

will not be sustainable in an environment where human rights are routinely violated and disregarded. Internationally recognized rights such as freedom from torture, freedom of expression, and equality before the law regardless of race, gender, religion, or beliefs have long been absent in Afghanistan. Any ruling coalition, must know that the international community, and the United States in particular, will not turn a blind eye to a rights-abusive regime.

Though, we, in the United States, can not singlehandedly solve the crisis in Afghanistan, for that is a process which must take place internally, we can and should do something. As a first step I have offered this resolution—a sense of the Congress which emphasizes the plight of Afghan women and girls, expresses support for the United Nations-led peace negotiations, and recommends that the administration reevaluate United States policy toward Afghanistan.

I believe this resolution will send a strong message to the warring factions in Afghanistan that the United States is deeply concerned about the deteriorating human rights conditions. Further I hope this resolution will provide some hope to Afghan women and girls who silently disagree with the Taliban's code of conduct.

As the United States strongly supports an end to the armed conflict, we should emphasize that peace is not only defined by the absence of armed conflict but also the absence of human rights abuses. It has long been the experience of many other states that only with a rights-protective regime can there be any lasting prospects for peace.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise today in support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 6, a resolution expressing concern over the continuing deterioration of the human rights situation in Afghanistan and calling on the United States and the international community to redouble efforts to bring peace to that war-torn land.

Indeed, with yesterday's announcement that the Taliban militia have apparently seized power in the northwestern province of Faryab, it is especially fitting that we consider this resolution today.

I am particularly concerned about the situation in Afghanistan because, with the seizure of power by the Taliban militia, it appears that another tragic chapter in the story of the suppression of women's rights is being written. Worse still, this situation has unfolded with scant international attention, let alone condemnation.

Afghanistan has been embroiled in an almost constant state of war for close to two decades.

From 1979 to 1989 the Mujahedeen fought and finally outlasted the invading army of the Soviet Union. Then the Muslim warriors turned on each other. Since 1979 more than 1 million of Af-

ghanistan's 16 million inhabitants have been killed, and millions more have become refugees. The capital city of Kabul has been obliterated by the factional fighting, with over 45,000 civilians killed, and almost every prominent building damaged or destroyed.

In the last 2 years of the seemingly endless Afghan civil war the Taliban—who grew from a movement of former religious students and Islamic clerics along the Afghan-Pakistani border—have emerged as the strongest of the five major factions. After beating back its rivals, the Taliban movement now control more than two-thirds of Afghanistan, including Kabul, which they captured last September.

With the ascendancy of the Taliban, Afghanistan is experiencing a new conflict: What some warriors call true Islam, others, including the U.N. General Assembly, say is an abuse of human rights.

Although the peculiar version of Islamic religious Sharia law espoused by the Taliban has fallen harshly on many in Afghanistan—in Kandahar this past July a man and woman accused of adultery were stoned in public, men have been forced to grow beards, and Taliban militia members harass men in the streets if they do not rush to the mosques for prayers—women, in particular, have come to feel the full brunt of the new extremism.

Afghani women have been banned from work.

Women have been banished from school.

Reportedly, Taliban soldiers have been so threatening that some women have not left their homes for months.

But there is nothing in Afghan tradition that can account for the Taliban phenomenon. The type of secret-police state that they are fostering and the widespread denial of women's basic human rights has little precedent in Afghan culture or history.

The new brand of extremism fostered by the Taliban and their gross violations of women's basic human rights have pushed an already war-torn and war-weary Afghanistan to the brink of disaster.

It is estimated, for example, that close to 500,000 to 800,000 war widows have been forced out of their jobs and have no opportunity to earn money for food, clothing, or shelter for either themselves or their children. In Kabul's stark ruins hordes of children—12,000 according to one estimate—paw each day through the shattered bricks and masonry in search of scrap metal that can be sold. And their mothers, many who previously worked in professional jobs, have been reduced to begging in the hopes of being able to feed their children.

The ban on women in the workplace has also compounded the already precarious food situation. With the war having killed more than 9 million head of cattle and sheep and destroyed much of Afghanistan's croplands, irrigation systems, and roads, the average Afghan

has a caloric intake equal to less than a pound of bread a day. Relief needs are so critical that the United Nations expects to have to feed one in five Kabul residents this year.

Ironically, many of the relief and other local humanitarian agencies find that they can no longer hire local women—many of whom are highly skilled. An orphanage in Kabul has reportedly lost all but 100 of its 450 employees, decimating its ability to provide food, education, and medical care to thousands of children. In fact, in light of the continuing conflict, U.N. development agencies in Afghanistan have recently put operations on hold until an assessment of the situation is complete.

It is little surprise that a recent U.N. report on human rights in Afghanistan concluded that "deprivation of basic rights and freedoms" are coupled with "newly emerging threats to basic rights," especially women's.

The silence from the world's capitols in light of these systematic abuses has been deafening. Former U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali warned the Taliban that the United Nations objects to the extreme discrimination practiced against women. The European Union's Minister to the U.N. Food Conference expressed "deep concern" over the situation. Theresa Loar, the State Department's senior coordinator for women's issues has assured us that the situation in Afghanistan is "very high on the United States agenda."

In the nuanced language of diplomacy, these milquetoast statements are the equivalent of an international shrug of the shoulders.

Where is the world's outrage? Fully half of Afghanistan's population cannot work for a living or be educated. The world has responded by issuing mild denunciations and turning away. This is unacceptable.

In calling for the President to monitor the human rights situation in Afghanistan, and the situation of women in particular, this resolution calls on the United States to play a leading role in the international community in raising the salience of respect for women's rights.

For too long and in too many other tragic circumstances we have remained silent, placing women's rights on a second tier of concerns in our conduct of international affairs. Other Muslim nations with which the United States enjoys good relations and which respect women's rights, such as Turkey and Indonesia, can provide much needed leadership in this area, and assist the United States in our diplomatic efforts. It is incumbent upon us to call upon the nations of the international community—regardless of religious persuasion or cultural heritage—to take a strong stand in recognition of fundamental rights of women.

Because the United States lacks significant influence in Afghanistan, this resolution calls on the administration to urge the other states in the region

who do have influence to bring pressure to bear on the Taliban. In particular Pakistan—which has both elected the first female Prime Minister in the Islamic world and provided assistance to the Taliban—should cease to provide patronage to the Taliban and take a position at the forefront of international efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan.

This resolution also recognizes that the only long-term solution to the plight of the Afghani people is to help bring an end to the conflict that has created the Taliban, and to begin the long process of rebuilding a stable and prosperous Afghanistan. Food security, let alone the sort of long-term economic redevelopment that will be necessary to repair Afghanistan's battered infrastructure will not be possible unless both men and women are able to take up gainful employment and have equal access to educational opportunities.

To this end, this resolution calls for the members of the international community to cease activities, such as supplying weapons or financial assistance, to any of the warring factions in Afghanistan and encourages international efforts, especially that of the U.N. Special Mission, in procuring a durable and lasting peace in Afghanistan.

The treatment of Afghanistan's women should not be ignored. To continue to do so will send a dangerous message to others around the world who might violate the human rights of ethnic or religious minorities, or their own female populations.

I urge my colleagues to support Senate Concurrent Resolution 6, and send an important message to the Taliban and the entire international community regarding women's rights.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendment be agreed to, the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and that any statements relating to the resolution be placed at the appropriate place in the RECORD.

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

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 6), as amended, was agreed to.

The preamble, as amended, was agreed to.

#### CONGRATULATING THE REUNIFICATION OF JERUSALEM

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of calendar No. 51, Senate Concurrent Resolution 21.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 21) congratulating the residents of Jerusalem

and the people of Israel on the thirtieth anniversary of the reunification of that historic city, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and that any statements relating to the resolution be placed at the appropriate place in the RECORD.

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

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 21) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The concurrent resolution, with its preamble, is as follows:

#### S. CON. RES. 21

Whereas for 3,000 years Jerusalem has been Judaism's holiest city and the focal point of Jewish religious devotion;

Whereas Jerusalem is also considered a holy city by members of other religious faiths;

Whereas there has been a continuous Jewish presence in Jerusalem for three millennia and a Jewish majority in the city since the 1840s;

Whereas the once thriving Jewish majority of the historic Old City of Jerusalem was driven out by force during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War;

Whereas from 1948 to 1967 Jerusalem was a divided city and Israeli citizens of all faiths as well as Jewish citizens of all states were denied access to holy sites in the area controlled by Jordan;

Whereas in 1967 Jerusalem was reunited by Israel during the conflict known as the Six Day War;

Whereas since 1967 Jerusalem has been a united city, and persons of all religious faiths have been guaranteed full access to holy sites within the city;

Whereas this year marks the thirtieth year that Jerusalem has been administered as a unified city in which the rights of all faiths have been respected and protected;

Whereas in 1990 the United States Senate and House of Representatives overwhelmingly adopted Senate Concurrent Resolution 106 and House Concurrent Resolution 290 declaring that Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, "must remain an undivided city" and calling on Israel and the Palestinians to undertake negotiations to resolve their differences;

Whereas Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel later cited Senate concurrent Resolution 106 as having "helped our neighbors reach the negotiating table" to produce the historic Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, signed in Washington on September 13, 1993; and

Whereas the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 (Public Law 104-45) which became law on November 8, 1995, states as a matter of United States policy that Jerusalem should remain the undivided capital of Israel: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress—*

(1) congratulates the residents of Jerusalem and the people of Israel on the thirtieth anniversary of the reunification of that historic city;

(2) strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights

of every ethnic and religious group are protected as they have been by Israel during the past 30 years;

(3) calls upon the President and Secretary of State to publicly affirm as a matter of United States policy that Jerusalem must remain the undivided capital of the state of Israel; and

(4) urges United States officials to refrain from any actions that contradict United States law on this subject.

#### REGARDING THE TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND JAPAN

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of calendar No. 52, Senate Resolution 58.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 58) to state the sense of the Senate that the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between the United States of America and Japan is essential for furthering the security interests of the United States, Japan, and the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, and that the people of Okinawa deserve recognition for their contributions toward ensuring the Treaty's implementation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and that any statements relating to the resolution be placed at the appropriate place in the RECORD.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 58) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution, with its preamble, is as follows:

Whereas the Senate finds that the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between the United States of America and Japan is critical to the security interests of the United States, Japan and the countries of the Asian Pacific region;

Whereas the security relationship between the United States and Japan is the foundation for the security strategy of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region;

Whereas strong security ties between the two countries provide a key stabilizing influence in an uncertain post-cold war world;

Whereas this bilateral security relationship makes it possible for the United States and Japan to preserve their interests in the Asia-Pacific region;

Whereas forward-deployed forces of the United States are welcomed by allies of the United States in the region because such forces are critical for maintaining stability in the Asia-Pacific region;

Whereas regional stability has undergirded economic growth and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region;