

Africa. Despite the absence of both Ratsiraka and Ravalomanana, the political situation in Madagascar remains unresolved. Efforts at resolution have floundered as the international community, once united in bringing Rajoelina and the former presidents together, has splintered, with different countries considering their own national and regional interests. Resolving the crisis is made more difficult as the efforts of mediators are uncoordinated and therefore weakened.<sup>5</sup>

The response in Togo differed markedly. After long-serving Gnassingbé Eyadéma died in 2005, the parliament swore in his son, Faure Gnassingbé, contravening the constitution. ECOWAS and the International Organization of the Francophonie suspended Togo. After an enormous amount of international pressure and mediation, Gnassingbé stepped aside to allow elections, as required by the constitution. In this case, the concerted pressure of the international and regional communities provided space for the resolution of the crisis.

The Ivorian situation must not slip from international attention. The financial and travel sanctions have begun to constrain Gbagbo and his administration, but he remains in place. Only resolute diplomatic pressure and adherence to sanctions will eventually dislodge Gbagbo and avert conflict. Yet the AU's reversal on military intervention, the refusal by Ghana and South Africa to take a stance for one candidate or the other, and Uganda's Yoweri Museveni's statement that the votes should be investigated show a divided region. Furthermore, other African countries are receiving Gbagbo's representatives, in a break with the initial practice of recognizing only Ouattara's representatives; they were recently in Kenya to explain their reasons for rejecting Ouattara's victory claims. These developments threaten a swift resolution to this stalemate and portend a long period of instability.

#### THE ROLE OF IVORIAN CIVIL SOCIETY IN REDUCING TENSION

Political and geographic divisions make it difficult for Ivorian civil society to act as a joint force for peace. Moderate voices, willing to bridge regional and political divides, are not being heard.<sup>6</sup> It is important to note that Ouattara did not obtain a landslide victory. A substantial number of voters, nearly 46 percent, supported Gbagbo. Their reasons for supporting Gbagbo reflect the existing regional, ethnic, and religious divisions in Côte d'Ivoire. Whether Gbagbo or Ouattara emerges as winner from the current stalemate, the next president will face a sharply divided electorate that challenges his rule. Thus, this election, which was meant to repair the divisions between the north and the south, will have failed to do so. At the very least, a key ingredient for avoiding war in Côte d'Ivoire is to reconcile these divided communities. Civil society's moderate voices can play a critical role in starting the reconciliation process.<sup>7</sup> Moderates can also make joint statements and appearances and participate in the current mediation process between Gbagbo and Ouattara. The international community should help by emphasizing the importance of moderates and building their capacity and infrastructure to succeed.

#### PREVENTING VIOLENCE IN ELECTORAL DISPUTES

Côte d'Ivoire's crisis, as well as others, could have been avoided if the militias had demobilized and if clear rules for the security services had existed, methods for verifying elections were clear and disputes could have been credibly resolved, and Africa's institutions had implementable tools for discouraging electoral violence.

#### THE ROLE OF THE SECURITY FORCES

In many countries, security services remain politicized and are used to crush demonstrations and intimidate the opposition. This was clearly seen in the postelection demonstrations in Ethiopia in 2005, where approximately 30,000 opposition members were arrested.<sup>8</sup> In Côte d'Ivoire as many as 30 demonstrators died at the hands of state security services during a public demonstration.<sup>9</sup> Reform and depoliticization of the security forces would reduce the chances of violence.

#### DISARMAMENT AND DEMOBILIZATION OF MILITIAS

Repeated attempts to disarm the militia ahead of the elections in Côte d'Ivoire failed. The program was poorly funded, and there were identifiable security, financial, and political benefits for the militia to remain intact. Removing those incentives would have spurred demobilization. Now, with Ouattara and Gbagbo in control of arms, the prospect of violence increases dramatically should diplomacy fail. A similar outcome occurred in the Republic of Congo after the 1993 parliamentary elections when the three political party leaders each claimed victory while still in charge of their respective militias. The clashes in the ensuing several months left 2,000 dead.<sup>10</sup> Elections should not proceed while candidates remain in control of militias.

#### CLEAR, INDEPENDENT VERIFICATION OF RESULTS

The UN Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (ONUCI) was charged with certifying the electoral process. It was to "ensure that all stages of the electoral process are carried out in accordance with recognized standards . . . [and] not allow the results to be contested in a non-democratic way or to be compromised."<sup>11</sup> This language left room for contestation, which is exactly what happened, when the electoral commission, which is charged with announcing the provisional results, and the Constitutional Council, which is charged with verifying the electoral commission's results, disagreed. ONUCI's role as certifier does not explicitly state that its judgment is final. This ambiguity has been exploited in the Ivorian crisis. Similarly, in Kenya the procedures in place could not determine which candidate had won or whether the electoral process had been fair, fueling the tension. Strengthening and clarifying the processes and institutions that verify an election will greatly reduce the chances and claims of fraud.

#### FAIR HEARINGS FOR GRIEVANCES

Credible means of assessing an election should be buttressed by independent institutions for addressing grievances. Côte d'Ivoire's politically biased institutions do not foster this confidence. In Kenya's 2007 elections and Togo's 2010 elections, opposition leaders refused to use existing institutions, which they deemed biased, to resolve their grievances, opting instead for street protests. Without independent institutions, public protests will increase the chances of violence, especially when security forces are politicized.

#### SANCTIONS FOR VIOLENCE IN ELECTORAL DISPUTES

There is currently no continental stance or policy on discouraging electoral violence. Politicians in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Togo, and Zanzibar were all rewarded with power-sharing agreements when they contested elections violently. Elsewhere, violent perpetrators were not prosecuted when the country returned to political normalcy. This sends a message that violence is costless and sometimes pays. Africa's institutions must de-

velop clear and implementable sanctions against politicians who use violence to secure elections.

#### CONCLUSION

Other, country-specific ways to increase an election's credibility and transparency certainly exist. However, basic measures such as depoliticizing the security services, disarming militias, clearly and independently verifying elections, establishing independent institutions for redressing grievances, and discouraging the use of violence in elections can help prevent violent responses to electoral results. Côte d'Ivoire had none of these measures in place. Now, with the threat of violence looming, the international and regional communities must remain unified in their approach and push for the inclusion of moderate civil society voices to ensure the resolution of the crisis.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> West Africa Network for Peacebuilding—Côte d'Ivoire, "Troisième Rapport de l'Observatoire de la Vie Politique et des Médias en Période Electorale" (Abidjan: WANEP—Côte d'Ivoire, January 8, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> This threat was reversed at the African Union's summit on January 28–31, 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Dakar Agreement, [http://www.afrol.com/Countries/Madagascar/documents/accord\\_dakar.htm](http://www.afrol.com/Countries/Madagascar/documents/accord_dakar.htm).

<sup>4</sup> Ofeibea Quist-Arcton, "Africa: OAU Stands Aloof on Madagascar, Despite Departure of Ratsiraka," *Allafrica.com*, July 5, 2002, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200207050825.html>.

<sup>5</sup> International Crisis Group, "Madagascar: Le Crise a un Tournant Critique?," *Africa Report* 166, November 18, 2010, 4–6.

<sup>6</sup> "Côte d'Ivoire: Voices of Reason Sidelined in the Crisis," *IRINNews.org*, January 26, 2011, <http://www.irinnews.org/report.spx?ReportID=91733>.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Lahra Smith, "Political Violence and Uncertainty in Ethiopia," U.S. Institute of Peace Special Report no. 192 (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, August 2007), 7.

<sup>9</sup> Amnesty International, "Côte d'Ivoire: Injured Protestors Denied Medical Care," *Allafrica.com*, December 20, 2010, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201012200899.html>.

<sup>10</sup> U.S. Department of State, "Congo Human Rights Practices, 1994" (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, February 1995), sect. 1(a), [http://dosfan.lib.unc.edu/erc/democracy/1994\\_hrp\\_report/94hrp\\_report\\_africa/Congo.html](http://dosfan.lib.unc.edu/erc/democracy/1994_hrp_report/94hrp_report_africa/Congo.html).

<sup>11</sup> UN Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (ONUCI), "The Certification of Elections in Côte d'Ivoire," Resolution 1765, adopted by the UN Security Council on July 16, 2007, <http://www.onuci.org/pdf/faqcertificationen.pdf>.

## FULL-YEAR CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2011

### SPEECH OF

### HON. RON PAUL

### OF TEXAS

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 15, 2011*

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 1) making appropriations for the Department of Defense and the other departments and agencies of the Government for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2011, and for other purposes:

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chair, both supporters and opponents of H.R. 1 claim that is a serious attempt to reduce federal spending, however, an

examination of the details of the bill call that claim into question. For one thing, the oft-cited assertion that H.R. 1 reduces spending by \$99 billion is misleading as the \$99 billion figure represents the amount that H.R. 1 reduces spending from the President's proposed Fiscal Year 2011 budget, not reductions in actual spending. Trying to claim credit for a reduction in spending based on cuts in proposed spending is like claiming someone is following a diet because he had 5 pieces of pizza when he intended to have 10 pieces.

In fact, H.R. 1 reduces federal spending by \$66 billion. This may seem like a lot to the average American but in the context of an overwhelming trillion-dollar budget and a national debt that could exceed 100 percent of GNP in September, this cut is barely even a drop in the bucket.

One reason that H.R. 1 does not cut spending enough is that too many fiscal conservatives continue to embrace the fallacy that we can balance the budget without reducing spending on militarism. Until Congress realizes the folly of spending trillions in a futile attempt to impose democracy on the world we will never be able to seriously reduce spending.

Congress must not only reject the warfare state, it must also reject the welfare state. H.R. 1 is more aggressive in ending domestic spending than foreign spending, and does zero out some objectionable federal programs such as AmeriCorps. However, H.R. 1 leaves most of the current functions of the federal government undisturbed. This bill thus continues the delusion that we can have a fiscally responsible and efficient welfare state.

Mr. Chair, the failure to even attempt to address the serious threat the welfare-warfare state poses to American liberty and prosperity is the main reason why supporters of limited government and individual liberty should ultimately find H.R. 1 unsatisfactory. Only a rejection of the view that Congress can run the economy, run our lives, and run the world will allow us to make the spending reductions necessary to avert a serious financial crisis. This does not mean we should not prioritize and discuss how to gradually transition away from the welfare state in a manner that does not harm those currently relying on these programs. However, we must go beyond balancing the budget to transitioning back to a free society, and that means eventually placing responsibility for social welfare back in the hands of individuals and private institutions. Despite the overheated rhetoric heard during the debate, H.R. 1 is a diversion from the difficult task of restoring constitutional government and a free economy and society.

CONGRATULATIONS GORDY  
FAMILY

HON. JOE WILSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 18, 2011*

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to congratulate my good friend, Thomas Gordy and his wife, Theresa on the birth of their daughter, Trenton Talmadge Gordy. Trenton was born on Tuesday, February 15, 2011, in Manassas, Virginia. She is welcomed home by her sister, Sarah Gordy.

Trenton Talmadge Gordy is seven pounds and one ounce of pride and joy to her loving grandparents, Timmy and Kay Gordy of Monroe, Louisiana, Toni and Michael LeBlanc of Shreveport, Louisiana, and Canoy and Lynn Mayo of West Monroe, Louisiana.

I am so excited for this new blessing to the Gordy family and wish them all the best.

CONGRATULATING THE WINNERS  
OF THE MEDAL OF FREEDOM

HON. CHRIS VAN HOLLEN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 18, 2011*

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to honor this week's recipients of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, our nation's highest civilian honor. All of the honorees have led extraordinary lives and made enormous contributions in their fields. They come from a range of backgrounds—arts, sports, public service—and have enriched our nation and improved our world.

I particularly want to recognize my friend, Congressman JOHN LEWIS, who received this honor. JOHN has given a lifetime of service to this nation, from his leadership in the Civil Rights Movement to his 26 years as the "Conscience of the Congress." A few years ago, I had the privilege to join JOHN on a trip to Alabama, where we retraced the steps of the courageous civil rights activists who changed the face of America. JOHN's passion has never wavered and he remains a voice for the voiceless—strongly advocating for opportunity for all Americans. I congratulate him on this much-deserved honor and look forward to working with him for many years to come.

OPPOSITION TO AMENDMENT NO.  
262

HON. DONALD M. PAYNE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 18, 2011*

Mr. PAYNE. I rise today in opposition to Amendment No. 262, introduced by our colleague Representative LATA of Ohio, should it be offered during floor consideration of H.R. 1. Amendment No. 262 would eliminate all funding for international family planning programs in the proposed FY 2011 Continuing Resolution. This devastating cut would have severe immediate and long term impacts on women and their families in the world's poorest countries.

Contrary to the rhetoric we are hearing from some of our colleagues, U.S. international family planning assistance in fact helps to reduce unintended pregnancies and abortions in the developing world. According to Population Action International, cutting this funding would result in: 7.8 million more unintended pregnancies; 3.7 million more abortions; 87,000 additional newborn deaths; and 12,000 additional maternal deaths.

Moreover, this amendment would turn back the clock on U.S. investments in the global fight against HIV/AIDS. The integration of family planning and HIV/AIDS services is a vital and cost-effective way to prevent HIV infec-

tion, including through mother-to-child transmission. At the same cost, family planning services can avert nearly 30 percent more HIV-positive births than use of the nevirapine prophylaxis by HIV-positive pregnant women. A recent study found that, although PEPFAR has been associated with a reduction in HIV-related deaths, trends of increasing adult prevalence rates continue unabated. However, preventing unintended pregnancies, which is an international pillar of preventing mother to child transmission (PMTCT) programming, continues to receive insufficient attention in AIDS programs. The Guttmacher Institute noted in their report *Hiding in Plain Sight: The Role of Contraception in Preventing HIV* that helping HIV-positive women avoid unwanted pregnancies not only lowers the rate of new infections, but does so at a relatively low cost.

I hope that you will join me in opposing this amendment, should it be offered.

[From the Guttmacher Policy Review,  
Winter 2008]

HIDING IN PLAIN SIGHT: THE ROLE OF  
CONTRACEPTION IN PREVENTING HIV  
(By Susan A. Cohen)

As Congress embarks on the process of reauthorizing the U.S. program to fight HIV and AIDS, and as other global donors recalibrate levels and allocations of funding for HIV/AIDS programs, prevention seems to be making a comeback. At the inception of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) five years ago, both the funding and the programmatic emphasis tilted heavily toward treatment. Yet, the rate of new HIV infection continues to outpace the world's ability to deliver antiretroviral therapy, despite recent advances in access to such medications. A public health consensus is emerging, therefore, in favor of realigning the balance between treatment and prevention efforts.

Refocusing the priority on prevention is long overdue, as is an acknowledgment, especially within Congress, that HIV prevention cannot be accomplished with a disproportionate emphasis on abstinence. Indeed, preventing the sexual transmission of HIV requires going beyond the necessary but hardly sufficient strategy of ABC: abstain, be faithful, use condoms. It also requires increasing AIDS awareness through counseling and testing programs, investing in programs promoting the empowerment of women and girls, and increasing access to male circumcision. Other critical prevention interventions include ensuring a clean blood supply and clean medical injections, needle exchange programs for intravenous drug users and preventing the "vertical" transmission of HIV from a pregnant woman to her newborn infant.

Largely overlooked as an HIV prevention strategy, however, is the simple and low-cost act of helping HIV-positive women who do not want to have a child to avoid an unintended pregnancy through increased access to contraceptive services. Ward Cates, president for research of Family Health International (FHI), has dubbed contraception the "best-kept secret in HIV prevention," and certainly, the significant contribution of unintended pregnancy prevention toward reducing the perinatal transmission of HIV has gone virtually unrecognized. Yet, a revitalized and more robust effort focused on HIV prevention cannot afford not to fully capitalize on the critical role of contraceptive services in fighting AIDS.

THE NEED FOR PROGRESS ON PREVENTION

Women of reproductive age comprise more than half of the 33 million people currently living with HIV around the world. The vast