

## 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.

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