

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

strengthen municipal and local institutions as well as organized forms of society representation. In the search for that solution the unity of the State must never be questioned.

However, the strengthening of national cohesion also means finding an institutionally stable solution of consensus for the problem of formulating the Continent's political and administrative decentralization. This problem has been awaiting a solution for far too long.

I would like to welcome the organs of the autonomous Regions and give them my assurance that I will cooperate with them wholeheartedly. The regional autonomies were decisive in transforming the lives of the populations of the Azores and Madeira archipelagos. The model of regional autonomy has given proof of its legitimacy and all our efforts must be to ensure its improvement and consolidation.

National cohesion also depends on how we respect our acquired social rights, guaranteeing some level of security for families; and their expectations for retirement, particularly for the underprivileged, outcast and jeopardized by a process of modernization which is often pursued with total disregard for the values of solidarity.

As President of the Republic I will do all I can to encourage the consensuses in Portuguese society. Only these that can pave the way for a new strategic concentration, able to meet the demands of national cohesion at a time of accelerated change and accelerated national mobilization.

The mandate I received from the Portuguese people is very clear. The President of the Republic must be a guarantor of political and institutional stability and perform his office in such a way as to ensure institutional balances.

I am, of course, aware that it is my duty to respect the democratically expressed wish of the Portuguese and to see that it is respected. Just as I will also faithfully respect the spheres of competence of the other organs of sovereignty. I shall commit myself to create the required conditions to ensure that Parliament and the Government carry out their duties and fulfill their mandates. Loyalty and institutional cooperation by contributing to political stability will also play a decisive role in allowing the Portuguese to see themselves mirrored in the institutions of the Republic.

The Government led by Mr. António Guterres, which emerged from elections which gave it the unequivocal vote of the Portuguese people, can naturally rely on my institutional cooperation.

I will exercise my constitutional powers with impartiality. It is incumbent upon me to work with all majorities and all legitimate governments.

The principle of institutional cooperation cannot be synonymous with unanimity. Normal functioning of the political institutions demands that all of us: President, Assembly and Government, must exercise their powers with rigour, and respect the manifestation of reciprocal competences.

I will remain constant to the form of my institutional cooperation with the government. I will also be firm in the exercise of the powers vested in me by the Constitution.

With the Assembly of the Republic, the centre "par excellence" of national democratic life, I will uphold a relationship of respect and solidarity and will maintain a constant dialogue with all parties. The opposition will have in me an attentive observer, responsive to the protection of its important constitutional rights as a means of preserving conditions in which the democratic alternatives can freely be chosen.

I would like here to greet the Portuguese Armed Forces, the guarantor of national

defence and security, whose institutional loyalty was decisive in consolidating the democratic regime which emerged after the 25 of April revolution.

On becoming, by reason of office, the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces I would like to reiterate my total commitment to the success of the peace mission in Bosnia and Hercegovina, on which the stability of Europe at the end of the millennium partly depends.

Mr. President of the Assembly of the Republic, Ladies and Gentlemen, the essence of Portugal's destiny is played out in Europe. This, today, is an incontrovertible factor of the country's international position. It is not moved by apprehensive and defensive policies but rather counsels firm political policies upheld by the clear determination of our national interests.

Both the difficulties of recent years and the demands of this new phase of European construction require the reinforcement of suitable internal consensuses which can withstand the permanent demands of the Portuguese strategy for Europe.

That strategy can no longer be based on secretiveness and the "fait accompli", factors which undermined previous consensuses. Today it will invariably have to depend on, transparent policy about the options to be made and their requirements. Today it will have to be based on the enlarged participation of the social and political forces and on the citizens' opinion. Only thus will the Portuguese understand that the European Union is a community of sovereign states, from which we cannot, therefore, just merely wish to reap benefits without having to share responsibilities.

The challenges facing the European Union at the turn of the century—the intensification of economic integration within a framework of international cohesion, and the expansion of the Union's borders to embrace the new European democracies—present challenges for Portugal. The answer to these challenges lies not in hesitation but in the identification of pre-eminent objectives for the establishment of national consensuses and for a firm, determined Portuguese foreign policy.

A strong, united Europe will be a Europe which is open to the outside world, ready to guarantee a framework of regional stability. This condition is important for the continuance of the transatlantic community, namely the alliance between the United States and Europe. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization continues to be the cornerstone of our security, although present circumstances demand the emphatic development of the European pillar as sign of the European allies' real capacity to assume added responsibilities in collective defence.

Naturally, the relations with Portuguese-speaking countries have a special position in our foreign policy. Those relations represent a link with our own extensive history which is shared with the peoples of Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and of course with the people of East Timor. The language, the rich variety of cultures expressed in that same language, history and the effective solidarity between the peoples of these seven states and of the territory of East Timor make it necessary to form a Community of Portuguese-Speaking States and Peoples. I shall dedicate great attention to this project.

Unfortunately, East Timor will not be able to take part in this project as a free and self determined State.

Portugal has an unalienable historical responsibility towards East Timor and the Timorese community. As the territory's administering power Portugal has a clear political duty vis-a-vis the international com-

munity: it must guarantee the completion of the decolonization process through a free and democratic referendum supervised by the United Nations in which the Timorese may, with dignity, exercise their right to self-determination. To fulfill this objective the competent organs of sovereignty must always seek the ways and means which are best suited to the evolution of international circumstances.

Portugal must continue to fight for the cause of East Timor in all international fora and to support the efforts of the UN Secretary-General in fulfilling his mandate, seeking a just and internationally accepted solution for the question of East Timor, with the participation of all the interested parties.

National commitment to this issue is, in fact, provided in consonance with an essential reference value of the Portuguese state's foreign actions: the defence of peoples freedom peoples and the defence of human rights.

The President of the Republic has particular responsibilities with Macao, I believe that there must be close agreement with the Government both for the administration of the territory and the framework of our relations with the People's Republic of China.

The Portuguese policy is very clear: guarantee the stability and prosperity of the territory of Macao as well as the protection of the rights and interests of its inhabitants, never forgetting that Portugal has an unalienable responsibility to protect the rights of all Portuguese citizens in Macao.

Mr. President of the Assembly of the Republic, Ladies and Gentleman, the modern evolution of societies and political systems implies a new perception of relations between the citizen and the political power. This relation must be based on information and on the proximity of the political decision, implying new forms for citizens' democratic participation and the enlargement of their rights.

Unless such new demands are incorporated within the political system it will not be possible to adapt representative democracy to the complexity of social relations at the end of the millennium.

The tendency in modern societies is to develop a culture of civic intervention and of salutary intransigence when protecting the citizen's legitimate rights in relation to the state.

The pressure on the Portuguese political system is already great, due to the fact that a persistent centralizing policy has postponed the natural development of institutional reforms to decentralize power.

Guaranteeing the stability of democracy signifies a constant commitment to defend the prestige of the representative institutions and the citizens' political participation. I have and assume the obligation to encourage a culture of democratic demand. But I also believe that it is essential to ensure respect for the rule of law and the defence of the prestige of the institutions which define and apply such rule of law, as a means to guarantee the trust citizens place in the institutions of the Republic. The respect for the state of law is a fundamental basis of the democratic regime. On this there can be no compromise.

As President I will be close to the people. This intention will be the mark of my term of office. I will listen carefully to the Portuguese. To all Portuguese. I will be particularly attentive, however, to those who are excluded from the system and policies and who, because of the way in which the modernization process in this country has occurred, have been relegated to the statute of expendability. There are no expendable Portuguese. The very idea is intolerable.

I will pay particular attention to the problems of Portuguese families. I am aware of the multiple issues affecting them and cannot fail here to express my concern with all forms of family violence—in which women and children are the principal victims. Within the competencies of my office I will support all efforts which contribute to finding ways for parents to invest increasingly in their children's education as well as to conciliate mothers' and fathers' careers with family life, for I am fully aware of the growing importance of affectivity in the construction of our individual lives.

Solidarity must be a fundamental value of Portuguese society. It must be present during the formulation of the policies of modernization, employment and the reform of social security. It is the only way to modernize the country whilst maintaining national cohesion and the sense of sharing a collective future. The most worrying expression of the loss of solidarity is the evolution in recent years of increasing signs of political, social and even religious intolerance.

Portugal, which is a cohesive country with no ethnic, regional, linguistic or religious issues, must know how to preserve this unique asset without which (as we have seen in many countries) everything would be at peril: civic peace, progress, solidarity, prestige and our position before the world. The Portuguese are well aware of this fact.

A strong patriotism conspicuously based on democratic values, culturally enlightened and civically assumed, is the best protection we have against aggressive nationalism, xenophobia and racism and is also the most efficient reply to insecurity and fear of the future.

I would like here and now to express with great fervour how proud I am to be Portuguese and to declare my love for Portugal which I want to serve with all my capabilities, honouring the mandate I have received from the Portuguese.

Our culture, which is both rich and varied in its popular and erudite forms and so strong in its characteristic traits, is the manifestation of a great People (accessible to others, to the universe, to all that is new, to the unknown) and of a nation that for five centuries united the human species and globalized communication; a nation which, although small, was able to travel to the ends of the seas and the Earth, where it left its marks, the greatest of which is the language and the memories which endure, and of which we constantly receive grateful signs.

Today I would like to encourage the Portuguese—and particularly the young Portuguese—to study and become acquainted with our history, our culture, our heritage, both natural and created, our geography, the roots and foundations of our identity. We must provide our new generations with an exigent education which will prepare them to face the challenges of the open market. But we must also provide them with prospects for the future, with opportunities, with the capacity to look hopefully to the start of their professional and family life. Without all this it will be difficult to solve many of the problems which affect young people in Portugal today.

It is by strengthening our identity that we can procure the energy and the trust to set off boldly on the adventure of the future, fearless and with audacity, in the firm conviction that we were great whenever we put aside the small-minded, petty issues which divide and diminish us. We performed great feats and took our place as a People and a Nation whenever we were able to unite and concentrate on the essentials, opening up to modernity, to the values of freedom and universalism, practising a culture of tolerance

towards and curiosity for all that was different, in a way, which is peculiar to us, of affection and human closeness.

It is a lesson for our times. Now, more than ever, they must assume such values. That is precisely why this is the unique contribution we can give to the construction of a Europe of solidarity and citizenship, to the edification of a World of peace and liberty.

When I stood for office I stated unequivocally: there are no presidential majorities. I will be President of all the Portuguese. Of all, without exception.

Long live Portugal. ●

S. 1494, HOUSING OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM EXTENSION ACT OF 1995

● Mr. BOND. Mr. President, I applaud the Senate for passing S. 1494, the Housing Opportunity Program Extension Act of 1995. I also want to thank my cosponsors, including Senators D'AMATO, MACK, and SARBANES. This legislation provides critical authority for a number of community development and affordable housing programs and activities which are strongly supported by the American public. This bill also is an important step in reforming HUD's housing and community development programs, and is consistent with a number of significant reforms which were initiated in the VA/ HUD fiscal year 1996 appropriations bill, which was vetoed by the President.

Most importantly, this legislation adopts the reformed low-income housing preservation program which was contained in the VA/ HUD fiscal year 1996 appropriations bill vetoed by the President. There are approximately 75,000 to 100,000 low-income units in the preservation pipeline that are eligible for prepayment but also remain eligible candidates for preservation funding. These units have been in the preservation processing pipeline for some time, often years, and include a mix between equity take-out deals for owners which are financed through long-term section 8 assistance, and the financing of purchases by tenant groups and nonprofits. This reform would replace the existing preservation program, with its long-term dependence on expensive project-based section 8 assistance, with a capital loan—or capital grant in the case of purchasers, that ensures low-income use at the minimum cost to the Federal Government.

S. 1494 also would provide clear statutory guidance to empower PHA's and assisted property owners with the tools to screen out and evict from public and assisted housing persons who illegally use drugs or whose abuse of alcohol is a risk to other tenants. I cannot emphasize enough the need to take responsible and meaningful action to preserve our low-income housing from criminal and destructive activities.

In addition, this legislation addresses the problem of mixed housing where the elderly and the disabled, including persons with drug and alcohol disabilities, are warehoused in the same public housing projects. This does not

work, and I am particularly troubled by some horror stories I have heard where elderly tenants have been harassed and frightened by young tenants with significant drug abuse problems. This provision would provide PHA's with clear authority to establish elderly- and disabled-only housing.

Moreover, S. 1494 would extend a number of other key housing programs which need affirmative legislation to operate: permit the renewal of expiring section 8 moderate rehabilitation contracts; permit CDBG homeownership assistance; extend the Home Equity Conversion Mortgage [HECM] Program; extend the FHA multifamily mortgage risk-sharing programs; and reauthorize the National Cities in School Program and the National Community Development initiative.

This bill also would establish a new loan guarantee program for rural multifamily housing which terminates after 1 year and is supported by a \$1-million credit subsidy under the Agriculture fiscal year 1996 appropriation bill, as enacted. This program is needed in rural areas where there is a critical need to develop affordable low-income rental housing.

Finally, the legislation would establish a new Habitat for Humanity initiative. Habitat for Humanity is one of the best models in this country for the development of affordable low-income housing through sweat equity. Since 1976, Habitat has constructed over 40,000 homes worldwide, in every U.S. State and in 45 other countries. As a consequence, some 250,000 people are living in decent, safe, and affordable housing.

Mr. President, this legislation is bipartisan, simple, straightforward and necessary. I look forward to this measure becoming law. ●

● Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I am pleased to rise in support of S. 1494, the Housing Opportunity Program Extension Act of 1996. Mr. President, this bill is important to the country and particularly important to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I thank the other Members of the Senate for their support of this legislation.

S. 1494 extends several housing authorizations that expired at the end of the last fiscal year. Among these are the Community Development Block Grant direct homeownership assistance provisions which have proven useful to the city of Boston and other communities in my home State, and the Federal Housing Administration's multifamily risk-sharing program in which the Massachusetts State Housing Finance Agency is an important participant. The bill also extends the Home Equity Conversion Mortgage Program, that provides elderly homeowners with the ability to use the equity in their home without having to sell the house. This bill also extends the section 515 rural rental housing program and two important set-asides within the program—a set-aside for nonprofit developers and a set-aside for underserved