

the creation of a code of conduct. This expulsion was the first time in 20 years that a government has rejected such assistance, and the organizations have still not returned to Ethiopia because they do not feel an environment exists where they can truly undertake their objectives.

Despite massive controversy surrounding the polls, it is notable that opposition parties still won an unprecedented number of parliamentary seats. Their pursuit of transparency and democracy was again thwarted, however, when they tried to register their concerns about the election process. In one incident, peaceful demonstrations by opposition members and their supporters in Ethiopia's capital of Addis Ababa were met with disproportionate and lethal force that killed more than 30 people and injured over 100. In another incident, the Ethiopian government arrested thousands of peacefully protesting citizens who took to the streets in support of the opposition.

The systemic nature of this crackdown was revealed in credible reports coming from the Oromia and Amhara regions that federal police were unacceptably threatening, beating and detaining opposition supporters. Indeed, international human rights groups documented that regional authorities were exaggerating their concerns about armed insurgency and "terrorism" to try to justify the torture, imprisonment and sustained harassment of critics and even ordinary citizens.

This tendency to portray political dissent as extremist uprisings has been repeated more recently with regards to what is being characterized by some as a brutal counterinsurgency operation led by Ethiopia's military in the Ogaden, a long-neglected region that borders Somalia. Certainly I recognize the serious security concerns in this region, made worse by the porous borders of the failed state just a stone's throw away.

But it is precisely because Ethiopia is our partner in the fight against al-Qaida, its affiliates and allies, that I am so concerned about what I understand to be a massive military crackdown that does not differentiate between rebel groups and civilians. While I am sure there are few clean hands when it comes to fighting in the Ogaden region, the reports I have received about the Ethiopian government's illicit military tactics and human rights violations are of great concern.

I have been hearing similar reports of egregious human rights abuses being committed in Somalia, about which I am gravely concerned. When I visited Ethiopia just over a year, I urged the Prime Minister not to send his troops into Somalia because I thought it might make instability there worse, not better. Tragically, more than a year later, it seems my worst fears have been realized as tens of thousands of people have fled their homes, humanitarian access is at an all time low,

and there are numerous reports of increasing brutality towards civilians caught in the crossfire. In the interest of its own domestic security, Ethiopia is contributing to increased regional instability.

What troubles me most is that the reports of Ethiopia's military coming out of the Ogaden and Mogadishu join a long list of increasingly repressive actions taken by the Ethiopian government. The Bush administration must not turn a blind eye to the aggressive—and recurring—tactics being utilized by one of our key allies to stifle dissent.

I certainly welcome the role the Bush administration has played in helping to secure the release of many—although not all—of the individuals thrown in jail in the aftermath of the 2005 elections. I welcome the Embassy's engagement with opposition members and their efforts to encourage Ethiopian officials to create more political space for alternative views, independent media, and civil society. These are all important steps but they do not go far enough.

The administration's efforts at backroom diplomacy are not working. I understand and respect the value of quiet diplomacy, but sometimes we reach the point where such a strategy is rendered ineffective—when private rhetorical commitments are repeatedly broken by unacceptable public actions. For example, recent reports that the Ethiopian government is jamming our Voice of America radio broadcasts should be condemned in no uncertain terms, not shrugged off.

The Bush administration must live up to its own rhetoric in promoting democracy and human rights by making it clear that we do not—and will not—tolerate the Ethiopian government's abuses and illegal behavior. It must demonstrate that there are consequences for the repressive and often brutal tactics employed by the Ethiopian government, which are moving Ethiopia farther away from—not closer to—the goal of becoming a legitimate democracy and are increasingly a source of regional instability.

I am afraid that the failure of this administration to acknowledge the internal crisis in Ethiopia is emblematic of its narrow-minded agenda, which will have repercussions for years to come if not addressed immediately. Worse yet, without a balanced U.S. policy that addresses both short- and long-term challenges to stability in Ethiopia, we run the risk of contributing to the groundswell of proxy wars rippling across the Horn—whether in Somalia, eastern Sudan, or even the Ogaden region. And those wars, in turn, by contributing to greater insecurity on the Horn and providing opportunities for forces that oppose U.S. interests, pose a direct threat to our own national security as well.

NATIONAL PEACE CORPS WEEK

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I wish to add my voice to those of my

colleagues who have stood to salute the Peace Corps.

The Peace Corps is one of our country's most effective international development programs. Since its inception in 1961, the Peace Corps has sent over 190,000 volunteers to 139 developing countries, where they have helped build thousands of schools, health clinics, and small businesses.

Equally as important, the Peace Corps is one of our country's most important public diplomacy programs. The sight of ordinary Americans volunteering to serve the world's most disadvantaged populations cannot help but elevate good will toward our country. Fifty-nine volunteers from my home State of New Mexico are currently serving in countries ranging from Ukraine and Georgia in Europe, to Malawi and Senegal in Africa, to Peru and Honduras in Central America.

Today, I urge the Peace Corps to consider returning to the poorest country in our own hemisphere. That country is Haiti.

According to the U.N. Development Program, over three-quarters of Haitians subsist on less than \$2 per day and over half on less than \$1 per day. Haiti is one of the poorest of the poor. The security situation in Haiti was precarious for much of the new century—which is why the Peace Corps left. But one year ago, a brighter picture emerged. The international community launched a concerted effort to rid Haiti's slums of violent gangs. President Rene Preval made real efforts to promote political reconciliation in the country. Because of these efforts, we have a genuine window of opportunity to make a difference in Haiti. But this window will not last forever. In the best tradition of the Peace Corps, we Americans should seize this opportunity while we have the chance.

I can think of no better way of honoring the Peace Corps than by calling upon it to consider returning to Haiti.

IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I wish to mark the loss of an outstanding American intellect—and, what's more, a decent and a well-loved man. William F. Buckley, Jr., died last week at the age of 82. He was found at work at his desk, pen in hand—and I don't think he could have imagined a more fitting exit.

Few thinkers were more prolific than Bill Buckley—his total catalogue amounts to more than 50 books and thousands and thousands of columns, not to mention his three decades on the pioneering debate program "Firing Line." Few writers wielded more influence—the entire modern conservative movement honors him as its founder. And few figures in our national life earned such admiration—all the way from Ronald Reagan, who told Buckley, "You didn't just part the Red Sea—you rolled it back, dried it up and

left it exposed, for all the world to see," to the many writers, activists, and leaders who counted him as a mentor and inspiration.

He was a good friend of my parents, Thomas and Grace Dodd, and one of Connecticut's best-known native sons. I was especially proud to see him in attendance at the dedication of the Thomas J. Dodd Library in Storrs; like my father, Bill Buckley was a dedicated foe of totalitarianism in all its forms.

In the wake of his death, tributes have risen from left and right and from every point in between. Even those who stood against Bill's staunch conservatism respected his intellectual rigor and integrity. In the inaugural issue of *National Review*, which Bill launched in 1955 at the age of 30, he wrote this: "Our political economy and our high-energy industry run on large, general principles, on ideas—not by day-to-day guess work, expedients and improvisations. Ideas have to go into exchange to become or remain operative; and the medium of such exchange is the printed word." It was that commitment to ideas, to reasoned and courteous debate, that we appreciated most in Bill and that we will miss most.

His intellectual honesty spared neither himself nor his friends. When he changed his mind—as he did on civil rights, on Vietnam, and on Iraq—he did it publicly and forthrightly. And long after the movement he founded took on a life of its own, Bill continued to hold it to his high standards and to call it to account. In his last years, he wrote: "Conservatives pride themselves on resisting change, which is as it should be. But intelligent deference to tradition and stability can evolve into intellectual sloth and moral fanaticism, as when conservatives simply decline to look up from dogma because the effort to raise their heads and reconsider is too great."

Bill resisted dogma, not because it was often wrong but because it was always lazy. He was too energetic for that. And while he pioneered new thinking, worked to rid the conservative movement of xenophobia, and even staged a quixotic run for mayor of New York City—asked what he would do if elected, he replied: "Demand a recount!"—he developed a one-of-a-kind prose style and public persona. "I am lapidary but not eristic when I use big words," he said. Those are my thoughts exactly.

Bill Buckley lived a full life, devoted to words, to ideas, and to his deeply-held principles. We didn't agree on much. But given his grace, his wit, and his deep erudition, I can think of few people with whom disagreement was so agreeable.

I request unanimous consent that the attached article, "May We Not Lose His Kind," be printed in the *RECORD*.

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

[From the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 29, 2008]

MAY WE NOT LOSE HIS KIND

(By Peggy Noonan)

He was sui generis, wasn't he? The complete American original, a national treasure, a man whose energy was a kind of optimism, and whose attitude toward life, even when things seemed to others bleak, was summed up in something he said to a friend: "Despair is a mortal sin."

I am not sure conservatives feel despair at Bill Buckley's leaving—he was 82 and had done great work in a lifetime filled with pleasure—but I know they, and many others, are sad, and shaken somehow. On Wednesday, after word came that he had left us, in a television studio where I'd gone to try and speak of some of his greatness, a celebrated liberal academic looked at me stricken, and said he'd just heard the news. "I can't imagine a world without Bill Buckley in it," he said. I said, "Oh, that is exactly it."

It is. What a space he filled.

It is commonplace to say that Bill Buckley brought American conservatism into the mainstream. That's not quite how I see it. To me he came along in the middle of the last century and reminded demoralized American conservatism that it existed. That it was real, that it was in fact a majority political entity, and that it was inherently mainstream. This was after the serious drubbing inflicted by Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal and the rise of modern liberalism. Modern liberalism at that point was a real something, a palpable movement formed by FDR and continued by others. Opposing it was . . . what exactly? Robert Taft? The ghost of Calvin Coolidge? Buckley said in effect, Well, there's something known as American conservatism, though it does not even call itself that. It's been calling itself "voting Republican" or "not liking the New Deal." But it is a very American approach to life, and it has to do with knowing that the government is not your master, that America is good, that freedom is good and must be defended, and communism is very, very bad.

He explained, remoralized, brought together those who saw it as he did, and began the process whereby American conservatism came to know itself again. And he did it primarily through a magazine, which he with no modesty decided was going to be the central and most important organ of resurgent conservatism. *National Review* would be highly literate, philosophical, witty, of the moment, with an élan, a teasing quality that made you feel you didn't just get a subscription, you joined something. You entered a world of thought.

I thought it beautiful and inspiring that he was open to, eager for, friendships from all sides, that even though he cared passionately about political questions, politics was not all, cannot be all, that people can be liked for their essence, for their humor and good nature and intelligence, for their attitude toward life itself. He and his wife, Pat, were friends with lefties and righties, from *National Review* to the *Paris Review*. It was moving too that his interests were so broad, that he could go from an appreciation of the metaphors of Norman Mailer to essays on classical music to an extended debate with his beloved friend the actor David Niven on the best brands of peanut butters. When I saw him last he was in a conversation with the historian Paul Johnson on the relative merits of the work of the artist Raeburn.

His broad-gaugedness, his refusal to be limited, seemed to me a reflection in part of a central conservative tenet, as famously expressed by Samuel Johnson. "How small of all that human hearts endure / That part which laws or kings can cause or cure." When you have it right about laws and

kings, and what life is, then your politics become grounded in the facts of life. And once they are grounded, you don't have to hold to them so desperately. You can relax and have fun. Just because you're serious doesn't mean you're grim.

Buckley was a one-man refutation of Hollywood's idea of a conservative. He was rising in the 1950s and early '60s, and Hollywood's idea of a conservative was still Mr. Potter, the nasty old man of "It's a Wonderful Life," who would make a world of grubby Pottersvilles if he could, who cared only about money and the joy of bullying idealists. Bill Buckley's persona, as the first famous conservative of the modern media age, said no to all that. Conservatives are brilliant, capacious, full of delight at the world and full of mischief, too. That's what he was. He upended old clichés.

This was no small thing, changing this template. Ronald Reagan was the other who changed it, by being a sunny man, a happy one. They were friends, admired each other, had two separate and complementary roles. Reagan was in the game of winning votes, of persuading, of leading a political movement that catapulted him to two terms as governor of California, the nation's biggest state, at a time when conservatives were seemingly on the defensive but in retrospect were rising to new heights. He would speak to normal people and persuade them of the efficacy of conservative solutions to pressing problems. Buckley's job was not reaching on-the-ground voters, or reaching voters at all, and his attitude toward his abilities in that area was reflected in his merry answer when asked what he would do if he won the mayoralty of New York. "Demand a recount," he famously replied. His role was speaking to those thirsting for a coherent worldview, for an intellectual and moral attitude grounded in truth. He provided intellectual ballast. Inspired in part by him, voters went on to support Reagan. Both could have existed without the other, but Buckley's work would have been less satisfying, less realized, without Reagan and his presidency, and Reagan's leadership would have been more difficult, and also somehow less satisfying, without Buckley.

I share here a fear. It is not that the conservative movement is ending, that Bill's death is the period on a long chapter. The house he helped build had—has—many mansions. Conservatism will endure if it is rooted in truth, and in the truths of life. It is.

It is rather that with the loss of Bill Buckley we are, as a nation, losing not only a great man. When Jackie Onassis died, a friend of mine who knew her called me and said, with such woe, "Oh, we are losing her kind." He meant the elegant, the cultivated, the refined. I thought of this with Bill's passing, that we are losing his kind—people who were deeply, broadly educated in great universities when they taught deeply and broadly, who held deep views of life and the world and art and all the things that make life more delicious and more meaningful. We have work to do as a culture in bringing up future generations that are so well rounded, so full and so inspiring.

Bill Buckley lived a great American life. His heroism was very American—the individualist at work in the world, the defender of great creeds and great beliefs going forth with spirit, style and joy. May we not lose his kind. For now, "Good night, sweet prince, and flights of angels take thee to thy rest."

HONORING MASTER SERGEANT WOODROW WILSON KEEBLE

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Master Sergeant Woodrow Wilson Keeble, a South