

Boutros Ghali, the first African (and Arab) to hold the position, argued eloquently for a U.N. peacekeeping mission to ensure safe delivery of food and emergency supplies. The U.N. Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) was deployed to Mogadishu, the capital, in September 1992. It was quickly pinned down at the airport by Somali militiamen and was unable to complete its mission.

A U.S. task force deployed in December secured the Mogadishu area, getting supplies to the hungry and ill. After the Americans left, the U.N. took over in May 1993 with UNOSOM II. The \$2-million-a-day operation turned the former U.S. embassy complex into an 80-acre walled city boasting air-conditioned housing and a golf course. When U.N. officials ventured out of the compound, their "taxis" were helicopters that cost \$500,000 a week.

The published commercial rate for Mogadishu-U.S. phone calls was \$4.91 a minute, but the "special U.N. discount rate" was \$8.41. Unauthorized personal calls totaled more than \$2 million, but the U.N. simply picked up the tab and never asked the callers to pay.

Meanwhile, the peacekeeping effort disintegrated, particularly as warlord Mohammed Aidid harassed UNOSOM II troops. As the civil war continued, Somalis starved. But U.N. peacekeepers—on a food budget of \$56 million a year—dined on fruit from South America, beef from Australia from frozen fish from New Zealand and the Netherlands.

Thousands of yards of barbed wire arrived with no barbs; hundreds of light fixtures to illuminate the streets abutting the compound had no sockets for light bulbs. What procurement didn't waste, pilferage often took care of. Peacekeeping vehicles disappeared with regularity, and Egyptian U.N. troops were suspected of large scale black-marketing of minibuses.

These losses, however, were eclipsed in a single night by an enterprising thief who broke into a U.N. office in Mogadishu and made off with \$3.9 million in cash. The office door was easy pickings: its lock could be jimmied with a credit card. The money, stored in the bottom drawer of a filing cabinet, had been easily visible to dozens of U.N. employees.

While the case has not been solved, one administrator was dismissed and two others were disciplined. Last summer, UNOSOM II itself was shut down, leaving Somalia to the same clan warfare that existed when U.N. troops were first deployed two years before.

#### RWANDA

Since achieving independence in 1962, Rwanda has erupted in violence between the majority Hutu tribe and minority Tutsis. The U.N. had a peacekeeping mission in that nation, but it fled as the Hutus launched a new bloodbath in April 1994.

Only 270 U.N. troops stayed behind, not enough to prevent the butchery of at least 14 local Red Cross workers left exposed by the peacekeepers' swift flight. The U.N. Security Council dawdled as the dead piled up, and a daily horror of shooting, stabbings and machete hackings. The Hutus were finally driven out by a Tutsi rebel army in late summer 1994.

Seven U.N. agencies and more than 100 international relief agencies rushed back. With a budget of some \$200 million, the U.N. tried unsuccessfully to provide security over Hutu refugee camps in Rwanda and aid to camps in neighboring Zaire.

The relief effort was soon corrupted when the U.N. let the very murderers who'd massacred a half million people take over the camps. Rather than seeking their arrest and prosecution, the U.N. made deals with the Hutu thugs, who parlayed U.N. food, drugs

and other supplies into millions of dollars on the black market.

Earlier this year the U.N. began to pull out of the camps. On April 22 at the Kibeho camp in Rwanda, the Tutsi-led military opened fire on Hutu crowds. Some 2000 Hutus were massacred.

Where was the U.N.? Overwhelmed by the presence of nearly 2000 Tutsi soldiers, the 200 U.N. peacekeepers did nothing. A U.N. spokesman told Reader's Digest, meekly, that the U.N. was on the scene after the slaughter for cleanup and body burial.

With peacekeeping operations now costing over \$3 billion a year, reform is long overdue. Financial accountability can be established only by limiting control by the Secretariat, which routinely withholds information about peacekeeping operations until the last minute—too late for the U.N.'s budgetary committee to exercise oversight.

In December 1993, for example, when the budget committee was given one day to approve a \$600-million budget that would extend peacekeeping efforts into 1994, U.S. representative Michael Michalski lodged an official protest: "If U.S. government employees approved a budget for a similar amount with as little information as has been provided to the committee, they would likely be thrown in jail."

More fundamentally, the U.N. needs to re-examine its whole peacekeeping approach, for the experiment in nation building has been bloody and full of failure. Lofty ideas to bring peace everywhere in the world have run aground on reality: member states with competing interests in warring territories, the impossibility of lightly armed troops keeping at bay belligerent enemies, and the folly of moving into places without setting achievable goals.

"It has been a fundamental error to put U.N. peacekeepers in place where there is no peace to keep," says Sen. Sam Nunn (D., Ga.), ranking minority member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. "We've seen very vividly that the U.N. is not equipped, organized or financed to intervene and fight wars."

[From the Paris Match, Oct. 5, 1995]

#### OUR PILOTS ARE PRISONERS OF THE SERBS (Translated by David Skelly)

Two tiny points in an incandescent sky. These images have been holding us in cruel suspense for nearly a month. The two points are two French officers, a captain pilot and a lieutenant navigator, shot down on August 30 in their Mirage 2000-K2, almost directly above Pale, the capital of the Bosnian Serbs, during the first NATO raid. Three exfiltration missions according to the CSAR (combat, search and rescue procedure), which had succeeded in rescuing Captain O'Grady, failed. The Serbs have confirmed that they are holding two men alive, but no one, not even the Red Cross envoys has actually seen them. These photos reached us from Pale. Here are the faces of the two prisoners whom France has been anxiously waiting to see. The first scenes of their captivity.

Peasants turned the lieutenant over to the 'special forces commandos'.

Being helped to walk by two Serbs from their special forces, Lieutenant Jose Souvignet seems to be suffering from a leg wound. Peasants turned the two airmen over to the "specijali," who have been hiding them from the whole world ever since.

The captain, Frederique Chiffot, snarls at his guards.

Contrary to what happened with the American pilot, ours were brought down in broad daylight, above a mountain in an area with a high density of Serbian soldiers. Militiamen in the city of Pale were able to be there

when they came down, and so it was impossible for the Frenchmen to escape. As soon as they hit ground they were captured and stripped of their warning, location, and survival equipment. Since these unique photos were taken, probably very shortly after their capture (in the foreground, a militiaman is still holding their helmets), they have probably been moved from their place of captivity, making it very difficult to exfiltrate them.

According to rare Serbian information, it was thought that only Lieutenant Jose Souvignet had a leg wound. But here, Captain Frederique Chiffot, grimacing at the camera, also seems to be supported by members of the militia.

Three attempts already: NATO is doing everything possible to free them.

From September 5th to the 8th, three times over, NATO commandos have flown off in search of the two Frenchmen. These very complicated missions make use of airplanes and helicopters which have taken off from different bases, from Italian territory or the aircraft carrier "Theodore Roosevelt." On board this ship, the Admiral Smith's general staff is coordinating, second by second, the delicate precision engineering of this warriors' ballet. The first attempt was completely American, but the weather was not on our side. The second and third attempts were French and American. Only the latter enabled the commandos to set down on a meadow near Pale. In vain. They had to withdraw under fire from the Serbs before having found the prisoners. When they were taken back up in the helicopter, two had been wounded.

In the control room of the "Theodore Roosevelt" operations are being followed in real time. It was in an identical Mirage 2000 that the two pilots were brought down. Photos of the debris from the crash were widely disseminated in the press by the Serbs.

□ 1745

#### CHINA'S TOP DISSIDENT CHARGED 20 MONTHS AFTER DISAPPEARANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California [Ms. PELOSI] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to call attention to the House of Representatives and indeed further attention of our country to a recent event that happened in China. Last week, the Chinese Government formally charged Wei Jingsheng with trying to overthrow the Government of China. This is a source of very serious concern to all of us who care about human rights in China.

As you may recall, Mr. Speaker, Wei Jingsheng is China's foremost democracy advocate. He has been called the Sakharov of China. Many years ago, over 15 or 16 years ago, he was arrested by the Chinese Government for his pro-Democracy Wall activities.

Early on he spoke out for democracy, the need for democracy in China. He had been a soldier and an electrician and was sentenced to 15 years in prison. He served most of that sentence, and about 6 months ago, the Chinese released him when they were trying to put on a good face in order to attract the Olympics to China. You may recall that campaign.

Six months later, he was quickly rearrested after speaking openly for democracy and human rights, granting interviews to foreign reporters, meeting, indeed, with our own Secretary of State, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, John Shattuck, and writing essays for overseas publications, including the New York Times.

He was taken into custody on April 1, 1994, and has not been seen or heard from since. His family has not been allowed to see him, and requests from foreign governments and international rights groups for information on his case have gone unanswered.

After repeated inquiries by his family, the Public Security Bureau acknowledged in April that Wei was under a form of house arrest. Since then the Chinese officials have merely referred to him as a criminal and have said that, without elaborating, he was under investigation. Now the Chinese Government has acted. They have officially charged him with a capital offense, trying to overthrow the Government.

This is, of course, ridiculous. However, the charge is of such seriousness and the nature of the Chinese judicial system of such concern that I call this to our attention. Trials in China are usually swift, in secret, and behind closed doors. The verdict is usually predetermined and severe. Attempting to overthrow the Government, as Wei Jingsheng is mistakenly charged with, is considered a political crime which can be punished by death.

Many of our colleagues in this body and in the Senate, indeed parliamentarians throughout the world, nominated Wei Jingsheng earlier this year for the Nobel prize. We were proud to do so.

I am calling this to the attention of the House of Representatives because I hope that we will have a resolution out of this body condemning the charges against Wei Jingsheng and calling for his immediate and unconditional release and demanding that if indeed he does go to trial, that foreign media and diplomatic observers be allowed to attend.

I mentioned that Wei Jingsheng had met with Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck in April, and since then he has been, as I say, detained, and now charged. This is very serious for the United States, because our Government has said that we will not use certain methods to improve human rights in China, we would not use economic sanctions, but we would do other things, and right now this administration has not spoken out strongly enough against the charging of Wei.

I recently wrote to the Vice President, Vice President Gore, asking him for a strong statement from the Clinton administration. Only strong public expressions of concern and interest at our highest levels will be read by the Chinese leadership as a true indicator of American policy regarding Wei and other democracy advocates. If we do

not raise the issue of Wei's charges, it could be read as tacit consent by the United States of whatever fate China has chosen for Wei Jingsheng.

The public intervention of the Clinton administration is most important in establishing United States policy regarding the treatment of Wei Jingsheng, clearly and unequivocally. The need for public and strong statement at the highest levels, I repeat, of the Clinton administration is critical given China's foreign ministry statement last week that the United States stop its confrontation with China at the U.N. Commission at Human Rights in Geneva. Such a statement, coupled with Wei's charge, is a challenge to the United States we must answer.

Mr. Speaker, I am very hopeful that the Clinton administration will indeed speak out. They were very, very strong in sending a message to the Chinese about Harry Wu. I commend them for their actions. That was responsible for Harry Wu's release. I hope they will do the same thing in the case of Wei Jingsheng and look forward to working with them and the Members of this body to free Wei Jingsheng.

#### INJUSTICE IN REDISTRICTING

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentlewoman from Georgia [Ms. MCKINNEY] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, I feel compelled to at least make a statement about what we have heard over the last hour. I would just like to say that George Bush proclaimed a New World Order, but Bill Clinton is making one.

Bosnia is not about war, it is about peace. In the ethnically diverse community of Dayton, OH, three warring ethnic groups came together, sat down at a table, and made peace. I really do not understand how people can advocate pouring billions of dollars into a defense establishment to make war, and at the same time they can deny sick kids Medicaid, they can raise taxes on the working poor, but they are not willing to make peace. I do not understand that.

Also, I would just like to say a few words about an announcement that I heard about today, about the retirement of one of our leaders, the gentlewoman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER]. I would just like to say that she is a trailblazer, a role model for all of us, and a real leader. Her leadership in the 105th Congress is sorely going to be missed. But because of her leadership I do not know how many Congresses before, she has made a way for me and other women who now serve in Congress, and her outspokenness on issues affecting families and children and women and men alike, really, has been really a beacon I guess, for all of us.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, if the gentlewoman would yield, I thank her for

the opportunity to join in paying tribute to our colleague, PAT SCHROEDER. It cannot be said better than you have done commending Representative SCHROEDER for her leadership. It is a sad day for us in the House of Representatives on the day that she announced she would not be seeking reelection.

Whether they know it or not, women across America, and, as you say, indeed men too, owe PAT SCHROEDER a great debt of gratitude. Through her leadership on issues relating to families and children, she has changed the public policy in that regard. It is our most important issue in fact that we deal with here, the issue of children.

But on this day in this House of Representatives, when on the one hand we are talking about the possibility of sending our young people to keep the peace in Bosnia, and at the same time we are talking about human rights throughout the world and talking about family and children, there is a person who served us here with great leadership, an articulate spokesperson for children, for human rights, for peace, and, at the same time, a strong, strong voice on the Committee on National Security, now called I think the Committee on National Security. So her expertise and her voice was heard across the spectrum of issues in our budget priorities. She has led us well. I hope she will continue to outside of Congress. I know she has plenty of wonderful options open to her, but, nonetheless, as happy as we are for her on her decision, it is a sad day.

I speak for myself and my constituents when I say that her presence in this Congress for this country will be sorely missed.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, I do want to say one thing. I would like for Congresswoman SCHROEDER to come to this floor and tell the story, because I know she can tell it much better than I would ever be able to tell it, but she came to this Congress at a time when you just did not have women serving on the Committee on National Security and women serving in this Congress. She tells the story of how the chairman had she and the gentleman from California, RON DELLUMS, share a single chair. Those are the kinds of stories that this leader had to endure in order to make sure that I could get a full seat in the U.S. Congress. Her story is a wonderful story that needs to be told, and her leadership has benefited us all.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. If the gentlewoman will yield, I would just like to associate myself with those remarks about our leader. She has certainly been a role model for the women in Congress. Her leadership not only will be missed, but it is going to make our work extremely hard, because she has been just a Trojan for women's issues, for children's issues, and more national security issues. So this is truly a sad day for all of us.

Ms. MCKINNEY. It certainly is.