

MARKUP ON H. CON. RES. 20 AND H. CON.
RES. 46

MARKUP
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

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MARKUP ON H. CON. RES. 20 AND H. CON. RES. 46

Thursday, October 14, 1999

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 1:30 p.m., in room 2200, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Edward R. Royce (Chairman of the Subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. ROYCE. [presiding] The Subcommittee on Africa will now come to order to mark up two resolutions.

We will now consider House Concurrent Resolution 20, a resolution concerning economic humanitarian and other assistance to Somalia. The Chair lays the resolution before the Committee. The clerk will report the title of the resolution.

The CLERK. "H. Con. Res. 20, concerning economic humanitarian——"

Mr. ROYCE. Without objection, the clerk will read the preamble and operative language of the resolution for amendment.

The CLERK. "Whereas, in the area of the northern part of Somalia——"

Mr. ROYCE. Without objection, the resolution is considered as having been read and is open to amendment at any point.

[The information referred to appears in the appendix.]

Mr. ROYCE. Now, this resolution was introduced on February 2 and referred by Chairman Gilman to this Subcommittee. It draws much needed attention to Somalia, which has ceased to exist as a nation. As a result of fighting between factions led by self-serving war lords, there is no nation state left in Somalia today.

This resolution recognizes that the northern part of Somalia has achieved a significant level of economic and social stability. This should be commended. The resolution, however, should not be construed as calling for diplomatic recognition of Somalia-land. In fact, the resolution calls for all Somali parties to work with the international community to achieve, quote, "a permanent end to the civil strife there in the adoption of a permanent governmental structure most conducive to the well-being and basic human rights of all Somali people."

I would like to commend Mr. Campbell for authoring and Mr. Payne, the Ranking Member, for co-sponsoring the resolution.

Do any Members seek recognition to discuss the resolution?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Campbell of California.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, thank you for your kind words. You have accurately and forcefully described the purpose of the legislation. I am proud that Congressman Payne agreed to be the original co-sponsor. I would emphasize that this is not all that some want. It is not a recognition of a new country. I recognize under our Constitution that the President to the United States has the authority to recognize countries.

What it is, is a request that for the sake of the humanitarian goals of assistance, that we should not hold that assistance back from people capable of using it because conditions over which they have no control have not yet ripened.

With that, and in view of the pending vote on the floor, Mr. Chairman, I yield back. Thank you for scheduling this hearing.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Campbell.

Are there any other Members seeking recognition?

If not, the gentleman from California, Mr. Campbell, is recognized to offer a motion.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Subcommittee report H. Con. Res 20, as amended—I believe it has been amended—but let me say, if amended—if that is appropriate to say—that I move this Subcommittee report H. Con. Res 20 favorably to the Full Committee.

Mr. ROYCE. Without objection, the motion is agreed to.

Let us call the roll if we can.

The question is on the motion of the gentleman from California.

All those in favor of the motion say aye.

All those opposed say no.

The ayes have it. That motion is agreed to.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Excuse me. Do you think we should go to the second resolution now or do you want to wait?

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, let us try to finish.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Let us do it.

Mr. ROYCE. OK. We will now consider House Concurrent Resolution 46, urging the end of the war between Eritrean and Ethiopia and calling on the United Nations Human Rights Commission and other human rights organizations to investigate human rights abuses in connection with the Eritrean and Ethiopian conflict concerning economic, humanitarian, and other assistance.

The Chair lays the resolution before the Committee. The clerk will report the title of the resolution.

The CLERK. "H. Con. Res. 46, urging an end to the war between Eritrean and Ethiopia and calling on the United Nations Human Rights Commission and other human rights organizations to investigate human rights abuses in connection with the Eritrean and Ethiopian conflict."

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, and, without objection, the clerk will read the preamble and operative language.

The CLERK. "Whereas, peace and stability——"

Mr. ROYCE. Without objection, the resolution is considered as having been read and is open to amendment at any point.

Mr. ROYCE. Just to brief, this resolution was introduced on March 9 and referred to this Subcommittee. It urges an end to the 17-month long war between Eritrean and Ethiopia that has re-

sulted in the loss of more than 70,000 to date and calls for the investigation of human rights abuses in connection with the conflict.

Hopefully, this resolution will help to bring home to both sides of the conflict that Congress has lost patience with the intransigence that keeps a war going that neither side can afford. It recognizes the OAU framework, which both sides claim to accept, and provides an equitable basis to end the devastating conflict. I would like to commend the author, Mr. Campbell for this resolution.

Do any Members seek recognition?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Campbell.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am honored to have my good friend, Congressman Payne, as original co-sponsor and my good friend, Congressman Chabot. I think, however, that it is a point of view what we all share.

Personal note: My heart is broken over this fight. I have said so publicly. My wife and I spent Thanksgiving in Eritrea and then in Ethiopia 2 years ago. We love the people of both countries. They should not be at war.

Not only are they at war, Mr. Chairman, but they are engaging in human rights abuses of the most serious kind, which have come to light during the war. It is only because of a desire of diplomacy that I do not like going into much more pointed accusations, which I would perhaps go into; in fact, I might even at some point very soon.

Mr. ROYCE. Perhaps on the floor.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I would say we are tempted to. This war should not happen, and the people should not be killing each other in the manner that they are. There are human rights abuses in connection with deportation, in connection with the way the war is conducted, in connection with the manner in which lives are being lost.

Mr. Chairman, because you care so deeply, how hard it is to get colleagues' attention to Africa. When something like this happens, the natural reaction is "Well, there they go again."

If Americans had taken this attitude about World War I, they would have said, "Well, there go those Europeans fighting each other again." Or the second world war, as well, and yet when people say that about Africa, it seems to pass without challenge. So, that is the harm that has come from this war.

At risk of making a diplomatic breech, I shall be silent and simply say this one matters to me immensely. I am grateful that you scheduled it for markup, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. ROYCE. We thank you, Mr. Campbell.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Hastings.

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to echo the remarks of my distinguished colleague from California, but, more importantly, in light of the fact that he is not here to say for the record what I know all of the Members of this Committee know and that is that Donald Payne has spent an extraordinary amount of time, and we all appreciate very much his not only being a co-sponsor here but his continuing urging of parties to continue to engage in actions that will decrease tensions and bring about a quick

and peaceful resolution of this conflict. I join in that, and the statement that I had for the record, Mr. Chairman, I would ask permission to revise and extend and include that statement.

Mr. ROYCE. We will do that, Mr. Hastings.

Mr. Chabot.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you, and I will be very brief. I would like to join my colleagues. I am an original co-sponsor of this resolution, and we had an opportunity to meet with representatives of the Eritreans and the Ethiopians on numerous occasions, and, as Mr. Campbell said, one just can't help but just shake their head about this. All wars are tragic. This is a war that is particularly tragic and really pointless, and these parties should not be fighting. One can never afford a war, so they—and they certainly can't afford this one—and I hope that this does some good, but it gets very frustrating.

Yield back.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you. There being no other further debate on this issue, I will recognize the gentleman from California for a motion.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, I move the Subcommittee report H. Con. Res. 46 favorably to the Full Committee.

Mr. ROYCE. Without objection, the motion is agreed to.

The question is on the motion, and all those in favor say aye.

Opposed say no.

The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to.

This markup session is adjourned, and we are adjourned until after the vote at which point we will come back for our hearing on the United States South Africa Relations: Present and Future.

So we will return in 15 minutes.

[Whereupon, at 1:46 p.m., the Subcommittee recessed, and proceeded to other business at 2 p.m.]

A P P E N D I X

OCTOBER 14, 1999

106TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. CON. RES. 46

Urging an end of the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia and calling on the United Nations Human Rights Commission and other human rights organizations to investigate human rights abuses in connection with the Eritrean and Ethiopian conflict.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 9, 1999

Mr. CAMPBELL (for himself, Mr. PAYNE, and Mr. CHABOT) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Urging an end of the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia and calling on the United Nations Human Rights Commission and other human rights organizations to investigate human rights abuses in connection with the Eritrean and Ethiopian conflict.

Whereas peace and stability existed between Eritrea and Ethiopia following the 1991 ouster of the Mengistu dictatorship and the independence of Eritrea in 1993;

Whereas on May 6, 1998, a military confrontation erupted between Eritrea and Ethiopia, resulting in the deaths of thousands of civilians and the reported forced detention or deportation of over 60,000 people;

Whereas hundreds of thousands of Eritreans and Ethiopians have been displaced from their homes as a result of this conflict;

Whereas the governments of the United States and Rwanda, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as well as countries in the region, immediately put forth proposals for resolving the conflict;

Whereas on September 9, 1998, Congress passed H. Con. Res. 292 commending efforts by the United States facilitation team to resolve the crisis, including its success in brokering a moratorium on air raids, and calling on Eritrea and Ethiopia to end the conflict peacefully before it escalated into a full-scale war;

Whereas on December 17, 1998, the Central Organ Summit of the OAU approved a Framework Agreement in furtherance of its efforts to mediate the dispute between the 2 parties and provide an avenue for peace;

Whereas on January 29, 1999, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1226 expressing its strong support for the OAU Framework Agreement, and calling on both parties to work for a reduction in tensions by adopting policies leading to the restoration of confidence between the governments and peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia, including urgent measures to improve the humanitarian situation and respect for human rights;

Whereas the Government of the United States, the OAU, and countries in the region have been engaged in an intensive effort to identify a peaceful solution to the conflict;

Whereas on February 6, 1999, while sustained diplomatic efforts by the international community were ongoing, the

moratorium on air strikes was violated and war once again erupted between Eritrea and Ethiopia;

Whereas on February 10, 1999, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1227 condemning the use of force by Eritrea and Ethiopia, stressing that the OAU Framework Agreement remains a viable and sound basis for peaceful resolution of the conflict, and calling once again on both countries to ensure the safety of the civilian population and respect for human rights and international humanitarian law;

Whereas the governments of Eritrea and Ethiopia have enjoyed warm relations with the United States and have stated their commitment to a peaceful resolution of the conflict based on the OAU Framework Agreement; and

Whereas the peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia have suffered for decades due to war and manmade famines and do not deserve once again to suffer due to armed conflict, which could destabilize the entire subregion of Africa: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring)*, That the Congress—

3 (1) deplores the escalation of the conflict be-
4 tween Eritrea and Ethiopia which has resulted in
5 the massive and senseless loss of life, as well as sub-
6 stantial economic hardship to the peoples of Eritrea
7 and Ethiopia;

8 (2) strongly urges both Eritrea and Ethiopia
9 immediately to bring an end to the violence between
10 the 2 countries;

1 (3) commends the efforts of the Organization of
2 African Unity (OAU) and former United States
3 National Security Adviser Anthony Lake to mediate
4 peace between Eritrea and Ethiopia;

5 (4) strongly affirms United States support for
6 the OAU Framework Agreement; and

7 (5) calls on the United Nations Human Rights
8 Commission and all human rights organizations to
9 investigate human rights abuses in connection with
10 the forced detentions, deportations, and displace-
11 ments of populations caused by this conflict.

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106TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. CON. RES. 20

Concerning economic, humanitarian, and other assistance to the northern
part of Somalia.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 2, 1999

Mr. CAMPBELL (for himself and Mr. PAYNE) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Concerning economic, humanitarian, and other assistance to
the northern part of Somalia.

Whereas in the area in the northern part of Somalia, referred to as Somaliland by the elected representatives of the people living there, a significant level of economic and social stability has been achieved, promising likely success for international and United States sponsored economic development and humanitarian programs;

Whereas economic development, humanitarian, and other forms of assistance to the people of such area from international organizations, the United States, and other foreign nations, has been diminished, delayed, or canceled due to questions about the assertion of sovereignty by those people as a nation separate from Somalia;

Whereas provision of economic development and humanitarian assistance to the people of such area does not constitute recognition of any particular claim to sovereignty by any de facto government of the region; and

Whereas the fundamental purpose of economic development, humanitarian, and other aid is to relieve human suffering: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring), That the Congress—*

3 (1) urges all international organizations, foreign
4 countries, and agencies of the United States Govern-
5 ment engaged in economic development, humani-
6 tarian, and other forms of bilateral or multilateral
7 assistance to evaluate the ability of such assistance
8 to achieve the amelioration of human suffering in
9 each region of Somalia, including the northern part
10 of Somalia referred to as Somaliland;

11 (2) urges the President not to delay, diminish,
12 or cancel the amounts and kinds of assistance other-
13 wise appropriate to the people of certain regions in
14 Somalia because conditions may not be propitious
15 for such assistance in other regions of Somalia;

16 (3) urges the President not to delay, diminish,
17 or cancel the amounts and kinds of such assistance
18 directed toward any region in Somalia waiting for a
19 permanent resolution of the efforts now underway to
20 forge a new government for Somalia;

1 (4) calls upon all Somali parties to continue to
2 work toward a permanent end to the civil strife
3 there and the adoption of a permanent governmental
4 structure most conducive to the well-being and basic
5 human rights of all Somali people; and

6 (5) calls on the President to—

7 (A) work with the international community
8 to help bring an end to the suffering of the So-
9 mali people and work toward a negotiated set-
10 tlement of the Somali conflict;

11 (B) increase the levels of humanitarian as-
12 sistance provided to Somalia through local and
13 international groups;

14 (C) provide funding for demobilization and
15 demining efforts in Somalia;

16 (D) provide assistance in the health and
17 education sectors of Somalia; and

18 (E) work with other donor groups to assist
19 the people of Somalia in reconstruction and de-
20 velopment.

○

ALCEE L. HASTINGS
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CONGRESSMAN ALCEE L. HASTINGS
STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF H.CON. RES. 46
OCTOBER 14, 1999

TO END THE WAR IN ERITREA AND ETHIOPIA

THANK YOU MR. CHAIRMAN. I SUPPORT THIS RESOLUTION BEING OFFERED IN RESPONSE TO THE SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA. IT NOT ONLY CALLS ON BOTH FACTIONS TO BRING AN END TO THE WAR, BUT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS TO INVESTIGATE ABUSES IN CONNECTION TO THIS CONFLICT. A CONFLICT THAT HAS ALREADY DESTROYED TENS OF THOUSANDS OF HUMAN LIVES.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I CANNOT EXPRESS ENOUGH THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS MEASURE. IT IS RATHER INCONCEIVABLE THAT TWO ENTITIES WHICH WERE SUCCESSFUL IN OUSTING THE MENGISTU DICTATORSHIP AND RESTORING PEACE IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES WOULD ENGAGE IN WAR. THIS CONFLICT NOT ONLY THREATENS TO DESTROY REGIONAL STABILITY, IT ALSO THREATENS TO SUBJECT THE CITIZENS OF THESE NATION STATES TO PRE-REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I BELIEVE THAT THROUGH AN AMICABLE AGREEMENT, THESE FACTIONS CAN BRING AN END TO THIS CONFLICT AND RESTORE A RELATIONSHIP THAT HAS PROSPERED FOR YEARS. SO, TODAY, I CALL ON THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS TO INVESTIGATE ALL HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. BUT, MORE IMPORTANTLY, I CONTINUE TO URGE BOTH PARTIES TO CONTINUE TO ENGAGE IN ALL ACTIONS TO DECREASE TENSIONS AND BRING ABOUT A QUICK AND PEACEFUL RESOLUTION TO THIS CONFLICT.

I URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO SUPPORT THIS RESOLUTION