

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

DEPLOYMENT OF TROOPS TO BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

HON. NEWT GINGRICH

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1995

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, as we consider the President's decision to deploy United States military forces to Bosnia and Herzegovina, I hope that my colleagues take a moment to read the following editorials. Now is the time to ask some very hard questions about the President's policy, and I believe that these points of view are instructive in reminding us of the difficulty of this issue.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 3, 1995]

THINK HAITI AND BE REALISTIC ON BOSNIA

(By Thomas L. Friedman)

WASHINGTON.—Just a couple of months ago when you asked Administration officials exactly how the Bosnia peacekeeping operation would unfold, they would answer: "Think Haiti"—we go in big, stabilize the situation on the ground, bring in civilian reconstruction teams, hold elections and we're out of there in a year.

Well think again, Haiti is no longer being touted as the model for Bosnia, because the U.S.-led effort to restore democracy in Haiti is deteriorating. As we go into Bosnia we should still "Think Haiti"—but as a cautionary tale about the limits of American power to remake a country. The U.S. military accomplished its objectives in Haiti—busting the old regime and restoring basic security. But the political, economic and police objectives, which accompanied that military mission, are all in jeopardy today.

American officials were convinced when they restored Haiti's President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, to power that he really had abandoned his populist, radical impulses. But several weeks ago he suggested that he would not give up power after elections for a new President on Dec. 17. Then he told U.S. officials he would. Then he told his followers: If you want three more years I will not turn my back on you." Thursday, he said he really, really will step down. In the meantime, though, the other candidates have been afraid to campaign, because it seemed Mr. Aristide might stay on, and the main opposition parties were already boycotting because of complaints that the election process is not impartial.

U.S. officials always said in Haiti that prosperity would be the ultimate peacekeeper. But foreign investors have been reluctant to come in and President Aristide has hesitated to institute the privatization reforms demanded by the I.M.F., so his Government has not received the \$125 million in foreign aid for this fiscal year, which is half its budget. The number of boat people fleeing Haiti for Florida is again on the rise.

The military plan in Haiti was for the U.S.-U.N. peacekeepers to hand over control to a newly created, uncorrupted Haitian police force on Feb. 29. Some of those new police have been trained, and put through U.S. human rights courses. Others have not. On Thanksgiving Day one of these new policemen went on a shooting spree that triggered massive rioting in Haiti's Cite Soleil slum. Few police have dared venture there since.

"It is obvious that the Administration would like to tiptoe away from Haiti, declaring it a success, but unless our objectives in the areas of elections, police and economics are more fully achieved, the effort of the international community could easily unravel," said Robert Pastor, President Carter's adviser on Haiti during Mr. Carter's mediation there. "Without a concerted effort to bring the opposition into the presidential elections, the outcome will not be stable or legitimate."

The ultimate lesson of Haiti is not that we should stay out of Bosnia. President Clinton did the right thing in Haiti—trying to restore democracy. Haiti is a better, more secure place today because of that. No, the real lesson of Haiti is a humility. Haiti reminds us that with enough troops and money, we can make some difference for the better. But even that limited improvement is easily eroded or overwhelmed by the habits of generations, unless some foreign peacekeepers, international organizations and aid workers are prepared to stay on the job for a long, long time. Bosnia will be no different.

I phoned Lakhdar Brahimi, who heads U.N. operations in Haiti, and asked him what he's learned there that might be of use in Bosnia. He captured neatly the humbling, ambiguous reality of trying to rebuild failed states. He said: "Look, Haiti is a country with 200 years of horrible history. It would be totally naive to think you can put it right with 20,000 troops in a year. With operations like Haiti [and Bosnia], the international community is embarking on something completely new for itself, and for which it does not yet have all the skills. It isn't even sure what it wants and certainly doesn't have all the money it needs to do it. So we take a country by the hand and accompany it a little bit, while it tries to stand on its own two feet. We don't do it perfectly, but it's still useful, even if it doesn't create paradise. But no one should kid themselves. It's a constant uphill struggle."

[From the Atlanta Constitution, Dec. 3, 1995]

A PAGE FROM HISTORY

(By Bradford Smith)

American troops are preparing to impose a peace settlement in Bosnia that appears to have arisen largely from the fatigue of the negotiators in Dayton. History and the posture of the Serbs in Sarajevo make it doubtful that this latest agreement will lead to "peace in our time." But how much history can we expect the negotiators to remember after pulling an all-nighter?

Bosnians nearly always have played the pawn in the political games in the Balkans. When was Bosnia last an independent state? For that, we have to look back to the 14th century. Even then, Bosnia was a divided country. In the north, the Kotroman family held sway. In the south, the Subic family ruled. In 1305, the Subic family emerged as the dominant power, but Stjepan Kotromanic seized control with a little help from Hungary—the local "superpower"—and the Serbs. The modern outlines of Bosnia resulted from his conquests.

After Kotromanic's death in 1353, Bosnia fell apart, as local nobles attempted to gain autonomy. Several provinces broke away from the Bosnian state, again with Hungarian assistance. The centers of discontent

were the region around Banja Luka and Herzegovina. The political divisions of Bosnia then conformed to the current lines of conflict.

One thing seems clear: Foreign intervention has been more likely to produce disorder than concord. Hungarian involvement consistently prevented the restoration of equilibrium. This was also true in the 1920s, when Comintern and the Italian Fascists exploited the ethnic tensions between Croats and Serbs, leading to chaos, terrorism and assassination.

Given that so many leaders have vowed not to respect the Dayton peace agreement, should we expect a new show of force to convince them otherwise? Is there any lack of foreign interest groups that could further their own agenda by giving aid and comfort to the Serbs?

The rulers of 14th-century Hungary always claimed that they were intervening in Bosnia to support oppressed Catholics from Bosnian heretics. Likewise, our intervention is justified by the ideals of "democracy" and "self-determination."

Bill Clinton is, in fact, merely continuing the policies of his two predecessors, who were trying to undo the legacy of the Cold War. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev long ago stated that as the Soviets supported "wars of national liberation," the United States would be forced to support dictators, on the pretext that they were anti-communist.

The result of that policy was our support for a host of petty tyrants, all of whom eventually caused us much embarrassment. And ultimately we lost in Iran, Nicaragua, Vietnam and nearly everywhere else we got involved. But with Ronald Reagan a turn began when U.S. military force was used to support "freedom fighters."

The invasion of Grenada was our first attempt to "impose" democracy, and the success of that little engagement led to other glorious wars. An episode in Panama and the specter of Manuel Noriega before the Inquisitor bailed out the War on Drugs, preparing Americans for a descent on the Middle East to liberate the oil barons of Kuwait from Saddam Hussein. Soon we had Bob Hope shows and all those things we associated with good wars.

Clinton is merely trying to keep up the pace. Unfortunately, the situation in Bosnia is too ambiguous to provide the basis for a Crusade. Additional U.S. involvement is more likely to upset the balance of power even further. Unless the new Bosnian state can develop its own internal equilibrium, it cannot survive.

The United States must play a role in the negotiating process, but Clinton could find better venues for a military action to redeem his political career.

How about the Bahamas?

WELCOMING THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, SHIMON PERES

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1995

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, today marks a historic occasion in the halls of Congress. I

• 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.

join my colleagues in welcoming to this Chamber the Prime Minister of the State of Israel, Shimon Peres. Mr. Peres journeyed to the United States to help us pay homage to our friend, the late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and to demonstrate the unity that exists between our two nations. As he addresses this joint session of Congress, we express our appreciation to Prime Minister Peres for his willingness to make this important journey on behalf of the people and State of Israel.

The voice of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has been silenced. Hatred took from our midst a strong leader who believed that the time had come to seek peace in the Middle East. Yet, we gather today with a renewed sense of commitment to pursue peace in that region. It is, indeed, the highest tribute we can pay to Yitzhak Rabin.

Mr. Speaker, the man who addresses us as the new Prime Minister of Israel, Shimon Peres, has served his nation with distinction and honor. He brings to the post a record of distinguished service in office, and the highest level of commitment and integrity. Prime Minister Peres is a strong leader to whom we pledge our full support.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud of our Nation's longstanding and close relationship with the people of Israel. Our historic and mutually beneficial relationship is a testament to international cooperation. Indeed, it exists as a model for all peace-loving nations of the world. During this period of mourning for the slain hero, Yitzhak Rabin, we remain committed to that relationship.

In the United States, we applaud President Clinton for his continued leadership in the quest for peace in the Middle East. He has demonstrated America's strong support for this effort, and he stands beside his brother, Shimon Peres, offering a strong arm of support. The leadership of these two individuals and their courage in the pursuit of peace should be encouraged by all Americans and Israelis.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the residents of the 11th Congressional District, I take pride in welcoming Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres to Washington. As he comes before us, we take this opportunity to again convey our condolences during this time of mourning for Yitzhak Rabin. We hope that Prime Minister Peres will carry back to the people of his nation our words of comfort and support. Our support is extended in the spirit of brotherhood and unity.

BREATHITT COUNTY STATE
CHAMPS

HON. HAROLD ROGERS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1995

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, last week, many high schools around the Nation won high school State football championships. But, none were more exciting than Breathitt County, KY's 42-35, 2OT victory over Franklin-Simpson in the Kentucky 2A State football championship.

The Bobcats, whose program is one of the strongest in the State, won their first State championship ever while fishing the first undefeated season—15-0—in the school's long history.

And they won it in thrilling, heart-quickenning style.

Trailing by as many as 14 points, the determined Bobcats, led by quarterback Waylon Chapman, stormed back several times, climaxed by a 90-yard drive which tied the score in the game's final minutes.

After matching scores in the first overtime, the Bobcats faced a fourth down play from the 16 yard line. After a scramble, Chapman's pass fell into the hands of a sliding Phillip Watts in the corner of the end zone.

After a short gasp, the covering official signaled touchdown sending the Bobcats and their faithful into a frenzy.

But, it wasn't over. Franklin-Simpson had one more chance to win.

After two plays, the stiff Bobcat defense forced a fumble and recovered it to clinch the victory. and, then the real celebrating began.

Stunned and emotionally drained, Coach Mike Holcomb captured his team's thoughts best. "It's a great feeling for this community," he said. "They poured their hearts out for this team."

Yes, it is wonderful for this great community, but it is even a bigger accomplishment for the fine young athletes at Breathitt County High School. They never quit. Their determination, commitment and perseverance is something everyone in this country can respect with pride.

Coach Vince Lombardi, in his immortal speech, "What It Takes To Be Number One," said, "I firmly believe that man's finest hour—his greatest fulfillment—is that moment when he was worked his heart out and he's exhausted on the field of battle—Victorious."

The Bobcats have been to the top of the mountain, and as ABC's Keith Jackson would say, "Oh Nellie," are we proud.

GIANT HEALTH NET H.M.O. SUES
COMPANY THAT GIVES IT A BAD
RATING

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 12, 1995

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, the movement to managed care is sweeping the country, and it is vital that patients know whether the HMO's and other organizations they are being asked to join provide quality care or are financially sound.

A bad sign for consumers is the lawsuit of giant Health Net HMO against the tiny rating firm of Weiss Ratings, Inc. Health Net claims that Weiss' analysis of Health Net's very shakey financial status—a "D—" rating—was harmful to the HMO.

Mr. Speaker, the law suit smacks of intimidation. The financial data was very clear. At the time of the rating, Health Net was in bad shape. Weiss has an excellent reputation for spotting companies in trouble. Customers and investors have a right to know. If lawsuits like this succeed in silencing the analysts and critics, there will be no competitive marketplace because the consumer will have no hope of making an informed decision. Ignorant customers don't make good customers—and Health Net's lawsuit is an effort to keep the public ignorant. The problem is, ignorance in picking a health plan can cause customer bankruptcy or even death.

Enclosed is a portion of the New York Times article of November 24, 1995, that describes the kind of anticonsumer lawsuit that Health Net is pursuing.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 24, 1995]

RATING AGENCIES FACING LAWSUITS FOR LOW
GRADES

(By Michael Quint)

Rating agencies that grade the financial strength of companies and local governments are accustomed to lawsuits by investors who say that the ratings failed to alert them to serious problems. But the agencies are not used to being sued by the entities they rate.

Now that is changing, as agencies ranging from the giant Moody's Investors Service in New York, a unit of the Dun & Bradstreet Corporation, to tiny Weiss Group, of Palm Beach Gardens, Fla., are learning that they are vulnerable to suits from companies or governments who say that their ratings were so low as to be libelous.

Rating agencies defend their right to publish opinions as a matter of freedom of the press, regardless of whether they were hired to issue the rating.

But in two current disputes, one by the second-largest health maintenance organization in California and the other by the largest school district in Colorado, rating agencies that issued unsolicited ratings were accused of using their reports to drum up business.

Unsolicited ratings can become an issue when companies and local governments that paid to be rated wanted to choose the agencies that they thought would give them the best ratings, testifying to their strength. If an unsolicited rating was much different from what the company thought it deserved, sparks could fly.

Malik Hasan, a doctor and chairman of Health Net, a California health maintenance organization, said a D— rating by Weiss "made us into their poster boy." Mr. Hasan said that Weiss used the rating to attract attention and sell more of the agency's reports. Late last year, after Weiss gave Health Net the lowest rating of any of the country's 13 largest H.M.O.'s, Health Net filed suit in Federal court in Los Angeles accusing Weiss of interfering with its business, and of defamation, slander and libel.

Martin Weiss, chairman of the rating agency, said he had spent more than \$350,000 of his own money defending the agency against the lawsuit and was in no mood to back down. "I am fighting to the bitter end, because if I cave in now, the word would get around that the way to get a better rating or to shut up Weiss is to sue him," he said.

Although Mr. Weiss has sold only 21 reports about Health Net, he hopes that H.M.O. ratings will raise his company's revenues above the \$764,000 total for 1994. The financial ratings of H.M.O.'s were important, he said, because the groups were growing and "a group that is under financial pressure could be more likely to cut corners on medical care."

Concern about his reputation led Mr. Weiss to reject a compromise settlement proposal a week ago, because it would not have made clear that Mr. Weiss did not pay any damages to Health Net, nor would he have been able to talk publicly about the case.

Dr. Hasan of Health Net said he was pushing the suit because the criteria for Weiss ratings remained secret and put too much emphasis on measures of financial strength that did not accurately reflect the ability of his company to pay the medical costs of its 1.4 million customers in California.

Mr. Weiss defended his rating formula, saying it was similar to one being developed by state insurance commissioners for H.M.O.'s.