

a traditional separation of powers that is equally divided by checks and balances amongst three independent branches of government: the executive, the legislative and the judicial. This is a system of government that is not much different than the one envisioned by Baron de Montesquieu, in his *magnus opus*, *The Spirit of the Laws*, over two centuries ago. It is a perfect and fair model of the ideal civil libertarian state. But despite all of these shining political achievements, we all know that a nation's political structure is only one part, albeit extremely necessary part, of a nation's success.

The fact of the matter is that a nation's future is as much premised upon its economic stability as it is on its political stability. And Botswana, in this arena as well, has done nothing but distinguish itself. All of the relevant statistics about recent financial growth in Africa indicate that Botswana's economy has been on an upward climb for over two decades now. This kind of responsible fiscal management is the reason why ground-breaking bills like the African Growth and Opportunity Act are being considered and passed in this House. Because today is truly a new age, my friends. This is an age where the human rights grievances and political instabilities of Africa's past are quickly slipping away. This is a time that will be remembered by future generations as the period when Africa began to move rapidly into the economy of the post-industrialized information age, as both our mutually beneficial partner and our friendly competitor. So I stand here proudly today to salute the nation of Botswana, to salute our many friends on the continent of Africa, and finally, to salute the prosperous future that I am sure we will have together.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume. I want to thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DAVIS) and the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) for their comments regarding Cambodia. The gentlewoman from Texas also made very commendable comments on Botswana.

Mr. Speaker, I urge unanimous support and a recorded vote for the Cambodia resolution to do what we can to ensure free and fair and credible elections in Cambodia.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, House Resolution 361, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 5 of rule I and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

EXPRESSING SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING NORTHERN IRELAND

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules

and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 152) expressing the sense of the Congress that all parties to the multiparty peace talks regarding Northern Ireland should condemn violence and fully integrate internationally recognized human rights standards and adequately address outstanding human rights violations as part of the peace process, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 152

Whereas multiparty talks regarding Northern Ireland attended by representatives of the British and Irish Governments and representatives elected from political parties in Northern Ireland are underway for the first time since the partition of Ireland in 1922 creating a momentous opportunity for progress on human rights concerns;

Whereas human rights violations and the lack of accountability by those responsible for such violations have been persistent features of the conflict in Northern Ireland; and

Whereas more than 3,000 people have died and thousands more have been injured as a result of the political violence in Northern Ireland since 1969: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That—

(1) the Congress condemns the violence committed on all sides of the conflict in Northern Ireland as illegal, unjust, and inhumane;

(2) the Congress commends the leadership in both the British and Irish Governments and former United States Senator George Mitchell, Independent Chairman of the multiparty talks, for fostering a new environment in which human rights concerns may be addressed and an agreement may be reached expeditiously through inclusive talks with respect to Northern Ireland; and

(3) it is the sense of the Congress that—

(A) all parties should reject violence and work diligently through democratic, peaceful means to reach a just and lasting peace in Northern Ireland;

(B) human rights should be protected for all citizens and any peace agreement in Northern Ireland must recognize the state's obligation to protect human rights in all circumstances; and

(C) there are a number of measures which can be taken immediately that would remedy abusive human rights policies and build confidence in the peace process, such as acting upon the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights (SACHR) report and recommendations put forth by other human rights organizations.

□ 1615

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska). Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DAVIS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

First of all, this resolution is a bipartisan resolution. I am very pleased and honored to have the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the chairman of the Committee on International Relations, as one of the principal cosponsors of this bill; also, the gentleman from New York (Mr. KING); the gentleman from New York (Mr. MANTON);

the gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH); the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY); the gentleman from New York (Mr. MCHUGH); the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE); the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS); the gentleman from New York (Mr. HINCHEY); the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS); and the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Mrs. KENNELLY) to name just some of the cosponsors of this H. Con. Res. 1252.

Mr. Speaker, we are expressing a sense of the Congress that all parties to the multiparty peace talks regarding Northern Ireland should condemn violence and fully integrate internationally recognized human rights standards and address the outstanding human rights violations as part of the peace process.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to note that Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the British Irish Watch, the Committee on the Administration of Justice, Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, and many, many others have urged that this House pass this resolution.

As a matter of fact, just to read some of their statements, Human Rights Watch said, "Human Rights Watch fully supports the resolution now being considered for passage by the Congress regarding human rights in the Northern Ireland peace process. The resolution rightly recognizes the gravity of past violations and the role that such abuses have played in perpetuating the conflict. The resolution is a signal that Congress is eager to prevent the same kind of lack of attention to human rights issues which has doomed other peace processes and may threaten the success of the Northern Ireland peace process if action is not taken now."

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on the Administration of Justice and I recently traveled to the north of Ireland, met with all of the parties, like other Members of this House have and other Members of the Senate, but I found that the Committee on the Administration of Justice tries to evenhandedly promote human rights. Whether they be Protestant or Catholic, a person's value and dignity must be respected.

Well, of the committee, Martin O'Brien stated, and I quote, "Any effort by Congress to raise these issues is particularly welcomed and deserves widespread support. In that regard, the initiative is to be supported, and it would be helpful if the concerns of the Congress on human rights be raised with the British and the Irish Governments," and it goes on, and I would put the full statement into the RECORD at the appropriate time.

Mr. Speaker, there is a great opportunity, a window of opportunity right now, especially on St. Patrick's Day, but in the coming weeks as part of these multiparty talks to come to a conclusion. We need to express in a bipartisan way, Democrats, Republicans, moderates, liberals and conservatives, that we are foursquare, fully behind

this effort to bring peace to the north of Ireland where some 3,000 people have been killed by paramilitaries on both sides, as well as by agents of the British Government.

It is time to say no to violence; that no matter what dips may be in the road ahead, that violence is not a solution. Knee-capping and terrorism is not a means to an end, no matter how justified one may think they are. Whether it be the IRA on the Catholic side or perhaps on the Protestant side, some of the terrorist groups, all of those acts of violence are to be condemned, and we ought to be promoting peace, and that is, indeed, what we are doing. Thankfully, the United States is playing a very real and significant role.

Former Senator Mitchell is the chairman of these multiparty talks and has done an exemplary job in bringing the disparate factions together to try to come to a peaceful resolution.

Again, this window of opportunity is right now before them. The discussions begin in earnest again on March 23, and we expect, hopefully before Easter, that there will be a framework, there will be a final document produced; maybe that is a bit premature, but that is part of the expectation, and that a referendum could be held sometime in the latter part of May, perhaps in June, to begin or to further this process.

I found on that trip, and I have also had two lengthy human rights hearings in my subcommittee in which we heard from all parties, that the time for peace is at hand, and I think by going on the record today, we send a clear, unmistakable message that we, too, are watching and hoping and praying that peace will come to the north of Ireland and that human rights will be at its core. It cannot be an ancillary issue; it cannot be a P.S., a postscript at the end of the statement. They need to be integral in this peace agreement, and all parties, I think, need to recognize the value and the dignity of each and every human life, and that is what I think will lead to justice, and justice to a sustainable peace.

So I would hope that everyone could get behind H. Con. Res. 152 and we could make a unanimous statement here on the floor today that we are for this peace process.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE).

(Mr. PAYNE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of ending the sad state presently in the north of Ireland. This resolution goes to the heart of the matter, and let me commend the sponsor and those who are supporting this great resolution.

I had the distinct pleasure last Thursday of introducing Mr. Gerry Adams, the President of Sinn Fein, at

my alma mater at Seton Hall, at the university where thousands came to hear his talk. It was sponsored by the School of Diplomacy at Seton Hall, and he went on to discuss what must be done.

It will be 2 years this July since I visited the north of Ireland and had the opportunity to see for myself the violence and the killing associated with the Orange Order marchers in the village of Drumcree. I had the opportunity to stay in Belfast for several days and visited many towns, including Derry. Unfortunately, the situation today looks like a repeat of the past.

Before July, the north of Ireland will host seven parades. While I think that having constructive dialogue concerning the composition and makeup or whether the members are independent and impartial of the Parade Commission is good, it is just not enough. The dismissal and rejection of John Larkin leads me to believe that this body is a unionist commission for the unionist people. How can an apprentice boy, an ex-UDA member, an ex-member of the Policy Authority, be independent and fair? The celebration and victory of William of Orange, in which Irish land was seized and confiscated, is an insult to Catholics everywhere, and today for the parades to go on makes no sense.

Sadly, this parade glorifies a part of history and is provocative in nature. That is why I, along with Members of the Irish Caucus, have written Mo Mowlam urging the British Government to prohibit any marches by any group through any neighborhood in the north of Ireland, especially during the marching season.

When I was there, one could hear gunfire and shooting throughout the city. Police statistics estimated that there were 1,600 rounds of plastic bullets shot during the troubles. The plastic bullets severely maim and injure their victims. They are 3½ inches long and about 1½ inches thick. These are supposed to be used for crowd control, but they can kill, they can maim, they can injure, and young children have been hit with these and have found it to be fatal. My experience there moved me to introduce H.R. 1075, to ban the use of plastic bullets in the north of Ireland.

As we celebrate St. Patrick's Day, let us not forget the hard-working Irish immigrants that built the Delaware and Raritan Canal located in my State of New Jersey. State Senator Dick Codey has introduced a resolution asking the State to appropriate \$50,000 to help build the monument to these great workers. Today, the canal supplies water to 1.2 million residents in central New Jersey. Although best known today for its picturesque scenery where joggers, bikers and fishermen go for recreation, little was known about the Irish laborers that died sometimes while working on the canal. Many of the canal diggers, sometimes using their bare hands, built these channels during the 19th century as the

major link between manufacturers and their markets. There was a cholera epidemic which killed many of these men who were just buried on the side of the canal.

The canal opened in 1834 and quickly became one of the country's busiest navigation canals. New Jersey Governor Peter Vroom made the inaugural voyage at that time from Trenton to New Brunswick where crowds cheered at every bridge and lock.

The Hibernian raised \$1,000 for the headstone to honor the men. Without much fanfare, they dedicated it just before St. Patrick's Day 3 years ago. We are looking forward to seeing this monument built in the State of New Jersey. Let me conclude by saying, as Dr. King said, that "injustice anywhere . . . justice everywhere."

Gerry Adams was born on October 6, 1948 in the working class areas of West Belfast.

Upon finishing school in the 1960's Gerry supported himself as a bartender while becoming increasingly involved in the civil rights movement. Modeled on the civil rights movement in the U.S., the Irish effort was founded to fight discrimination against northern Catholics by the British government in the areas of housing, employment, education and language. The brutal reaction of the unionist government in the six countries resulted in the ultimate breach of civil rights—murder by the government of peaceful protesters at what has become known as Bloody Sunday. Lets never forget Bloody Sunday, January 30, 1972, a day that will live on in infamy.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to support this human rights resolution on Northern Ireland, H. Con. Res. 152. The distinguished Chairman of our subcommittee on human rights and international operations, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) has done an outstanding job in crafting this resolution. It is highly appropriate that we consider this resolution today, St. Patrick's Day.

The Committee on International Relations has held extensive hearings on human rights and on fair employment in the north of Ireland during 104th, and in this current Congress. This resolution before us embodies many of the key findings and recommendations from those extensive hearings. We took firsthand testimony from many from Northern Ireland on the underlying causes and the troubles there. The need for respect for human rights is an essential element in finding lasting solutions for Northern Ireland. It is very clear from the long and disappointing history of the troubles in Northern Ireland. There have been far too many previous failed attempts at political solutions that neglected this key human rights concern.

The world must no longer neglect the need to promote fundamental respect for human rights and for economic justice in the north of Ireland. The need for fundamental reform, especially in the treatment of the minority nationalist community, must be a strong United States foreign policy priority and goal. Helping to make human rights a centerpiece of the solutions to the long and divisive troubles in the north of Ireland will have a salutary impact on the current search for lasting peace that is now underway in Belfast.

After many years of following very closely and visiting on numerous occasions the north of Ireland, I strongly urge support for this long overdue human rights initiative before our body.

Former Irish President Mary Robinson, now the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, said it best not too long ago while visiting Capitol Hill. Mrs. Robinson made a key point that the adoption of human rights guarantees a very important part of a sustainable peace in Northern Ireland. Father Sean McManus of the Irish national caucus also helped to make clear what is needed and why in stating, "It is a violation of human rights that has been the fundamental cause of the troubles in Northern Ireland." Father Sean should know, for he is a native of Northern Ireland.

Accordingly, I urge adoption of this resolution by all of those concerned about peacefully securing lasting solutions and justice in Northern Ireland.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ).

(Mr. MENENDEZ asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, today is St. Patrick's Day, a day when we celebrate the great tenacity and spirit of the Irish. The color green reminds us of the mystical island, rolling hills and people which captivated St. Patrick. I look forward to the day when the Irish people, Catholic and Protestant alike, can revel in the great treasure that is Ireland without regard to their religious or political affinities.

There is reason to be hopeful. The peace process in Ireland, despite recent setbacks, is moving forward, and the labor government has adopted a more open posture on dialogue with Sinn Fein and has expressed a willingness to reopen the investigation into the events of bloody Sunday.

□ 1630

These are positive developments. However, they cannot and do not mitigate the Congress's concern about the pattern of human rights abuses against the Catholic population in Northern Ireland. History should not inhibit

progress, but we cannot forget the repressive tactics used against the Irish people, from the potato famine to Bloody Sunday to the present day harassment and repression by the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the British system on persons like Colin Duffy. Trust remains something to be won, not given.

After years and years of intransigence and abuse, the Catholic minority is rightfully angry and suspicious. The history and abuse of human rights in Northern Ireland is long and treacherous.

From the confinement of Roisin McAliskey during her pregnancy; the inflammatory marches of the Orange Order, which we have again this year, as Mo Mowlam visits the capital today; that, in fact, the British government will understand the enormous consequences of those marches and the manner in which they have taken place and the potential risks to peace that they generate; the use of plastic bullets; the baseless harassment and imprisonment of persons sympathetic to the Republican cause; and the countless violations of human rights stemming from Britain's emergency legislation which governs the 6 northeast counties in Ireland. The populace of Northern Ireland has suffered myriad abuses of its civil and human rights.

The resolution of these long outstanding issues is necessary to begin the process of reconciliation.

I intend to introduce a separate resolution which endorses the CEARTA, a document drafted in Northern Ireland and endorsed by many Irish groups in the United States. It builds on the idea that there exists a historic opportunity to build peace in Ireland and recognizes that the people living in the north are entitled to the same basic rights as those residing elsewhere in Ireland.

It further calls for an end to the emergency legislation, reform of the legal system, the creation of unarmed and accountable police services, the end to all forms of discrimination, equality for the Irish language and culture, and the release of all political prisoners.

At this time in the marching season, we hope that the British government will have heard the many voices here in the Congress and abroad about the consequences. We hope they change that course of events.

I want to commend my colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), for introducing this timely resolution. I urge its adoption.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, first of all, let me thank my friend, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ), for his kind remarks. We are in solidarity on this. I think this is again one of those issues that unites this Chamber.

Let me just close by noting that House Concurrent Resolution 152 puts Congress on record as supporting not

just the peace process, which we all want hostilities to end, but also to put human rights at the core, at the center of those negotiations. It is timely and needed and will help ensure that human rights concerns are in no way overlooked when the final document is produced.

Mr. Speaker, the history of the "Troubles" of Northern Ireland are marked by violent crimes of parliamentary groups and at times by agents of the British government. The failure of the British government to protect the human rights of its citizens, especially Catholics in the north of Ireland, have helped to fuel the violence.

Notwithstanding the abuses perpetrated by partisan paramilitary forces or by the police, for that matter, we must remember that the essential responsibility for protecting rights and maintaining the rule of law belongs to the government which, in this case, at this particular time, is the British government.

When governments resort to methods that are illegal, unjust or inhumane, even when these methods are seemingly directed against the guilty or the dangerous, the effect is not to preserve law and order, but to seriously undermine it. It is particularly saddening that the British government, America's trusted ally, is the object of serious and credible charges of disrespect for the rule of law in the north of Ireland.

All of the major human rights organizations, from Amnesty International to the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights and Human Rights Watch, have been particularly critical of pervasive restrictions on the due process of law in Northern Ireland; and they have testified that law enforcement officials of the UK, members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, tolerate and even perpetrate some of the gross abuses that have taken place in the north of Ireland.

Under so-called emergency legislation applicable only in Northern Ireland, police have expansive powers to arrest and detain suspects and to search premises without a warrant. In addition, the government can suspend the right to trial by jury, the much-maligned Diploic Courts Systems, and the universally recognized right to be preserved from self-incrimination in like manner has been abridged.

It seems to me that the power to arbitrarily arrest, detain, intimidate, the power to deny timely and appropriate legal counsel, and the power to compel self-incrimination is an abuse of power normally associated with some of our adversaries, not our allies.

Thus, the resolution is a wake-up call to our friends. Friends do not let friends abuse human rights.

Witness after witness, Mr. Speaker, who came into our two hearings expressed a fear that as the political issues are addressed, universal human rights such as the right to silence, the

right to jury trial, the right to attorneys, the right to work free of discrimination will be neglected.

House Concurrent Resolution 152 puts on notice those who are negotiating and says, in a very friendly way but in a very firm way, that the U.S. Congress believes that there must be reform on human rights issues if genuine peace is to be achieved. It also points out that there are many human rights reforms that could be enacted today without waiting for a final peace negotiation.

Among the immediate changes are those proposed by Britain's own standing advisory committee or commission, I should say, on human rights, SACHR, to eliminate religious discrimination against Catholics in the workplace. Other reforms suggested by human rights groups, such as repealing the emergency legislation, conducting independent inquiries into the deaths of Pat Finucane, Robert Hamill and other human rights abuses, and banning plastic bullets, are all doable. If enacted immediately, these changes could help pave the way for further reconciliation, further confidence-building and, hopefully, for a lasting and sustainable peace.

Mr. Speaker, House Concurrent Resolution 152 has been reviewed and has been endorsed by all of the major human rights organizations. It does put us on record as standing four-square.

Let me just say one final point, Mr. Speaker. In the upcoming weeks we hope to have an additional hearing in our subcommittee that would deal with an issue of very grave concern. That is the issue of defense attorneys in the north of Ireland. We have found, much to my shock and dismay, an ongoing intimidation campaign against those who would defend those who have been accused of wrongdoing in Northern Ireland.

It seems to me that defense attorneys are not unlike those that we stood up for time and time again during the heydays of the Cold War, the Helsinki monitors, people who have stood up and said that due process must be protected. I may not like my client, I may not like what you say they are alleged to have done, but you are not going to intimidate the attorney that is there to defend them, because that would be a breach of due process and of basic human rights.

We are going to be looking at that in the coming weeks in the subcommittee, and hopefully by then this process will be that much further along, and this resolution that is under consideration in Belfast will have a happy conclusion.

I urge Members to support this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL).

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I want to associate myself with the remarks of my good friend and the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), who has been a tireless fighter for human rights all over the world; certainly in Ireland, but all over the world as well.

I rise in support of House Concurrent Resolution 152. I think it is very fitting that we have this resolution today on St. Patrick's Day.

I have been to Ireland and the north of Ireland a number of times. I have struggled, along with the people there and many of us in Congress for many years, to try to bring peace and justice to the beleaguered people in the north of Ireland.

I think anyone who has visited some of the areas in Northern Ireland, particularly some of the Catholic neighborhoods, really gets a feeling of a people under occupation in Belfast and in Derry and some of the other places. But we can say, Mr. Speaker, that there is some hope. We can say that the atmosphere has improved, so that we hope that there will be an agreement between the parties in the talks led by Senator Mitchell.

I think there are a number of reasons why there is improvement. I think the British government, the current British government under Prime Minister Blair, has gone a great deal of the way in stepping forward, making progress. I think that helps create a better atmosphere. But there is still a long, long way to go.

This resolution, of course, rejects violence, as well we should; and a peace-loving people on both sides have to reject violence. Violence is not the way to act. But we also must understand that human rights must be protected. That is stated clearly in House Concurrent Resolution 152.

We know in the north of Ireland the human rights of people, particularly of the Catholics in the north of Ireland, have not been respected. There has been unemployment, 70 and 80 percent in some areas. There have been a lack of human rights. As I mentioned before, when you go into some of those areas, the bog side in Derry and some of the places in West Belfast, you truly feel that it is a people under occupation. That is wrong.

As the gentleman from New Jersey said, because Britain is our ally we have even more of an obligation to point out some of the shortcomings and some of the things that we wish would change.

So the struggle for peace and justice in Ireland will continue. It has to continue with the United States' participation. That is one of the ways that we can make progress and move forward. I compliment President Clinton for making this a priority, and I compliment the job Senator Mitchell has done.

There need to be a lot of steps taken. We need to have the emergency legislation repealed, and some of the other things taken.

Also, we have an issue here in the United States. There were many, many Irish deportees that do not want to go back to the north of Ireland because they fear for their lives. We were able to get a stay on that. We want the Justice Department to make this stay permanent. It affects at least two of my constituents, and I have circulated letters and have 30 co-signers of the letter calling on the Justice Department not to send these deportees back.

As you say, Mr. Speaker, I think House Concurrent Resolution 152 is the right resolution at the right time. We all pray for peace in the north of Ireland. We pray for peace and justice.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to address a question to the chairman of our Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH).

I would ask the gentleman, would he agree with what Father Sean McManus stated in a recent letter dated March 17, today, as a matter of fact, on the cause of some of the problems, the troubles in Ireland?

He said, and I am quoting from his letter, "Inequality is at the heart of the problem in Northern Ireland, and, therefore, equality must be at the heart of the solution. Passing the MacBride Principles into law is a perfect way for our Nation to show its support for the Irish peace process based on nonviolence and equality."

Would the gentleman agree with that?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I agree fully with the MacBride Principles, which are patterned after the Sullivan Principles, which were instrumental in eliminating, or very important in the process of eliminating, discrimination in South Africa. They are contained, as we know, in the State Department Conference Report, which will be up tomorrow as part of the fund for Africa.

So I would hope Members would be put on notice that tomorrow, when we do vote on the State Department Conference Report authored by Mr. HELMS, my good friend, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), and myself, that that contains the MacBride Principles, which advance the cause of religious freedom in the north of Ireland.

So I thank the gentleman for asking that question.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey for reminding us that that important provision is part of the measure, the State Department authorization measure, which will be on the floor tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD the full letter from Father Sean McManus.

The letter referred is as follows:

IRISH NATIONAL CAUCUS, INC.,
Washington, DC, March 17, 1998.

Hon. BEN GILMAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN GILMAN: I want to thank you for again enshrining the MacBride Principles in the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act.

The MacBride Principles have proven to be the most effective campaign ever against anti-Catholic discrimination in Northern Ireland.

Inequality is at the heart of the problem in Northern Ireland, and, therefore, equality must be at the heart of the solution. Passing the MacBride Principles into law is the perfect way for the U.S. to show its support for the Irish peace process, based on non-violence and equality.

Chairman Gilman, Irish-Americans deeply appreciate your dedicated and outstanding leadership on Irish affairs.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

FR. SEAN MCMANUS,
President.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to briefly point out that it seems that there is virtually unanimity, if not complete unanimity, on the merits of the resolution before us.

It is very pleasing that we can share the fact with the public today that the historic and very delicate and complex all-party talks are progressing in Belfast. These talks will resume next week, with the participation of both Sinn Fein, the major Protestant Unionist Party, and the Ulster Unionists.

I also think it is important to point out that there was a better way to have handled this resolution today. It is appropriate and symbolic to have brought it up on St. Patrick's day; but, unfortunately, this side of the aisle had only a few hours' prior notice that this resolution was even coming up, which deprived us of the opportunity to confirm that the administration had been consulted on this.

The focus here today has been on how well-executed the plan has been in the all-party talks, and depriving us of the opportunity to work with the administration to ensure that that execution continues is an unnecessary risk.

Mr. Speaker, when we violate our own rules, when we circumvent our own process, we make some of our greatest errors. This version of this bill was heard in the Committee on International Relations, wherein lies the expertise of this body on foreign relation matters, which has been so clearly demonstrated today by comments on both sides of the aisle.

So I think it is just important to point out that in the future, when we take up significant matters like this, we really should honor our own process to assure that we produce our very best work.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

□ 1645

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. LAZIO).

Mr. LAZIO of New York. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) for his work on this resolution and the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the distinguished chairman of the full committee, my colleagues and friends, for their work not just on behalf of this resolution but on behalf of the peace process in Northern Ireland. They have done remarkably good work.

I rise today in strong support of H. Con. Res. 152. This is at a particularly timely moment in the peace talks in Northern Ireland. America has strong historic and cultural ties to Ireland. We share a communal heritage and familiar backgrounds. However, with all of our resources we cannot solve this problem for Ireland and Britain. The will of the Irish and British people is the one element in the peace talks that will be the determining factor. At this pivotal moment, the fate of Northern Ireland lies in the hands of those involved in the negotiations. I commend both Bertie Ahern, the Taoiseach of Ireland, British Prime Minister Tony Blair, along with Mo Mowlam, British Secretary for Northern Ireland, John Hume, David Trimble and Gerry Adams for their commitment to working toward a peaceful resolution. I encourage them to seize this historic opportunity to end the violence in Northern Ireland and to put in place a new framework that encourages this end.

I will say that just in speaking to the parties today, being in America, they seem like they have moved closer together. There is better dialogue than ever before. Cultivating that peace process, that dialogue, that positive communication is something that we had been uniquely suitable to do.

The history of Northern Ireland is marked by the events of Bloody Sunday, the hunger strikes and many other tragedies. On this St. Patrick's Day let us renew our commitment to the negotiations and encourage the Irish and British governments to resolve their differences and come to a realistic framework for peace. I understand that when the negotiators return to the table, they will be faced with the Easter deadline. This is indeed a critical moment, but it is also exciting and hopeful and perhaps the very best chance for peace in decades.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Just to conclude, Mr. Speaker, I urge every Member to vote for this resolution. Again it puts us on record supporting not only the peace process, but the all important inclusiveness of the human rights dimension. We do not want it to be a sub or a sidebar issue.

It ought to be a mainstream issue. There is not evidence enough that it has been.

Let me also just say, as I have done in meeting with Mo Mowlam, and I know many of my colleagues have done this in the past, we have all raised specific questions and issues. I raised Sean Kelly and Michael Timmons when I met with her. Our hope is that these two gentlemen and others who find themselves in a similar circumstance or who have been incarcerated because of the common purpose laws, were not convicted of committing a crime but were in proximity to a crime and therefore found themselves getting life sentences for their unfortunate proximity to a heinous act. I met with those two individuals in the Maze prison last year. I was very much impressed. The human rights organizations with whom I have had contact with believe that they are innocent and our hope is that in the spirit of reconciliation and, above all, in the spirit of justice these individuals will find their way to freedom.

We had Sean Kelly's father testify at our hearing and he gave a very persuasive account as to what happened. Again, the human rights organizations have looked at these cases very carefully and have concluded that this has been a miscarriage of justice if ever there was one. So our plea to the government of the United Kingdom would be to let these individuals out. It is a positive step towards reconciliation, but above all it would be a step in the right direction towards peace.

Mrs. KENNELLY of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my strong support for House Concurrent Resolution 152 which moves the issue of human rights to the forefront of the peace talks in Northern Ireland. We are at a crossroads in the history of Northern Ireland and have a unique opportunity to finally secure lasting peace in an area that has too often endured violence.

Since 1969, the political violence in Northern Ireland has claimed more than 3,000 lives and resulted in injuries to thousands more. This must finally end and all parties must work together in a democratic, peaceful manner, to ensure that human rights will be respected for all the people of Northern Ireland.

I am encouraged by the leadership of the Irish and British Governments and the efforts of former United States Senator George Mitchell, who have fostered the opportunity for an end to the violence and brought hope for a lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

I urge my colleagues to support this important resolution, and to support an end to the violence and human rights abuses in Northern Ireland.

Mr. MANTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H. Con. Res. 152 and thank my colleague CHRIS SMITH for introducing this important and timely legislation to address human rights in the Northern Ireland peace process.

As a Co-Chair of the Congressional Ad Hoc Committee on Irish Affairs, I have worked closely with my colleagues to ensure a just and lasting peace in Northern Ireland. Nearly 3,000 people have lost their lives through the

political strife that has plagued this community for over 25 years. Today, however, there is hope. With the leadership of former Senator George Mitchell, substantive talks between the British and the Irish governments, along with those representing various political parties, have made landmark progress.

I believe H. Con. Res. 152 sends a clear and strong message to all parties involved in these talks that they must address the central issue to the troubles in Northern Ireland—the denial of basic human rights. We, as Members of Congress, must raise this important issue and continue to demonstrate our support to finding an end to the violence in Northern Ireland.

In order to develop a lasting peace in this region, many of the blatant human rights abuses must come to a stop. The abuses of diplock courts, mistreatment of detainees in Northern Ireland, threats against business owners, and harassment by the police against citizens can simply no longer be accepted or allowed to continue. This legislation addresses these and other human rights abuses and strongly suggests that parties from both sides of the conflict to embrace and practice international human rights standards.

Although the MacBride Principle have had a positive impact on the economic and labor climate in Northern Ireland, Catholic males are still twice as likely as Protestant males to be unemployed. H. Con. Res. 152 encourages leaders in the peace talks to ensure that Catholics have the means necessary to receive the training essential to obtaining a job.

I commend the new leadership in Britain and in Ireland for their efforts on this issue. I believe the movement towards peace will be much swifter as these two governments address the need to reach an agreement on human rights. In addition, I know their leadership, along with that of former Senator George Mitchell, will foster progress and bring political, social and economic stability to Northern Ireland.

Mr. Speaker, thank you for allowing this important human rights measure to come to the floor. I also want to again congratulate my friend and colleague, CHRIS SMITH, for his leadership on this issue.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 152, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 5 of rule I, the Chair announces that further proceedings on this motion will be postponed until tomorrow.

CALLING FOR AN END TO VIOLENT REPRESSION OF LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE OF KOSOVA

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend rules and agree to the concur-

rent resolution (H. Con. Res. 235) calling for an end to the violent repression of the legitimate rights of the people of Kosova, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 235

Whereas the Albanian people of Kosova constitute more than 90 percent of the total population of Kosova;

Whereas the political rights of the Albanian people of Kosova were curtailed when the Government of Yugoslavia illegally amended the Constitution of Yugoslavia without the consent of the people of Kosova on March 23, 1989, revoking the autonomous status of Kosova;

Whereas in 1990, the Parliament and Government of Kosova were abolished by further unlawful amendments to the Constitution of Yugoslavia;

Whereas the Mission of Long Duration to Kosova, the Sandzak and Vojvodina, which the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) deployed in 1992, eased local tensions through objective human rights monitoring and facilitating dialogue between authorities and the various communities before the authorities of Serbia-Montenegro expelled the Mission in 1993;

Whereas the State Department's 1997 Country Report on Human Rights in Serbia notes violations of civil liberties in Kosova particularly in the following categories: political and other extra-judicial killing; torture and other cruel inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; arbitrary arrest, detention or exile; denial of fair public trial; and arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home, or correspondence;

Whereas on the night of February 28, 1998, Serbian paramilitary policy units, reported to number in excess of 25,000 men, swept through the Drenica region of Kosova killing more than 20 Albanian citizens, many of who died from being beaten to death;

Whereas on March 2, 1998, 30,000 demonstrators peacefully marched in Pristina to protest the massacre of February 28 and were brutally attacked by Serbian police;

Whereas a group calling itself the Liberation Army of Kosova has threatened to retaliate against the atrocities committed by Serbian authorities;

Whereas new elections in Kosova scheduled for March 22, 1998, have now been postponed; and

Whereas the President of the United States and other officials have warned the Government of Serbia that there would be serious consequences if Serbian policies led to an escalation of violence in Kosova: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That it is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the violent repression carried out by the Serbian police and paramilitary forces against the ethnic Albanian population of Kosova should be condemned by the United States and the international community;

(2) efforts of the international Contact Group (the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia, and Italy) in support of a resolution of the conflict in Kosova are to be commended and intensified;

(3) no international or United States sanctions currently in force against the Government of Serbia and Montenegro should be terminated at this time, unless such termination serves to support a peaceful resolution to the repression in Kosova;

(4) the United States should consult with its allies and other members of the United Nations on reimposing those sanctions against Serbia-Montenegro that were terminated following the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995 if Serbian authori-

ties continue to use unlawful violence against the Albanian people of Kosova;

(5) the United States should acknowledge recent developments in the Republic of Montenegro that indicate that the new leadership of the Republic is seeking a peaceful resolution to the repression in Kosova, particularly the statement by Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic that Kosova must receive a certain degree of autonomy, and his call for a dialog between the Government of Serbia and Montenegro and ethnic Albanians in Kosova;

(6) the United States should, to the extent practicable, recognize positive actions by the Government of the Republic of Montenegro with regard to repression in Kosova through exclusion from those sanctions that may be applied to the Government of Serbia;

(7) the elections in Kosova originally scheduled for March 22, 1998, and now postponed, should be allowed to proceed unimpeded by Belgrade whenever they take place, as they represent the opportunity for a peaceful expression of the political will of the Albanian people of Kosova;

(8) all parties should refrain from acts that could lead to heightened tensions in Kosova;

(9) international and nongovernmental organizations that provide medical assistance should be permitted immediate and unrestricted access to Kosova and all of its citizens;

(10) international investigators of serious breaches of international humanitarian law should be granted immediate and unimpeded access to all parts of Kosova and to its citizens;

(11) the agreement on education in Kosova should be implemented immediately, including at the university level, allowing all residents of Kosova regardless of ethnicity to receive education in their native tongue;

(12) the elected leaders of Kosova should begin a dialog without preconditions with the authorities in Belgrade to resolve the present situation, and to provide for the exercise of the legitimate civil and political rights of all the people of Kosova;

(13) inasmuch as the Belgrade regime led by the last Communist dictator in Europe, Slobodan Milosevic, continues to abuse democratic norms and the rights of all its citizens, threatening general regional stability, the United States should undertake determined measures and provisions designed to promote human rights and democratic government throughout Serbia and Montenegro;

(14) the authorities of Serbia-Montenegro should cooperate fully with efforts and initiatives of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to address the problems in Kosova, including the immediate and unconditional return of a Mission of Long Duration;

(15) staff of the United States Information Agency office in Pristina, Kosova, should be augmented; and

(16) the United Nations Security Council should consider the question of restoration of the human and political rights of the people of Kosova and actions to halt Belgrade's violent repression of the region's population.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DAVIS), each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.