

higher-wage positions, according to Ms. Bernhardt's analysis.

"Whenever you look at data like these, there is this tendency to get overwhelmed, that there are these inevitable, big macro forces causing this polarization and we can't do anything about them. In fact, we can," Ms. Bernhardt said. She called for more funds for states to stem losses in the public sector and federal infrastructure projects to employ idled construction workers. Both proposals have faced resistance from Republicans in Congress.

REMEMBERING THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2013, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. CLEAVER) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. CLEAVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the subject of my Special Order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLEAVER. Mr. Speaker, my Special Order deals with the very difficult and even painful subject of Rwanda.

Mr. Speaker, there is an ancient story about Rwanda. It is one from which a number of meanings can be extracted.

We are here today because we remember the victims of the horrific events in our world's history. We honor survivors and recognize the steps that have been taken to remedy the atrocities that have occurred.

Over and over, you will hear people on this floor, Mr. Speaker, say that things that have happened in our history that were horrific and inhuman shall never happen again. Things like American slavery and the European extermination, mainly by Germany, of Jews throughout Europe should never happen again.

□ 1745

So we must continue to fight for justice as the international issues come to our consciousness. And we know that, as time moves on, there will be additional tragedies around the globe.

Rwanda has certainly experienced its share, if not more than its share, of tragedy. This ancient parable in Rwandan is, God spends the day elsewhere, but he sleeps in Rwanda—Imana yirirwa ahandi igataha I Rwanda. For those of us who are familiar with the creation story, we know that God worked for 6 days and then rested. The Rwandan people believe that God, on the seventh day, came to Rwanda to rest from his work the previous 6 days.

Rwanda is 1 mile above sea level, about what Denver, Colorado is. And because of its elevation, Rwanda is paradisiacal, in the sense that the climate

is cooler in Rwanda than it is in many of the other parts of Africa, certainly sub-Saharan Africa, and the greenery is like that of no other place in Africa, and it will rival even some of the beautiful spots in the Caribbean.

It is also a fabulous place, the Rwandans thought, for God to come to rest.

Well, in a country of seven million, at least in 1994—who knows what the population is today, after many of the atrocities, but the people believed that God could rest there in this beautiful, this lush, very, very receiving and welcoming land, without being interrupted.

Now, all cultures, all religions choose to elevate its land or its people. For example, the Jewish people, understandably, refer to the Sea of Galilee as a sea. For those who know geography, you know that the Sea of Galilee is actually a lake.

The Jordan River—before I went there for the first time, back in 1994, I envisioned the Jordan River as something comparable to the Mississippi River or something comparable to the Missouri River, which is about 2,000 miles across the country.

The truth of the matter is, there were certain points of the Jordan River that I actually jumped over. And it flows down into the Dead Sea, which is, again, not a sea, but another lake.

So it is understandable that people will declare something to be a little more than it really is. So the Rwandan people, believing that God came to their country, this paradise, 1 mile above sea level, was something that, I think, many of us would have done had we been Rwandans.

I also know that there were people who would question how could God sleep in a place with all of the genocide that has taken place there, with all of the violence against the men and women and children, and even violence based on tribal ethnicity. But the Rwandan people still believe that God sleeps in their country.

I believe that God sleeps in Rwanda, but I also believe that He is awakened because of what has happened. God can neither sleep nor slumber where there is injustice, where there is wrong, where there is murder, and so God has had an unrestful amount of time, unrestful nights in Rwanda since the beginning of the great genocide.

800,000 people, Mr. Speaker, mostly ethnic Tutsis and moderate Hutus, died at the hand of Hutu extremists during a 100-day period; a 100-day period.

That would be killing all the people of my hometown of Kansas City, Missouri, the largest city in our State, and all the people 221 miles away in St. Louis. Both cities would be completely exterminated if they lost 800,000 people.

But the Rwandan people lost 800,000 people in 100 days. That is seven individuals, seven human beings created by God, murdered every 7 minutes.

Ten thousand victims were killed each day. Just think about it: 10,000

human beings created with the hands of the alms-giving God. And then someone stole their lives for something as petty as ethnicity, something as petty as a different language.

So when you think about hundreds of thousands of victims who were murdered, there are hundreds of other thousands of victims who were infected with HIV, as the Hutu extremists raped, as a tool of violence, women and young girls.

The killing ended once Tutsi rebel forces attacked and retook the country.

When I think about what we have done and what we have spent in lands around the world, to tragedies no less repulsive, I have to raise the question, why has the United States been asleep, lo, these many years?

I think that our children and our children's children will look back on the nineties, in particular, and wonder, where were the Americans?

Where was the United States while this happened?

Now, 20 years after all of the genocide, Rwanda has moved stunningly in a new and positive direction. I am very pleased that they have, and all Americans should be pleased. But there still is much work to be done.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. WELCH).

Mr. WELCH. Mr. CLEAVER, I appreciate you doing this.

You know, it is just staggering to think about what happened and all of those people going about their daily lives 20 years ago, on April 7, and knowing they are going to die, knowing their loved ones are going to die.

It is so unspeakable that we can't, I can't really imagine what it would be like to live in that country, to live in a neighborhood where you know your moment is coming, where you have a child who is going to die before your very eyes, where your daughter is going to be raped and then killed.

To have this sense of the horror of what is taking place, it is unspeakable. But the realization that the world is going to ignore it, and that happened, day in and day out. Most of us didn't even know about it. There would be reports, but it would be in a distant place. It wasn't anything that you could do anything about.

It was only as the stories fully came out and the horror was fully revealed that the collective gaze of the world that was not acting—there were all kinds of reasons why I suppose we couldn't or we didn't.

But just try to put yourself in the place of the family, up and down that country, where the word is going from one village to another, from one community to another, from one family to another, that you have got to do everything you can to get out.

And where you live in a community where the majority is going to kill you if they find you, where, as you hide and try to conceal yourself or your kids, you can't figure out how to feed them,

and you have got to come out into the light of day and put yourself at the mercy of your luck, where do you find or meet somebody who might give you a meal so that you can carry on another day.

It is not anything that I can imagine, just the wholesale use of murder in ethnic cleansing, in order to achieve a political goal.

What is an amazing thing is what Mr. CLEAVER just told us, about the recovery of Rwanda. These people go on.

Imagine living with the heartache that will never leave you, that you lost a son or daughter, a parent or grandparent. How do you get yourself up and start all over again?

How do you deal with the hatred that you have to fight because it will consume you and prevent you from carrying on yourself?

How do you do that?

The people in Rwanda are doing that and rebuilding that country, rebuilding their economy, and facing life on a day-in-and-day-out basis.

But having a moment to pause and remember is, I think, humbling for all of us. The capacity that we have, as people, to go awry and do things that never, in a million years, do we think was possible, reminds me of just how fragile life is and how really, in a lot of ways, fragile good governance is. You can't take it for granted.

I think all of us here know that there are forces that can get unleashed which, once they are, have an enormously powerful and destructive tendency. The challenge for all of us is to create ways where we can resolve conflict in peaceful and civil ways. The work of that is the work of this Congress and the work of this democracy.

It is fragile. It isn't anything we can ever take for granted. It has to be with that purpose of allowing people to find ways to resolve differences peacefully.

So this is an amazing moment, 20 years after the beginning of the slaughter of 800,000 innocent people, and a slaughter by very cruel and very painful and very relentless efforts.

So thank you so much, Mr. CLEAVER, for allowing us to have this moment of reflection.

Mr. CLEAVER. Thank you to Mr. WELCH, who is a very conscientious Member of this body. We appreciate his sensitivity, as well as that of many others who probably will not be here on the floor.

I will state again, because Congressman WELCH has mentioned it, that is 800,000 people, 800,000 people killed, murdered in 100 days. 10,000 human beings killed every 24 hours in this world during our lifetime.

So the Rwandans' ancient parable about God sleeping at night in Rwanda is only partially true. God could not sleep nor slumber with this kind of tragedy taking place anywhere in a world that He created for freedom and justice and peace and harmony.

Mr. Speaker, I yield as much time as he may consume to the gentleman

from the Fifth District of Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the whip of the Democratic Caucus.

□ 1800

(Mr. HOYER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOYER. Never again. We intone those words, "never again." We intone those words because we have seen horror and felt guilt that it happens on our watch, and so we say "never again."

Mr. Speaker, I had the honor of chairing the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. That commission was formed as a result of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975 by Gerald Ford and leaders of 34 other European nations, including the Soviet Union, including West Germany, including East Germany. Never again.

The extraordinary Holocaust that cost the lives of millions and millions and millions and millions more; not only in the Holocaust, where 6 million Jews were taken from us, taken from their families, taken from their countries, taken from life, but millions more in Russia, Ukraine, and literally in scores of other venues murdered.

They were murdered not because of their engagement in war, not because of their engagement in crime, but because of who they were, what religion they had, what ethnic background they claimed—murdered—murdered because of what they were, and the murderers did not like what they were—not their character, not their intellect, not their conduct, but who they were.

So here we are, 20 years later, having watched as genocide was, again, perpetrated in Rwanda. The genocide in Rwanda, the 20th anniversary of which we mark this week, provided Americans with one of our most painful examples of a failure to act, but not Americans alone, Mr. Speaker. The entire civilized world waited, watched, lamented, but did not stop the genocide.

America and much of the world waited far too long to become involved in Rwanda, and even then, international peacekeepers were not given a mandate for the resources to stop the killing.

I am sure many of us, Mr. Speaker, saw the movie "Hotel Rwanda." Nick Nolte played the blue-helmeted colonel who was in charge of the U.N. unit. When carnage was occurring and the colonel that Nolte was playing was watching, someone asked: Why aren't you doing something? And his response was: because that is not our mandate, it is to report.

I will say, in a minute, that thousands of lives were saved by the blue helmets and by others, but the U.N. mandate was not to stop it, but to report it.

President Clinton has expressed regret that the United States did not act in time to save lives, saying last year, "If we'd gone in sooner, I believe we could have saved at least a third of the lives that were lost."

Now, the figure of 800,000 is being used, but that is an estimate. It could be as little, perhaps, as 500,000 and as many as 1 million-plus. It is estimated that more than 1 million men, women, and children were killed in a span of—as my friend from Missouri, Reverend CLEAVER—Congressman EMANUEL CLEAVER has said. 1 million in 100 days, 10,000 victims every day, 7 people shot or hacked to death with machetes every minute, every minute, and the world watched and wrung its hands and said how wrong that was, and the machetes kept hacking.

More than just killing, the Rwandan genocide left hundreds of thousands of people infected with HIV as a result of another implement of war that those who perpetrate genocide have used, rape, a crime not of sexual desire, but of violence, of injury, of hate.

Widows of murdered men were infected and, in many cases, left to bear the children of their rapist. The children, of course, were infected, too.

The violence left 400,000 orphans, small children who then had to learn at a young age how to care for their younger siblings on their own.

Mr. Speaker, the Rwandan genocide provided the world with yet another lesson in our shared responsibility not just to say the words "never again," but to mean them. Mr. Speaker, we are our brother's keeper, and our brother needs our vigilance and our help, as we need his; and we are our sister's keeper, just as well.

Just as the genocide displayed humanity's darkest side, it also provided us with proof of human courage and defiance in the face of evil. From the outnumbered U.N. peacekeepers who saved lives wherever they could—and that ability was far too limited—to the individual Rwandans who risked death and rape to protect their neighbors, we acknowledge those few moments of moral clarity in the midst of great evil.

I said that I was the chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Mr. Speaker, 250,000 Bosniaks lost their lives in a genocide perpetrated by Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic.

We finally acted in that case and saved literally hundreds of thousands of more, deposed Milosevic, and put him in the dock for war crimes in the Hague, but not before 8,000 souls in Bosnia were gunned down and murdered in Trebenista. The U.N. troops failed to stop that—again, insufficient resources.

So, Mr. Speaker, as we mark this 20th anniversary of the genocide in Rwanda, I join my colleagues in mourning those who were killed and in recognizing the many changes Rwanda has undergone over the past two decades. We all wish Rwanda continued success in its efforts to take from the ashes a successful society and to protect the safety and freedom of its people.

I hope Americans across the country will take some time this week to reflect not only on the Rwandan genocide, but on all genocides, to remember its horrors and to promise never to let our Nation sit idly by as a genocide takes place. Mr. Speaker, it is a complicated conclusion, too long, too often delayed.

I want to thank my colleagues for joining me to recognize this solemn anniversary. I want to thank, in particular, my dear friend from Missouri, EMANUEL CLEAVER, who preaches to his flock, who preaches to his constituents and, yes, who preaches to all of us to look to the better nature of our souls, to reach out, to lift up, to protect, to give solace, to give sympathy, to give empathy, to give understanding, and to be our brother's keeper.

Mr. CLEAVER. I thank the distinguished whip for his comments and for, frankly, requesting that we have the opportunity this evening to remember those horrific events in world history.

As the whip said, we must declare "never again," and it must be real and serious; and, if necessary, we must redouble our efforts against evil anywhere it presents its ugly head.

The pain that I am still feeling here tonight is because, since 1995, the international tribunal has indicted 95 individuals. Let me go back and remind you, 800,000—it could be many more—died, 95 individuals have been indicted, and there have been 49 convictions.

Now, if there is a person with a heart anywhere on the planet, that heart should be broken right now, knowing what happened to the Rwandan people, what happened to women, little girls, children. The world shall not tolerate this again.

I would like to now yield to the distinguished Congressman from the Ninth District of Memphis, Tennessee, Mr. STEVE COHEN.

Mr. COHEN. I thank the gentleman from Missouri for yielding, and I appreciate the whip for bringing this hour to the attention of Members of Congress and the opportunity to speak on this historic 20th anniversary of this slaughter.

I had the opportunity to visit Rwanda in the company of one of the great men who served in this House, Congressman DONALD PAYNE of New Jersey. Congressman PAYNE had made several trips to Rwanda and several trips to Africa.

We visited the memorial there to the victims, which is a very special place in the world, burial spots and flowers and plaques and the museum company there, too. It made a great impression on me, and it would make a great impression on anybody.

One thing that came out of the trip was my realization that today, in Rwanda, the Hutus and the Tutsis get along and that what was horrific 20 years ago, in one of the most horrific ethnic cleansings—or attempted ethnic cleansings and hate, atrocities, murders, over time, the Rwandan people have overcome them.

The distinctions are no longer present, and the people do get along. Obviously, because of the horrific situation, there is an imbalance in the populations, and I am sure there are still some memories; but we do need to learn, as I am sure has been said, about when we turn to thinking of other people as different because we are all the same.

There was a time a little after this, I think it was about 1999, when I was at Union Station. President Clinton was there, and we had some time to talk, and he related how the Human Genome Project that Dr. Francis Collins—now the head of the NIH—was heading up and how that we are all 99.96 percent the same, and we are.

He mentioned the Hutus and the Tutsis and how they were just so, so, so, so, so alike, but the minor differences that were visible caused them to have this awful, awful, horrific genocide.

It pained President Clinton. Whip HOYER mentioned that this is something that he brought up before, that it was a mistake while he was President not to intervene. It was right after the difficulty that we had in Mogadishu with the helicopter and the way the American soldiers were killed and horrifically treated in the streets of Mogadishu by the Somali groups there.

It was a reticence to get involved in another situation in Africa, and it is a tight line sometimes to determine when you go in and when you don't. Well, the President made a mistake there, as he has admitted over the years.

If we look at other situations that might present themselves to us, as Members of Congress, we have to realize the United States of America has a special place in the world.

We are the only country that has the ability to see that mankind doesn't engage in horrific genocides again, so when the opportunity for the United States to get involved and prevent a slaughter, prevent a genocide, the United States has a responsibility.

Inasmuch as it is difficult after the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan to commit our troops to action when situations like Rwanda present themselves, it is incumbent upon us, I think, to support—whoever is the President—in taking the proper actions to preserve humanity.

□ 1815

So I thank Whip HOYER for calling for this hour and Mr. CLEAVER for leading it, and I just wanted to add my thoughts and my reflections after having visited Rwanda with a great Member of Congress, DONALD PAYNE.

Mr. CLEAVER. Thank you, Mr. COHEN.

Mr. Speaker, may I inquire about the remaining time?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has 28 minutes remaining.

Mr. CLEAVER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

REMEMBERING THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2013, the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS) is recognized for the remainder of the time as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. CLEAVER for giving his voice of remembrance, his voice of comfort, his voice of concern, his voice that says this terrible genocide shall never happen again, nor should anybody who is of the human species sit back and allow such a tragedy to occur as what happened 20 years ago when, simply because of being a member of a different tribe, people were killed.

When I visited Rwanda, I had the opportunity to go to the museum where memorials were set up, but you saw the remains, the bones, of a number of individuals that were slaughtered, and you also learned the history of what took place in Rwanda, how the people were taught, especially during colonization, to make one feel that they were better than the other and one should rule over the other. And it went on to such a time when people started to cry out for equality and democracy moving on, and just because they happened to be of a different tribe, the Hutu majority, to terminate the Tutsi ethnic group.

Tragedy. Husbands turning in their wives, wives turning in their husbands where there were mixed groups, feeling one was superior to the other. Tragedy. Yet, the global community sat silently on the sidelines—sat silently on the sidelines.

Mr. Speaker, at this time, before I say more, I see the distinguished gentleman from the great State of Illinois and the city of Chicago, and I yield to the Honorable DANNY DAVIS.

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. I thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my good friend from New York, Representative GREGORY MEEKS not only for yielding, not only for being engaged in this discussion, but for the tremendous amount of time, energy, and effort that he spends dealing with international issues, recognizing that every day, as we see the increases in technology and our ability to communicate more effectively with other people across the world, how small and how much smaller our world is becoming, so things that may have been considered far away are now much closer to our everyday existence. So I thank the gentleman for his leadership.

I also want to commend Representative EMANUEL CLEAVER and our whip for convening this session. As I listened to Representative CLEAVER give a bit of the history of Rwanda, I was actually glued to the television set and felt immobilized that I couldn't or didn't want to move. And to think that during the last two decades we would experience, in our modern-day world, such horrific actions as that which we are