

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

KASHMIR ELECTIONS: FREE AND FAIR?

HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1996

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, elections were recently held in Kashmir. It was the hope and expectation of many that these elections would clearly demonstrate the political preference of the Kashmiri people. The conduct of the elections themselves, however, made this determination impossible.

At least one independent Indian-based NGO, the All Indian Peoples Resistance Forum [AIPRF], found that people in Kashmir were not in favor of the elections. They viewed the elections as "a design to continue the 'annexation' of Kashmir." This perspective was verified, according to the AIPRF, by the lack of participation in the referendum. In several of the polling sites, the turnout was no higher than 6 percent by 4 p.m., a short time before the polls closed. Yet, the press reports in India indicated a final turnout of 60 percent. The AIPRF also found numerous instances of security forces pressuring people to vote when they were clearly reluctant to do so.

Certainly, we should make every effort to support real self-determination initiatives for the people of Kashmir. A referendum that is not free and fair is not real self-determination. I remain hopeful that the future of Kashmir can be determined through democratic and non-violent avenues.

REMARKS BY BOUTROS BOUTROSGHALI, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS: "CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFRICA: DIPLOMACY AND ACTION"

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1996

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, during the just concluded Congressional Black Caucus legislative weekend, we were honored by the presence of the Secretary General of the United Nations, the Honorable Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The Secretary General spoke to the International Affairs workshop on "Conflict Resolution in Africa: Diplomacy and Action" that was chaired by our esteemed colleague and chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, DONALD PAYNE of New Jersey. All who heard the Secretary General's speech were impressed anew with his commitment to the economic, social, and political development of the African continent. I believe that all of our colleagues in the House should be made aware of the Secretary General's speech and, therefore, I ask that it be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I am honoured to stand before Representatives of the American people. The United Na-

tions—so much the dream and creation of the United States—finds its home, here, in America.

I am particularly honoured to have been invited to participate in this forum by Congressman Donald Payne, the distinguished Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus and recognized foreign policy leader in Congress.

I thank Chairman Payne for holding this meeting on the peace-keeping mission of the United Nations to give us the opportunity to make more Americans aware of this vital work. I pay tribute to Chairman Payne and to Congresspersons Cynthia McKinney, Alcee Hastings, Albert Wynn and Victor Frazer, who serve with him on the House International Relations Committee.

I know that all of these members have valiantly continued the tradition of the Congressional Black Caucus as champions of U.S. engagement with the developing world, and particularly with the nations of Africa and the Caribbean.

The history of African-Americans is one of struggle, of pride, and of brilliant achievement. African-Americans are an inspiration to all who seek to live in liberty, in dignity, and in justice.

I want to acknowledge the rich contribution which African-Americans have made to the United Nations and to international diplomacy. Earlier this year, I participated in the dedication of the new Ralph Bunche Center for International Affairs at Howard University. This wonderful centre honours the memory and contribution of the man whose leadership launched the United Nations.

I recognize as well the continuation of the legacy of the African-American diplomats whose UN service followed that of Ralph Bunche, and want to pay particular tribute to the service of Ambassador Andrew Young as the US representative to the United Nations.

I had the privilege of working with Ambassador Young and his able successor, Ambassador Don McHenry, in the late 1970's, as they made the US an active participant in the movement for self-determination and majority rule in Southern Africa.

And, of course, I could not be here at this meeting without paying tribute to the leadership of the African-American community—especially Randall Robinson of TransAfrica—and the Congressional Black Caucus in securing legislation to impose sanctions upon the apartheid regime in South Africa in the mid-1980s.

Allow me, now some personal reminiscences.

In 1977, I was asked to become Minister of State of Egypt. As Minister, I chose—without hesitation—to focus on African affairs. In support of President Sadat's foreign policy I travelled throughout Africa and engaged with the problems of the Continent. Today, I can look back and say that I have visited virtually every African country. And I can look forward and predict that Africa will emerge as a great and vibrant force on the world scene.

My friends, I am African. And as an African, I am grateful to you for inviting me to share with you some of my thoughts on conflict in Africa.

My public comparison of the amount of international attention and response devoted to conflicts in Europe as compared to those

in Africa has made me unpopular with some. But I stand by the recognition of this reality. I further recognize the need for greater advocacy for Africa. African conflicts are not getting the attention they need from the international community.

You, as leaders of the African American community, must continue to be vocal on behalf of Africa. You must call upon the international community to engage actively in the resolution of African conflicts before they escalate and exact a terrible toll on human life. The security of African States, and of Africa as whole, needs to be understood as significant for world peace and security.

Policy makers in government, those in the private sector, and in the international news media, need to be challenged to address conflicts in Africa, and seek their solution.

How can we obtain the international attention needed to resolve African conflicts? Let me mention four ways: diplomacy, disarmament, regional cooperation, and peacebuilding. The UN is at work in all these areas. But more can be done, with your help.

First, we can act through diplomacy.

Diplomacy cannot work miracles—particularly when one party believes it will gain from using force. But in Africa, military action too often is taken before diplomatic options have been exhausted.

When diplomacy is an option, more and more African countries turn to the UN. As an impartial body, with a global mandate, and without the need to publicize its role, the UN can achieve a great deal. It can work behind the scenes, where compromise may more easily be reached. The successful UN involvements in South Africa and Sierra Leone are solid examples of effective diplomacy. So is the resolution of territorial disputes involving Libya and Chad, and most recently, Nigeria and Cameroon.

Remember, however, as we have been reminded in Angola and in Somalia, that no diplomacy—no matter how skilled—can be successful without one essential ingredient: the will of the parties to achieve peace. The same is true in peace-keeping, which is based upon consent of the parties. Peace-keeping is therefore not appropriate for war situations. I have long argued that in war situations, the international community should either send combat troops or no troops at all.

Experience has shown that the best way to do that is with a multinational force, or regional force, authorized by the UN Security Council. The enforcement action could then, if necessary, be followed by peace-keeping. This was the course of the international involvement in Haiti—so far successful, and in which the leadership of the Black Caucus has been crucial.

I call upon you, the members of the Congressional Black Caucus to continue your efforts to mediate the conflicts in Liberia, Rwanda and Burundi. We must persevere in our efforts to resolve those conflicts. For history has shown that hard work and perseverance can produce positive results in even the most difficult situations.

Second, we can reduce conflict in Africa by disarmament.

Disarmament is an essential confidence-building measure, both among States and within them. The signing in April of the African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty was a major step forward in the disarmament of weapons of mass destruction.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

Action is now needed to stem the uncontrolled flow of small conventional arms—which have, for too long, sustained and stimulated African conflict. What I have called micro-disarmament will be indispensable. Africa has been flooded with small arms. The very existence of light weapons in such vast numbers makes conflict in Africa inevitable. The United Nations has begun to track the transfer and stockpiling of light arms, and to set forth steps of achieving micro-disarmament.

A comprehensive international ban on land-mines is also urgently needed. Even years after conflict has subsided, land-mines continue to pose a severe obstacle to agriculture, transportation and infrastructure. Landmines in Africa are part of a destructive legacy of conflict that has impeded development. And this, in turn, has fuelled still more conflict. The United Nations has taken the lead in building international support for a ban on the production and transfer of all land-mines and land-mine components. This U.N. campaign deserves the widest support.

Third, we can help prevent—and resolve—the problems of conflict in Africa by reinforcing regional cooperation.

Cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU has been strengthened. The current situation in Burundi emphasizes the positive role which regional organizations can play in promoting regional stability and the peaceful resolution of local conflict.

The OAU must play an ever more active role in the resolution of African conflicts. It has recognized the need for leadership in this area through the creation of a Mechanism for the Prevention, Management and Resolution of Conflicts. I thank the Congressional Black Caucus for your support of the OAU over the years. And I thank you for your recent support for U.S. assistance to the building up of OAU's conflict resolution capacity.

In April, I welcomed the decision of the Government of Central Africa to designate armed units for possible United Nations or Organization of African Unity peace assignments.

This measure has far-reaching implications for conflict management prospects in Central Africa. Had such a measure been enacted two years ago, a massive human tragedy in Rwanda might have been averted.

I have been intensively involved in the U.N.'s work with the Monitoring Group [ECOMOG] of the Economic Community of West Africa States [ECOWAS] regarding the terrible conflict in Liberia.

As you know, I took the initiative to recommend to the Security Council the involvement of U.N. peace-keepers in Liberia, as a major assistance to the ECOWAS operation. I know that all of us have been frustrated by the lack of political will to reach a peaceful agreement on the part of the faction leaders. However, there now appears to be reasonable grounds for optimism.

We are now awaiting word from the Liberian Council of State as to what role the UN should play in the elections scheduled for the end of May 1997. We understand there is a consensus for the UN to conduct the elections. For my part, I will use my best efforts to give the Liberian people the opportunity to choose their own leaders in free and fair elections.

The fourth area for international action is peace-building, which combines many dimensions in a comprehensive effort. The purpose is to remove the causes of conflict, and to solidify the achievement of peace.

Democracy and respect for the rule of law help guard against division, conflict and war. In Africa, democracy is an essential component in the conflict resolution process. It is a strong support for efforts to achieve national reconciliation.

In Mozambique and in Angola, for example, democratization and improved civil governance have underpinned a new commitment to peace and an end to violent conflict.

Sierra Leone has just concluded a successful electoral process. But this process was not an easy undertaking. I personally intervened with former Chairman Strasser, and later on with his successor, Brigadier Bio, to impress upon them the necessity of abiding by their pledge to hold elections. At a critical stage in this controversy, I personally went to Freetown to make the case for free and fair elections.

Development is crucial. Without it, the competition of scarce resources will condemn Africa to continual conflict. The unbearable burden of debt must be lifted from African shoulders. And development assistance levels must rise so that Africans can be enabled to participate in the new global economy.

The Congressional Black Caucus leadership has created a new US trade and investment policy towards Africa, following the legacy of the late Secretary Ron Brown. Ron Brown opened the eyes of the US business community to opportunities for profitable investment in Africa. I salute the memory of Secretary Ron Brown. He gave his life on a peace-building mission. He was a true peace-builder.

The new U.N. Special Initiative for Africa—which I initiated in April 1996—offers a comprehensive, peace-building approach. It draws together all the elements of the U.N. system—including the Bretton Woods institutions—to mobilize support for Africa's priority development goals, in the most efficient and cost-effective manner possible.

I ask you of the black Caucus to help Americans learn about—and support—the U.N. Special Initiative for Africa.

Just yesterday, the High Level Panel of Personalities on African Development—a group of internationally recognized experts on African development—met in New York to provide me with counsel on the implementation of the Special Initiative for Africa. I am pleased to have on this Panel the participation of the Honourable Andrew Young.

If the international community gives Africa the support she deserves, it can help to tip the balance toward a brighter future for all of Africa, and for all the world.

Thank you.

TRIBUTE TO CHAIRMAN WALKER AND CLINGER

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 30, 1996

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to take this opportunity to recognize the exceptional contributions of two native sons of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, ROBERT S. WALKER and WILLIAM F. CLINGER, Jr. We thank them for their decades of service to their congressional districts, to the commonwealth and to our Nation as they plan to retire from the House of Representatives at the end of their Congress.

A am also pleased to share with you remarks by Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge honoring Bob Walker and Bill Clinger.

REMARKS BY GOVERNOR TOM RIDGE, HONORING THE RETIREMENT OF THE HONORABLE BOB WALKER

It is a pleasure for me to join my colleagues in recognizing and honoring the good

work of Bob Walker upon his retirement after 20 years of service in the House of Representatives. Let me share with my colleagues a brief story that speaks to Bob's legacy.

Several years ago, as a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, I traveled to Florida for a hearing with our good friend, Congressman Mike Bilirakis. An older woman, working at the hotel, discovered I was a Member of Congress, member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee and a veteran myself. She asked me to call her husband who was a disabled veteran and confined to their home.

After some polite conversation and pleasantries, the man inquired again about my name. I reminded him that it was Tom Ridge of Pennsylvania. He admitted that he watched Congress on C-SPAN often and that he was not familiar with me. But his voice got stronger and a little more excited when he asked if I knew Congressman Bob Walker who he thought was doing a wonderful job.

This man observed on television what we learned to appreciate in this Chamber. For years the minority relied upon Bob's perseverance, tenacity and focus to protect the rights of his Republican colleagues and challenge the ideals of his Democratic counterparts. For years he served his party, this institution and the country by challenging procedure and process to ensure that the minority voice and opinion would be heard. We have all witnessed, hundreds of times, Bob engaged in a colloquy with members on the other side demanding explanations of ruling from the Chair, justification for limiting debate, and explanations for more money and new programs. We can all give witness to the simple, but important, fact that he never did so in a personally offensive, malicious or mean-spirited manner.

There has always been and must always be concern in this country about protecting the rights of minorities, whatever that consistency might be. No one during my twelve years in the House of Representatives did a better job of protecting the rights of the political minority to disagree without being personally disagreeable than Bob. In the People's House, no one better understood or worked harder to ensure that all sides of the issue were aired before final disposition than Bob Walker. I thank him for his extraordinary service to the House of Representatives and to his country.

REMARKS BY GOVERNOR TOM RIDGE, HONORING THE RETIREMENT OF THE HONORABLE BILL CLINGER

It is a personal pleasure for me to join Bill Clinger's colleagues to acknowledge his extraordinary service as a Member of the House of Representatives for the past 18 years. We honor him for his proud and substantive legacy of legislative work and accomplishments. This achievement is well documented throughout the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and committee reports. These chronicles, however, do not necessarily reflect those personal qualities that made his service truly a model for those who succeed him.

I join my colleagues this evening not to review what Bill Clinger has done as a Member of Congress, but how he has done it. For as Henry David Thoreau once wrote, "I know of no more encouraging fact than the unquestionable ability of man to elevate his life by a conscience endeavor." Bill's contributions were not only matters of public policy, but also of attitude and approach. He will always be remembered and respected for the great civility of style and tone he brought to cordial discourse throughout his entire career. His entire public life speaks to the ability to advocate strong beliefs with conviction, compassion and civility.