

the west coast. In 1980, he returned to New England and purchased the Kingston Country Store in Kingston, NH. It was there in 1980, that I met Stu and we began to talk about politics. In fact, it was Stu Carmichael and his good friends, Louis and Lois Beaulieu and other early supporters, who encouraged me to run for Congress in 1980. That year, Stu served as my first finance manager. As our mutual friend, Lois Beaulieu, remembers, "Stu was a motivator, hard worker and loyal to Senator SMITH. He has been with BOB SMITH through the worst and the best. Our motto during that first campaign was 'Fake it until we make it' and with many thanks to Stu, our loyal grassroots people and the Good Lord, we made it."

In 1985, after I was elected on my third attempt, Stu joined my congressional staff and has served me in a variety of capacities both when I was a Congressman and now as a Senator.

Over the years, Stu has also unselfishly served the people of New Hampshire by helping countless veterans with their benefits and working on a variety of other cases for constituents who need assistance cutting through Government bureaucracy. He also was instrumental in establishing a veterans cemetery in Boscawen, NH.

I am truly indebted to such a hard working and admirable friend. Stu helped me with my start in politics, and stayed with me all these years until his retirement. Every Senator wishes for commitment like this and I am sorry to see him go.

The Granite State will feel a void with Stu's absence. New Hampshire's loss is South Carolina's gain. In fact, if Stu wanted to start another career, he could always work for STROM THURMOND for another 20 years.

Our Portsmouth, NH, staff, his other fellow coworkers, and the citizens of New Hampshire whom Stu has helped will miss this character we have come to love. My sincere appreciation to you Stu, for all the years of friendship and for your service to the people of New Hampshire, especially your fellow veterans.

As a dedicated father, husband and grandfather, Stu Carmichael will now have plenty of time to spend with his family and grandchildren. He and his wonderful wife, Priscilla, have carefully built a special new home in Pickens, SC and plan to enjoy their retirement there. As an avid golfer, Stu will undoubtedly be a constant sight on the golf courses he has yet to discover in South Carolina.

And Stu, remember, "Golf is a love affair; if you don't take it seriously its no fun; if you do take it seriously it breaks your heart."

May all your putts be swift, stable, and accurate, and may all the greens rise to meet you whether you are in New Hampshire or in South Carolina.

Stu, you are one of the very best and I wish you every happiness as you embrace retirement. ●

#### SALUTING IDAHO'S NATIONAL CHAMPIONS

● Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, I rise to offer my congratulations to Coach Marty Holly and his Albertson College of Idaho basketball team.

Last night, the Coyotes won the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics Division II men's national basketball championship. The 'Yotes beat Whitworth College in a thrilling overtime game, 81-72.

Albertson College of Idaho was founded in Caldwell in 1891 as the College of Idaho and is the State's oldest 4-year institution of higher learning. Six hundred students attend the private liberal arts college. The school has been recognized by U.S. News and World Report as one of the best small colleges in the country.

Mr. President, this victory is more than the school's first national title. It is a testament to the outstanding talents of head coach and athletic director Marty Holly. In his 15 years as coach at Albertson College, Marty Holly has compiled a record of 345 wins and only 113 losses, for a winning percentage of 75 percent. For all his success, this year may have been his best.

Everyone expected the 'Yotes to be good this year. They were highly ranked in the polls all season. Expectations were high. And as my colleagues know, when expectations are high, the pressure to meet those expectations is great. So Marty and his team were under a tremendous amount of pressure to win it all. Despite that pressure, Albertson College turned out its best season in school history. They finished 31-3, the best winning percentage in school history. They won a record 12 games in a row. All this while maintaining their high standards in the classroom.

Last night's game was a classic. Albertson trailed by 3 at halftime before tournament Most Valuable Player Damon Archibald got hot. He scored 23 of his game-high 29 points after intermission, including 15 in an 8-minute stretch in the second half.

Still, to their credit, Whitworth fought back and forced the game to overtime. There, the Coyotes took over and seized the victory. After the game Coach Holly said every player "stepped it up." They did indeed.

Jimmy Kolyszko and Jared Klassen joined Archibald on the all-tournament team, and each did step it up in the title game. Kolyszko pulled down 19 rebounds, and Klassen scored 20 points and grabbed 12 rebounds.

Mr. President, Idaho should be proud of the student-athletes at Albertson College and their dedicated coaches, who have helped bring the community together in support of the team. In fact, all of Canyon County was able to celebrate this achievement since the NAIA National Tournament was hosted by Northwest Nazarene College in nearby Nampa.

This championship season was truly a team effort and I join all Idahoans in

saluting those involved. We are very proud of these fine young men and their coaches. I ask to have printed in the RECORD the names of the players, coaches and staff of the Albertson College of Idaho Coyotes, who have brought tremendous honor to their school and their State.

The names follow:

Nate Miller, a senior from Middleton, ID, Todd Williams, a senior from Pasadena, CA, Steve Kramer, a senior from Santa Rosa, CA, Jimmy Kolyszko, a senior from Scottsdale, AZ, Taylor Ebright, a junior from Boise, ID, Taran Hay, a sophomore from Boise, Rob Smith, a freshman from Boise, David Baker, a sophomore from Blackfoot, ID, Damon Archibald, a senior from Tempe, AZ, Rob Sheirbon, a sophomore from Woodburn, OR, Greg Blacker, a junior from Caldwell, ID, Jared Klaassen, a senior from Coeur d'Alene, ID, Head Coach Marty Holly, Assistant Coaches Mark Owen and George Scott, Trainer Linda Gibbens, Sports Information Director Dave Hahn, and Albertson College President Robert Hendren, Jr. ●

#### SAVING BURUNDI

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, two items I have read on Burundi recently suggest that continued interest and support for peacemaking endeavors and positive solutions really can be of help.

The one is an article in the New York Times by two distinguished Americans, former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and David Hamburg, who heads the Carnegie Foundation. They co-chair the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict.

The other article, written by Jonathan Frerichs, appeared in the Christian Century.

Both articles, which I ask be printed in the RECORD, suggest that anarchy and needless death can be avoided if we pay attention to this troubled land.

I urge my colleagues and their staffs to read these two articles.

The articles follow:

#### AVOIDING ANARCHY IN BURUNDI

(By Cyrus R. Vance and David A. Hamburg)

WASHINGTON.—A world grown accustomed to human disaster in the face of diplomatic failure has more to hope for in the coming days. Next Saturday, a meeting of African leaders in Tunis, brokered by former President Jimmy Carter, will test the proposition that breaking the cycle of mass violence in Central Africa may at last be possible. They need the international community's help.

Burundi is pivotal. The right mix of political pressures can sustain the balance of power in a country on the brink of repeating the slaughter that tore apart Rwanda. Maintaining that balance could spare thousands of lives. It would also reduce the risk of the United Nations being forced into another crisis without the mandate, materials and money needed to be effective.

Burundi's government, a coalition of moderate Tutsi and Hutu leaders, is fragile. Tutsi extremists have recently attempted to close down the capital, Bujumbura, with labor strikes and blockades. Attacks by Hutu guerrillas in the countryside raise fears of genocide among the Tutsi minority.

But there is some reason for hope. Moderate Tutsi and Hutu leaders are committed to a national debate, open to all political factions. The goal is to settle the terms of power-sharing and guarantees for minority rights before any further elections.

To reinforce this process we must be clear not only about the differences between Burundi and Rwanda but also about who must take primary responsibility for a peace plan.

Rwanda and Burundi are both poor, isolated countries. Their colonizers' divide-and-rule policies left seemingly insoluble conflict between the agrarian Hutu, who make up about 85 percent of each country, and the Tutsi, who predominate in business, government and the military.

The Belgians left the Tutsi elite in control of Burundi, but gave way to the Hutu majority in Rwanda. Since then demagogues in both countries have exploited ethnic fear and pride.

This spiral of hate climaxed in 1994, when Hutu and Rwanda shot or hacked to death at least 500,000 people, primarily Tutsi. When Tutsi exiles from Uganda overthrew the Hutu government, more than two million Hutu fled to nearby countries, where 1.7 million remain.

In Burundi, the core question is whether the country's citizens can avoid Rwanda's tragedy by devising a power-sharing formula that offers enough security for the Tutsi to open the way for majority democratic rule.

Outsiders can help in several ways. First, there must be diplomatic efforts to persuade extremists in both ethnic groups of the futility and dreadful consequences of violence. Killings in Bujumbura rose to more than 100 a week, and anarchy threatens. The United States and European governments should impose an arms embargo, block international financial transactions by Burundi's extremist leaders and threaten to halt trade other than humanitarian relief.

Second, African leaders should be given help in securing a power-sharing agreement in Bujumbura and the return of refugees to both Burundi and Rwanda. In November, Mr. Carter arranged a meeting of the Presidents of Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and Zaire. It is these talks that resume next week.

Third, donor governments and the World Bank should draw up a "road map" linking political progress in Burundi and the other countries of Central Africa to the restoration of development assistance.

For the moment, however, everything depends on reaching an agreement to contain the cancer of ethnic conflict. What is learned from this experience can help prevent mass violence elsewhere.

[From the Christian Century, March 6, 1996]

#### CAUSES FOR HOPE—SAVING BURUNDI

(By Jonathan Frerichs)

If we hear anything at all about Burundi, it is that this small African country is Rwanda in slow motion. There is, indeed, justification for seeing Burundi as a catastrophe in the making. It has a vicious cycle of intergroup violence, with militias preempting politics and crowds of refugees on the move.

Approximately 800 people are dying there each month, according to a United Nations estimate. Like its neighbor, Rwanda, Burundi has a population of about 85 percent Hutu and 15 percent Tutsi. Tutsi militias operate with help from Burundi's army, an army that has usually taken its orders from ethnic leaders rather than from the moderate civilian government. The actions of Hutu guerrillas puts the majority population at risk of reprisal. The countryside, like the capital, is increasingly balkanized. A fragile

national "convention," an agreement on power-sharing, barely merits being called a government.

Yet to equate Burundi with Rwanda is inaccurate and dangerously self-defeating. In Burundi there is still scope for remedial action, for taking steps largely untried in Rwanda—as certain Burundian Christians and aid partners are demonstrating. The balance of power, the course of events and the rule of the churches in Burundi differ significantly from those in Rwanda.

There is no "final solution" underway in Burundi, as there was in Rwanda. Because they are a minority, Burundi's Tutsi extremists cannot implicate a whole population in the perpetration of genocide, as Rwanda's Hutu majority did in 1994. The 1.5 million Rwandans still encamped outside their country today fled not genocide but fear of reprisal for the slaughter they had allowed to happen in their name. In Rwanda the majority Hutus had the arms. In Burundi most of the arms are still in the hands of the minority Tutsis.

The Tutsi-dominated national army is searching for Hutu insurgents and punishing the Hutu majority for allegedly sheltering them. Tutsi militia with names like "The Undeclared" and "The Infallibles" operate in the capital, Bujumbura, and in the northern provinces. When these extremists have targeted a community for a "ville mort" (dead city) campaign, the army sometimes has stood by without intervening or has even helped. These campaigns force Hutus out of Tutsi areas.

The Hutu guerrillas opposing these tactics are not well organized, according to aid workers in Bujumbura, but they were strong enough to mount an attack on the capital in early December. One day members of one community are killed, next day members of the other. A rough balance of power and fear prevails, a legacy of a century of national and colonial political practices. As extremists within both ethnic groups undermine the convention government, the army is forced to choose between trying to re-establish Tutsi supremacy and maintaining some version of the status quo. An incident in January may indicate a shift in the army's position. When Tutsi militia declared a "ville mort" in Bujumbura, hoping to force out the Hutu president, the army actually blocked the campaign in some quarters of the city. Since then, the militia cannot count on army support, say aid officials. Two Tutsi extremist leaders were actually arrested recently. Some local observers suggest that the army may merely want to improve its image abroad while deflecting talk of international intervention. However, it may also fear that militia politics will end in collective suicide.

Burundi's government wants to do what is right for the public at large, but it is not in control, according to Susanne Riveles, Africa director of Lutheran World Relief. In contrast, in early 1994 the Rwandan government was in control but wanted to do the wrong thing. That there are moderates at the highest levels of Burundi's government makes it possible to keep humanitarian issues in focus.

A second cause for hope in Burundi is that its churches are not swept up in the conflict, as happened in Rwanda. Some church leaders are increasingly willing to oppose the violence. But they need support. In Rwanda, certain religious leaders were linked so closely to the government that, even during the genocide, they did not dissociate themselves from that government. Some even went abroad to engage in damage control. When the old regime fell and fled, such people fled with it—which eliminated all doubt about where they had stood. Some are still

not willing to return home. In contrast, the bishops and archbishops of Burundi do not sit on permanent councils of state.

"In the last four or five months, there is a feeling among the Protestant churches that they have to gather people across ethnic lines to protest and to work together," says Eliane Duthoit-Privat of Christian Aid in Bunumbura. Church programs include humanitarian and peace initiatives. One example is local peace committees of Hutu, Tutsi and Twa (who constitute about 1 percent of the population). Citizens gather to air grievances, clarify information and address the kill-or-be-killed mentality. "In these meetings, participants can say: 'I don't have to kill the person in front of me so that he won't kill me,'" notes Duthoit-Privat.

Some of the groups are moving from words to deeds. Several Tutsi and Hutu families may join hands to repair the damage done by raiding militia or soldiers—rebuilding a house for a vulnerable neighbor, for example, or a local dispensary. These pioneering "Discussion sur La Paix" are led by local Quakers with support from the Mennonite Central Committee. Other Protestants are considering them as a model for standing up to the spread of violence. Protestants number about 15 percent of the population, and include Anglicans and Pentecostals (the two largest non-Catholic groups), varieties of Methodists, plus Baptists, Quakers and Kimbanguists (an indigenous African body).

The Roman Catholic Church (84 percent of the population) is also beginning to mobilize for national reconciliation, says Annemarie Reilly, Burundi program director of Catholic Relief Services. Drawing on the church's experience in Latin America, it has brought people of different ethnic and economic backgrounds together for work and worship. A pilot phase has been completed in three dioceses and is ready to be expanded across the country.

Some prominent churchpeople are risking their lives for peace. University teacher Adrian Ntabona, who heads the reconciliation project, strongly condemned a recent killing before a student group that included members of the Tutsi militia widely assumed to be responsible. In Babanza, the northern province where foreign church and relief workers have been withdrawn because of the violence, and where some priests have been killed and others made virtual prisoners in their own compounds, Catholic Bishop Evariste Ngoyagoye works as a one-person relief agency and keeper of peace. Though recently the archbishop of Gitega was ambushed and a priest in his party was killed, the incident has not stopped the archbishop from traveling in his region.

Churches are providing food and other supplies to people forced to flee from their homes. The Burundian Council of Churches purchases and distributes seeds, tools, soap and non-food items, and the Episcopal Church brings food to camps of displaced people. The Evangelical Friends Church, which formed the peace committees, also runs mobile health clinics. Christian Aid, a British agency, maintains a stockpile of emergency supplies for 10,000 families. The agency is the focus for an international, interchurch aid coalition called ACT (Action by Churches Together). All church programs are hobbled by restrictions on movement. In relatively secure areas, ACT has plans for agricultural rehabilitation, the rebuilding of houses and small income projects for women.

We can do much to help Burundi avert disaster. A colossal sin of omission was committed against Rwanda. The cost of preventing another disaster in Burundi is negligible compared to the expense of a major emergency rescue operation. "Burundi needs our eyes and ears. It needs a solid, multilateral

outside presence," says Riveles. "Burundi needs international civilians inside the country, not foreign troops at the border.

John Langan, S.J., argued in these pages (January 24) for a new rule of intervention that would involve massive and early deployment with a cautious use of force. The UN recently discussed positioning a force in Zaire for possible Burundi intervention. Massive and early civilian rather than military deployment seems the best prescription for Burundi. Human rights observers are urgently needed, as is strong support for existing Burundian peace initiatives.

Another key area for international observers and personnel is the judicial system. Riveles suggests that foreign aid and human rights workers may be able to "bring to bear insights on truth-finding and reconciliation from the apartheid experience and from the Holocaust." Through personal diplomacy, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu has been making a similar point. Now head of South Africa's Truth Commission, he is also active in peace initiatives for the Great Lakes region of Africa.

In Rwanda, extremist media propaganda was used to support political and militia coercion. In Burundi, such propaganda must be stopped—whether by international political pressure or by jamming or other technical means. The UN Security Council recently called on member states to identify and dismantle any mobile stations operating outside Burundi that broadcast Hutu extremist propaganda into the country.

To regard African countries like Burundi as hopeless or to dismiss its problems as a case of unsolvable "ethnic conflict" is to trap ourselves. Rather than debate past holocausts, we can calculate how to stop a new round of death.●

#### PORTUGAL'S NEW PRESIDENT

● Mr. PELL. Mr. President, this weekend, I had the honor of leading a congressional delegation to Lisbon for the inauguration of Portugal's new president. I was pleased to participate in this event marking the passing of the torch from Mario Soares to Jorge Sampaio, which was a strong signal of Portugal's continued commitment to democracy.

The delegation's presence at the inauguration contributed to continued good relations between Portugal and the United States. Portuguese-United States relations remain solid. The new government, headed by Prime Minister Antonio Guterres, has demonstrated his continued commitment to a strong United States-Portuguese relationship. The new agreement on cooperation and defense providing for United States access to the Lajes Base in the Azores and Portuguese-United States cooperation in the implementation force in Bosnia are also important signs of the strong ties between our two countries.

President Sampaio delivered a truly inspirational inaugural speech in which he described a Portugal firmly rooted in Europe and committed to a foreign policy that places a priority on good relations with Portuguese-speaking countries throughout the world. He paid tribute to his predecessor Mario Soares as the symbol of the constant struggle for freedom and democracy both at home and abroad. President

Sampaio called on the Portuguese people to work for a more cohesive Portugal, and pledged to do his part to encourage consensus in Portuguese society. Ever aware of Portugal's past political experiences, President Sampaio underscored that he will respect the wishes of the Portuguese people and to exercise his constitutional powers with impartiality.

Mr. President, I commend President Sampaio's speech to my colleagues, and ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

The speech follows:

Mr. President of the Assembly of the Republic, Heads of State, Prime Ministers and High Representatives of Friendly States and Peoples, Prime Minister, Members of the Government and High Portuguese Authorities, His Eminence the Cardinal of Lisbon, Members of Parliament, Ladies and Gentleman:

After twenty years of democracy and a decade of European integration, Portugal has completed a cycle in her contemporary history. The democratic regime has been consolidated. Accession to the European Community has proved to be the right choice and has provided the country with conditions for development and structural changes which would otherwise have been impossible.

Such major conditions for Portugal's modernization may seem obvious and even natural to the new generations coming of age today. It is good that it should be so. However, it required several generations to fight for Freedom and Democracy, generations whose courage and determination gave the example to be followed. The 25 of April Revolution, which I would feelingly like to remember here, represents the end of a long journey during which people paid for their dedication to the cause of democracy with their freedom and their lives.

Being elected President of the Republic represents an incomparable responsibility and honour in a politician's life. Circumstances have contrived, however, to give me the added pleasure of receiving the badge of office from that outstanding figure of Portuguese democracy; the outgoing President, Mario Soares.

Dr. Mario Soares is the symbol of the constant struggle for Freedom and Democracy both at home and abroad. A struggle which knew no vacillations or concessions.

The political cycle which coincidentally closes with the end of his term of office will forever be linked to his name. In the last decades no-one has marked Portuguese political life so persistently and profoundly.

Today, as President of the Republic, I would like to say how deeply grateful our country is to you, Dr. Mario Soares, for a lifetime dedicated to seeking the best for Portugal and the Portuguese.

Owing to the many areas in which you left your mark it is difficult to sum up your life in one word. There is one word however, which stands out above all others. You are a man of Freedom. It was essential that my first gesture as President should be to award you the Grand Collar of the Order of Freedom, at another ceremony which will take place today.

Mr. President of the Assembly of the Republic. I would like to thank you most feelingly for the warm word you addressed to me in your eloquent speech. This is the seat that represents the sovereign will of the Portuguese people. I know this house well, having survived intense years of parliamentary activity here, believe me, Mr. President, the Assembly of the Republic may always rely

on the solidarity and institutional cooperation of the President of the Republic.

I would like to say how honoured I am by the presence today at this inauguration of Heads of State, Prime Ministers and high representatives of friendly countries. I would like to welcome you all warmly and to thank you for your distinguished presence at this ceremony.

Mr. President of the Assembly of the Republic, Ladies and Gentlemen, the coming years are decisive for Portugal's future. The country faces the challenge of ensuring important modernization efforts without causing political and social breaches which may undermine national cohesion.

Our national strategy must encompass the firmness of Portugal's participation in the European Union, the achievement of a sustained effort to modernize the productive sections and constant attention to social policies.

I regard Portugal's future with confidence. We are a quasillemenary country. We are possessed of a culture which, century after century, has maintained its diversity and richness. Our language was spread by the Portuguese "to the seven corners of the world" and today is spoken by over two hundred million.

It was our people's courage and determination that created the wealth of our history, our culture and our language. It is that courage that will always give me faith in the future.

I have acquired and developed a profound knowledge of the Portuguese and this is without any doubt the heritage that I most value in a political career which began more than thirty five years ago.

I know that the Portuguese people will always be able to find the energy and means required to guarantee Portugal's future. I also know that this new political cycle goes hand in hand with the Portuguese people's more demanding attitude in their relationship with the political system, particularly with the need for greater transparency and renewed capacity to provide concrete answer to the expectations and concerns in people's day-to-day lives.

The Portuguese know how I conceive the presidential function. It is built on a concern to which I will pay the greatest attention. In a world and a time increasingly subject to massification, to violent desegregating tensions and to the loss of the collective memory, the values of identity must be reinforced. It is necessary to exercise a magistrature that will defend, guarantee and strengthen national cohesion.

I feel that there are factors nowadays in Portugal which are affecting that cohesion. There are unequivocal signs that social inequalities are on the increase. The profound regional asymmetries in national development and the phenomena of minorities' exclusion and marginalization have accumulated and increased to worrying levels. There is an increased loss of solidarity between generations. The role of the family, even its articulation with the educational system, require profound thought.

One of the indications of the loss of national cohesion is the growing signs of insecurity, increased factors of discord, accumulated inter-regional tensions, intolerance and intransigence that I see with concern to evolve.

The strengthening of national cohesion requires far-reaching reforms both to achieve policies of decentralization and to adjust educational and social policies. Also both to restore citizens' trust in the political system and to guarantee the effectiveness of the State's role.

The strengthening of national cohesion signifies that a solution must be found to