a full explication of the complicated politics of Somalia and Rwanda. But it is instructive to review how accurate the received wisdom was—by asking a few experts.

First, what about the "violent" Somali culture? "This invocation of 'mysterious primordial violence' is repellent," said Gregory White, professor of political science at Smith College in Massachusetts and a specialist in African politics. "Somali culture is certainly not bereft of violence, but the intensity of the violence you see today is a decidedly modern phenomenon. It must be seen within the context of the arms infusions—the modern weaponry—provided by the U.S. and the Soviet Union during the Cold War."

How about another bit of received wisdom—the West's generous and timely response to Rwanda? I asked Timothy Longman, who teaches at Drake College in Iowa. Professor Longman spent 1992 and 1993 in Rwanda finishing his doctoral thesis on church-state relations in Rwanda. He is one of this country's leading experts on Rwanda. What did he think of the West's response?

"It was shameful," he said bluntly. "We could have prevented the disaster and we chose not to."

Clearly this is not the familiar media angle. And his explanation of this particular point demonstrates how far the media stories sometimes stray from a more complex truth. According to Professor Longman, the killings were initially carried out by a very small group of Rwandans and could have been stopped. There were, he noted, U.N. troops already in Rwanda at the time, and they could have expanded rather than shrunk their presence.

"The people I know who were killed were killed some three weeks after the violence started in Kigali," he explained. "The later massacres happened because they got away with it in Kigali. The West's only concern was to protect their nationals and pull them out of the country—though they were never really threatened. So the message given to the Rwandans was that they could literally get away with murder. And because it was so systematic, because it was not random violence, and because it was not spontaneous violence coming from the people, it could have been stopped. That's something the world community had fully within its capabilities. But they chose not to."

Why not? The first reason, he said, derived from our experience in Somalia: not to get involved in a hopeless "tribal conflict" with ungrateful people. Smith Hempstone, U.S. Ambassador to Kenya from 1989 to 1993, said in a recent conversation, "To some degree, I

think that's why there wasn't the reaction to Rwanda that there was to Somalia."

Which brings us back to a conflict that, according to some, we may have never understood in the first place. "I think the lessons we learned from Somalia were the wrong ones," said Makau Mutua. In other words, misunderstanding bred misunderstanding.

These admittedly isolated examples point out the difficulty of making judgments about the complex environment of Africa based on the simplistic presentations provided by the mainstream press. Once the media-driven "angles" take root in the public mind they become difficult to dislodge and force policy to go where it perhaps should not. Our perceptions of Somalia influenced our response to Rwanda, and will undoubtedly influence the U.S. response to other crises on the continent.

#### OTHER WISDOMS

One touchstone for all of this, I think, is the identification of African conflicts as "tribal" and European ones as "ethnic." Have you ever heard of "tribal" violence in Northern Ireland? Well, that's religious, you might say. So how does one define a "tribe"? And do such groups exist only in Africa?

Professor Longman summed up this idea: "It is viewed as a 'tribal conflict' because Africans are basically a 'tribalistic' people, because they're seen as 'savages'; they're black. Therefore, they're just going to fight one another and there's nothing we can do. And I think it's a mistaken notion."

Why? "It is a view driven by racism," said Makau Mutua. His conclusion was echoed by Professor Longman: "The more I get into this, the more I interpret it in racial terms, and the more it seems that black people are considered to be expendable. This was what was used to justify colonialism in the first place, and I think the attitudes are still there."

The hard facts show that U.S. support for Africa is shockingly low and may fall even lower. According to Terence Miller, director of the Maryknoll Society's Justice and Peace Office in Washington, D.C., U.S. aid to sub-Saharan Africa (all but five African countries) was \$802 million in 1994. At first blush that may sound high, but consider the amount that goes to just two countries—Israel and Egypt—\$5.2 billion. In other words, 45 countries in Africa receive about one fifth the amount of aid given to those two countries.

Overall, total U.S. aid to Africa represents a paltry one-twentieth of the foreign aid budget, which itself is only 1.3 percent of the Federal budget. And the push in Congress, especially among people like Senator Mitch McConnell (Rep., Ky.), incoming chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, is to reduce even this meager amount, while maintaining aid to the Middle East at current levels. "The world around Africa is fast coming together, and this continent risks becoming the odd man out," said Anthony Lake, President Clinton's national security adviser, in *The New York Times* on March 17.

Is Africa, then, to be consigned to the dustbin? A recent article by William Finnegan in the March 20 issue of *The New Yorker* focused on the depressing post-U.N. Somalia legacy of no infrastructure, no government, intense poverty and, as his wrenching article points out, no education for an entire generation of Somali youth. He paints the now familiar African scene of crumbling school buildings surrounded by hundreds of idle children, their formative years slipping away like the sand that blows through the empty classrooms.

I asked Tim Longman if he planned to return to Rwanda. "Someday," he said. "But most of the dynamic and inspiring people I worked with are dead."

#### HORROR FATIGUE

At this point, the concerned but skeptical reader might say either "Well, it really is their own fault" or "There's nothing we can do." To respond to the first reaction, it is helpful to remember not only the West's role in propping up various dictatorships throughout the cold war and providing arms, but also its earlier imposition of colonial boundaries, which threw traditionally separate ethnic groups together. Here is a thought exercise: Imagine a foreign power conquering Mexico and Texas, and calling this resulting amalgam of two separate cultures, say, Mexas. After 100 years, Mexas gains independence. Do you think the former Mexicans and Texans would get along very well? Probably not.

Indeed, when Queen Victoria and Kaiser Wilhelm were drawing the borders of their East African colonies in 1884, both decided they wanted a big mountain. To provide for this, their ministers simply took out a ruler and drew a line between Mt. Kenya and Mt. Kilimanjaro. The line divided various tribal lands; thus were British East Africa and Tanganyika created. These artificial boundaries endure today as Kenya and Tanzania. Tribes that traditionally lived apart were thrown together against their will. So saying the ethnic tension is the Africans' own fault is more than a little simplistic.

The second reaction—"There's nothing we can do"—reflects a familiar sentiment. Ambassador Hempstone put his finger on this feeling: "I think that we may have reached the sort of 'horror fatigue' situation in which, when you've seen one starving baby, you've seen them all. And that bothers me."

Certainly the apparent ingratitude on the part of the Somalis engendered indignant reactions from the American public and the press. Some of this represented righteous indignation, as when Somalis dragged the body of an American soldier through the streets. This is barbaric. But much may be a result of the media's incessant focus on Mogadishu, rather than on other areas where the famine-relief strategy helped to save an estimated 300,000 lives.

#### INTO AFRICA

What can be done in the future? This is a broad question but one that warrants consideration, given that the African continent is, as the director of the Jesuit Refugee Service, Mark Raper, said recently, "in a state of chronic collapse" (Am., 3/25).

Many feel that some sort of limited engagement must be part of our future involvement with Africa, and gone is the hubris of "nation-building" that went awry in Somalia. Ambassador Hempstone, for example, thinks we must confine ourselves largely to humanitarian efforts. "I think one of the lessons I've learned is that you don't want to try to re-create a society—nation-building and all that. I'm not sure we're competent to do that."

Tim Longman points to another mode of engagement, "I was at a conference a year and half ago with Cardinal Christian Tumi of Cameroon, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other Protestant and Catholic leaders from Africa. Their unanimous agreement was that if the West wants to help Africa, the best thing they could do right now is stop the international arms trade."

Most agree that the mental isolationism that allows Americans to think of Africa as alien has to end. "I think it's difficult for Americans to be interested in other countries unless they feel that their own futures are interconnected with the futures of others," said Makau Mutua. He looks to the various constituencies that have traditionally been concerned with African affairs—church groups, the Africanist community in academia and especially African Americans—to

inform people better about Africa. "The critical point is that the lack of information in this society about Africa has to be laid at the door of those groups who have the ability to inform people better."

One hopeful sign is that the African-American community is increasingly finding its voice on African politics beyond South Africa. Randall Robinson's TransAfrica lobby, created in 1977, has intensified the influence of African Americans in foreign policy. In March Mr. Robinson created a coalition of prominent African Americans who pledged to put pressure on Nigeria's military dictatorship to restore democracy.

TransAfrica also might do well to pressure the media to cover the continent more thoughtfully. A few newspapers already do. The New York Times' Donatella Lorch has provided consistently good coverage of Rwanda, including insightful reporting on the massacre in late April of 2,000 people in the Kibeho camp. An excellent series of articles in March in The Philadelphia Inquirer, "Remnants of a Nation," focused on Rwanda one year after the genocide of 1994. The reporter, Glenn Burkins, included the standard angles—refugees, ethnic strife—but also discussed lesser-known aspects of the situation in Rwanda, such as the prison system and the urgent need for international aid to the Rwandan Government. The media can help keep Rwanda from sliding back into oblivion.

Similarly, the media can help by more fully explicating the problems of current African trouble spots. Thousands are fleeing from ethnic unrest in Burundi; Christians are being massacred (and, recently, crucified) by Government troops in southern Sudan, and 2,000 people have already lost their lives in the past two years in ethnic land clashes in Kenya. Though the Western powers are not yet involved in these crises, learning more from the media could help prevent the sort of spasmodic, misinformed responses to crises that will continue to dog Africa in the future.

In the end, the problems of Africa remain our problems. The people are, as Jesus would undoubtedly point out, our brothers and sisters, and many of them suffer tremendously. Fully 54 percent of the people of Africa live in absolute poverty. Furthermore, the West has been, to some degree, complicit in Africa's troubles today, not only because of the colonial past but also because of our recent actions there—the arms trade and our activities in the cold war. Finally, as Professor White pointed out, "Even if you just want to be self-interested, the concomitant ignorance of Africa is shortsighted, because in the long run, as more problems continue to emerge, our ignorance will come back to haunt us."

#### SALUTE TO GEN. MIKE LOH

• Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, next week, General Mike Loh, Commander of Air Combat Command, will retire after 39 years of distinguished service in the U.S. Air Force. I want to take this opportunity to thank General Loh for his unselfish service to the national security interests of the United States.

General Loh's career began in the second class to graduate from the U.S. Air Force Academy. After graduating with honors, Mike Loh went on to serve as a decorated fighter pilot, flying over 200 missions, in Vietnam. General Loh's awards include the Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of

Merit with oak leaf cluster, the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Meritorious Service Medal and the Air Force Medal with seven oak leaf clusters.

Mike Loh's career reached its zenith when he was selected to serve as the Commander of Air Combat Command. As Commander of ACC, Mike Loh was responsible for most of this Nation's air power and over 250,000 men and women. As General Loh retires, the strength, professionalism and reputation of Air Combat Command has never been higher. For that, a grateful, more secure nation says thank you.

My colleagues and I in the Senate know General Loh best as a ferocious advocate for a strong Air Force. In repeated testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, General Loh earned a reputation as a straight shooter who would tell it like it is. General Loh never hid his views or his feelings and you never left a meeting with Mike Loh wondering where he stood on an issue. At my request, General Loh made repeated visits to my office to discuss bomber and tactical aviation issues. I came away from each of those meetings more informed about the issues, more understanding of the value of air power and more impressed with General Loh's abilities. The Air Force will lose a patriot, an innovator and an articulate spokesman when General Loh retires.

I want to thank General Loh for 39 years of loyal service to the Air Force and his nation. I want to thank General Loh for his steadfast support for a strong Air Force and a service that looks out for the men and women who volunteer to wear the uniform of the United States of America. Most importantly, I want to thank General Loh for his commitment to serve and defend the national security interests of the United States.●

#### LITERACY

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I picked up the spring 1995 issue of the Congressional Institute for the Future and noted the following Barbara Bush quotation in it: "There is really no question that literacy is related to all our social concerns—crime, drugs, and teenage pregnancy as well as America's stature in the world, our competitiveness on the international scene, and our national security. Low literacy goes hand-in-hand with unemployment, low productivity, and problems with job retraining in our rapidly changing communities—this is a now and future issue. The literacy of parents affects the educational chances of children. We are only just beginning to treat this complex, many-sided issue with the care and concerted action it requires."

Barbara Bush provided significant leadership on this issue of literacy, and if we're to have a truly productive country, we're going to have to pay more attention to this issue.

One complaint I hear about more from heads of major corporations is

how poorly prepared American workers too often are.

The basics have to be there in the field of education to have a well prepared work force. The basics are the old "reading, writing, and arithmetic."

People in this country are not more stupid than people in other Western industrialized countries, but the other countries have had the good sense to put a greater stress on basic literacy.

We have to do the same.

Yes, we ought to improve the schools that we have, but we also have to reach out to those who have not been helped by schools, adult Americans.

I urge my colleagues to keep in mind Barbara Bush's words of wisdom.●

#### FAYE OLASOV: DEDICATED TO CHARLESTON

• Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, let me take this opportunity to send birthday greetings to Faye Olasov, a friend from my hometown of Charleston, SC. Faye, a long-time activist in Charleston's Jewish community who turned 70 earlier this month, soon will be honored for all her work to make Charleston a better place to live.

Mr. President, quite frankly, Faye is a whirlwind of wonder and joy. When people throughout the Charleston Jewish community think of a person who embodies family and wholesome values, Faye is the first person whose name comes to mind. She is the engine that has driven the Jewish Community Center in Charleston. At various times, she has served as day camp counselor, activities director, CenterTALK editor, Sherman House manager, and a newspaper columnist. Last December when she retired from the center, she left shoes that are hard to fill.

Faye Rabinowitz Olasov was born June 13, 1925, in Charleston. When the Nation was at war in the 1940s, she attended the College of Charleston, where she was business manager and editor of the yearbook and president of the Dramatic Society. After a distinguished college career, she graduated in 1946. On top of all her work in Charleston's active Jewish community, Faye and husband Sanford Olasov had four children—Nathan, Billy, Barbara, and Judy, who my wife Peatsy taught at St. Andrews High School.

Mr. President, now the community is coming together to give back something to Faye, who has given so much over the years. On July 9 at the Charleston Jewish Community Center, the community will honor Faye at a brunch that highlights her achievements and looks back at a life filled with compassion and great memories.

Mr. President, if I may be so bold, we should all take a look at Faye's life and use it as the model of how to be involved in a community. I appreciate this opportunity to recognize the warmth, energy, and lifelong commitment of Faye Olasov—a true community leader. Let us all wish Faye a