Mr. FOSSELLA. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heavy heart that I rise today to support this resolution. I say this not as a Republican, not as a New Yorker, but as a person who loves this great country and all it represents.

Earlier today, the gentleman from New York, Mr. NADLER, stated in essence: “This matter will be the most divisive issue this nation has faced since Vietnam. While I do not question the gentleman from New York’s belief that he believes this to be true, I do take exception to the comparison and respectfully disagree. Here is why—during the Vietnam War, as has been the case with every war or military conflict since our Nation’s birth, men and women were sent overseas with a willingness to die for freedom, liberty and to defend the rule of law. In the case before us, the President of the United States has been charged with violating the rule of law that so many Americans have died for and are still willing to die for at a moment’s notice all over the globe. The same rule of law that we must ensure applies equally to every single American, including the President of the United States.

This matter goes to the very heart and soul of what America is all about. This matter will determine whether we defend the Constitution, or destroy it. I hope and pray that each distinguished Member of this body sees through the clouds of rhetoric to uphold the rule of law.

It is the rule of law that unifies this country. It is the rule of law that allows each American the opportunity to enjoy and to pursue what our Founding Fathers and every generation of Americans since have always hoped for—that each American be entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. If we, indeed, cherish the notions of personal freedom and individual liberty granted to every single American, then we will seek to vindicate the rule of law and proceed with this matter with all deliberate speed and an unbreakable bond with each other toward fairness, equity and justice for each party involved, including the President of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, too many Americans have died to defend these principles we hold so sacred. Too many generations of Americans have given so much to wish reluctantly that this matter just disappear. Just as important, Mr. Speaker, with the Almighty blessing, generations of Americans yet unborn will look back to this day and claim this to be one of America’s finest hours, not as a sideshow that desperately needs immediate relief and assistance for reconstruction. The pace and scale of aid and investment in Omagh and other towns recently bombed—Banbridge, Markethill, and Newtownhamilton—could determine whether the Agreement holds.

The U.S. can continue its crucial role in the peace process by creating and promoting economic growth through trade and investment in the region’s severely economically deprived areas. In addition to promoting trade and investment in NI and IR, the U.S. should consider grants to aid communities suffering terrorist attacks.

e. Fair employment practices in Northern Ireland are an essential element for an expanding full employment economy. Congress notes with approval the constant efforts undertaken by the Northern Ireland Fair Employment Commission and Employment Tribunal to achieve this end. Congress is also aware that the Good Friday Peace Agreement established an Anti-discrimination Committee to augment the work done by the Commission and Tribunal. Congress believes their continuing efforts constitute persuasive evidence that economic justice principles contained herein are being effectively safeguarded and promoted for all communities. (Assistance in legislation is contingent on MacBride principles as agreed to by R. J.97 conference report).

f. The strengthening of a police force acceptable to both communities in Northern Ireland is essential for the formation and success of a peaceful and prosperous civil society. The Congress notes the Independent Commission on Policing to be report on the policing problems in Northern Ireland. The Congress, taking into account the recommendations of the Commission, shall report to Congress on a bi-annual basis how the United States can assist in the establishment and an acceptable policing force in Northern Ireland with the highest level of professionalism.

(2) OPIC directive: OPIC shall establish $200 million in equity funds for Northern Ireland for the establishment and expansion of new businesses. Funds shall focus on distressed areas in NI and IR and as well as to assist women in Business Fund: No less than 20% of the equity fund should be dedicated to encourage investment by women entrepreneurs and should be targeted to ventures headed or owned by women.

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to introduce legislation that targets a trade and investment initiative toward Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Irish Republic. My view is that using existing trade and investment tools to stimulate economic hope and opportunity in the Irish region is the best chance we have for ensuring the Good Friday Peace Agreement is fully implemented.

Over the past few months, my thoughts, hopes, and concerns have fixed upon the Irish region. From the peaks of the Good Friday Peace Agreement and election of the first local government in Northern Ireland in over twenty five years, to the valleys of Omagh, the arson deaths of three young brothers in Ballymoney, and the horrors of the Omagh bomb, my hopes for that troubled land have twisted and turned with events seemingly beyond our ability to impact or entirely understand.

Northern Ireland needs our nation’s support and assistance in most crucial stages along the path to lasting peace and consensual self government. On the very edge of undertaking their governmental duties and offices as set forth in the Good Friday Peace Agreement, the political leaders face one final stage—the decommissioning issue—that stands between the promise of a democratic and prosperous government for both communities. Time is short and a clear sign of support from Congress could help lift the parties over the last hurdle.

As you know, Irish free trade legislation has been slowed by resistance from the European Union, which considers a free trade agreement between the U.S. and Northern Ireland and the Border counties as a threat to their customs union. As member states of the EU, both Ireland and Britain have viewed free trade legislation as legislation.

Faced with continued resistance to the Irish free trade legislation, I concluded that a fresh attempt to fashion legislation that could address European renicence while quickly delivering meaningful trade and investment assistance to Northern Ireland was in order.

I have developed legislation that targets existing trade and investment tools such as the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) to assist Northern Ireland’s exporters to grow their economy and job base. The legislation creates a special trade and investment corporation (OPIC) that generates private sector focus and interest in Northern Ireland and the Border area and makes sure that women entrepreneurs have meaningful access to that funding. I have additionally utilized the International Fund for Ireland as a channel to increase funding for projects that will create a rapid job growth in the private sector. Finally, I have targeted five projects for funding and support that will provide both immediate and mid-term job generating growth.

While there are few days left before adjournment, I am determined to advance this new bill as far as the legislative schedule and the leadership will allow. I ask for your help, assistance, and cosponsorship. A clear, serious and solid signal of support to the parties in Northern Ireland is crucial for their continued forward progress. For your information, I have attached an executive summary of the bill and some recent news items which illustrate the need for a reinvigorated effort on our part.
b. New Technology Fund: No less than $10 million shall be dedicated to investment in projects emanating from new technologies.

(3) increased funding for the international fund for Ireland (IFI) by $30 million a year, and that U.S. contribution to IFI shall not fall below $40 million/year through 2003. The President shall ensure that enhanced contributions benefit the most economically deprived areas.

a. 50% of annual U.S. contribution should go to joint ventures in the region. The projects shall be selected by the Directors of the IFI in consultation with members of the North of Ireland Assembly, and members of cross-border economic and community development agencies in both Ireland and the United Kingdom. Projects should be directed towards economic growth and employment, and should contribute to the economic development of the region.

b. The IFI shall support the development of Science Parks in Northern Ireland to bring to the marketplace the fruits of the scientific research undertaken in Northern Ireland's two universities. The IFI should consider leveraging this investment by allocating funds to establish five science parks in Belfast, Coleraine, Magee College, Armagh, and Omagh—each of which are located near existing research centers and campuses. It is estimated that these parks could attract additional investment and create between 20 and 30 viable businesses over a 5-year period.

c. $5 million in co-financing to the $8 million Innovation Fund established by the UK and the Republic of Ireland for Ireland. The IFI should support projects in the following sectors:

i. 7% of annual U.S. contribution to the IFI shall be dedicated to investment in further and higher education. IFI support for university campuses in a very deprived area of West Belfast, the scene of much of the terror brought the economy to a standstill for decades was fixed.

ii. $5 million in co-financing to the $8 million Innovation Fund established by the UK and the Republic of Ireland for Ireland. The IFI should support projects in the following sectors:

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iii. The past four years, U.S. employers accounted for more than one year. Until early last year, the North's jobless rate is still higher than in the rest of the United Kingdom, and its growth rate pales compared with that of its Celtic Tiger neighbor, the best-in-Europe "Celtic Tiger" economy.

TRAILING ITS NEIGHBORS

The North suffers because of the high value of the British pound, which has cut export opportunities. And too many workers—183,000 of a total work force of about 600,000—depend on government pay checks. The economy must grow by about 2% just to put it at risk.

factory, he was chosen. "It's changed everything for me," says McIntyre, 45, who was born and raised in the Catholic ghetto here known as the Bogside.

Derry's efforts to cultivate U.S. economic links date back to the mid-1980s. On frequent trips to the USA, Derry's John Humen, an architect of the peace agreement as leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, tapped an extensive network of Irish-American political contacts, including Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass. Humen pitched Northern Ireland to companies looking for a European foothold. "There had been a substantial amount of financial support for violence coming from America," Humen says. "I told them the real help they could give us was economic."

In those days, when car bombs and bullets appeared to fill Northern Ireland's streets, the province was a tough sell.

Declan O'Hare, who ran the investment promotion office in New York in the late 1960s, says, "You'd have doors slammed in your face. You'd say you were from Northern Ireland and people didn't want to see you."

Now, with U.S. investment last year of $620 million, vs. about $50 million 10 years ago, the Derrymen get a different reception. In March, they met with more than 50 U.S. executives on a tour of Boston, New York and Washington—several times the number he attracted during previous visits.

And does he think Northern Ireland is synonymous with random violence? Says Allen: "I feel a lot safer in Derry than in Minneapolis or Chicago or many other American cities."

[From the Irish Times, Sept. 9, 1998]

POVERTY IN REPUBLIC IS SECOND IN UN REPORT

(By Paul Cullen)

The Republic has the highest concentration of poverty among Western countries outside the U.S., according to a United Nations report published today.

In spite of growing wealth and improving social services, the Human Development Report 1998 reveals wide disparities in the distribution of wealth within the State.

Irish women are worse off economically than the men, the report says. The average unemployment rate for women is 10.6%, compared with 9.3% for men. The richest three people are wealthier than one billion people living at or near the margin, increased consumption is essential. Thus, global warming caused by increases in carbon dioxide emissions primarily threaten the poor of African countries who occupy the bottom 15 places in the index. Sierra Leone comes last, but other politically unstable countries such as Rwanda are not listed this year because of the difficulties in gathering information. The report says consumption, if properly regulated and directed, offers a route out of poverty for the world's poor. "For more than one billion people living at or near the margin, increased consumption is essential. For those at the top, it has become a way of life," says the UNDP administrator, Mr. G. Speth.

While consumption increases have proved "the life-blood of human advances", spending is misdirected. Europe spends $8 billion a year on health, which would provide basic health and nutrition for the poor. According to the report, the wealth of the world's 25 richest people is equal to the annual income of half the world's population. The richest three people are wealthier than the poorest 48 countries.

[From the Financial Times, Sept. 22, 1998]

RURAL AREAS COMPLAIN OF PITIFUL NEGLCT—TOWNS SUCH AS BALLINA IN COUNTY MAYO TYPIFY THE REGION'S POOR RELATION STATUS

(By Kieran Cooke)

The town of Ballina lies on the western edge of the scenic, bleak but hauntingly beautiful landscape of County Mayo. The Moy, one of Europe's finest salmon rivers, flows by churches and old warehouse buildings. The Atlantic wind whips down streets lined with fishing tackle shops and pubs.

Mention of the Celtic tiger brings a wry smile to the face of Terry McCole, a Ballina college principal and former head of the local Celtic Tiger council. "People round here say Ireland's economic tiger must have run out of steam on its journey to the west from Dublin. The politicians and planners have largely ignored this part of the country. Dublin and the east have been grabbing the bulk of investment and benefits of economic growth—we're left to fight over the crumbs."

Mr. McCole's views are echoed all along Ireland's Atlantic seaboard—from County Donegal in the northwest to County Clare on the southwest. Ireland, says the government's critics, is fast becoming a two-nation state. On the eastern side, the country is one of the increasing wealthy areas around Dublin and Cork, succumbing up inward investments and EU funding. On the other are the disadvantaged border, midland and western counties, bereft of investment and facing serious population declines.

Ballina, County Mayo's biggest town with a population of 8,000, has an unemployment rate of 25 percent—over twice the national average. In the early 1970s Asahi, the Japanese group, opened a synthetic fibres plant near the town with the promise of 1,100 jobs. At its peak, employment reached 500—the plant was forced to close down last year due to worldwide overcapacity for its product. "The government does not have any proper regional policy," says Mr. McCole. "The whole system is designed for the cities. The one place in the west that is really thriving is Galway, which has attracted millions in investment and is now the fastest growing city in Europe. But we have had to fight very hard to achieve some progress."

Ballina's efforts have met with some success. A 110m hotel and apartment complex is being built in central Ballina. The tourism industry is flourishing. More than 150,000 attended a recent festival there—attractions included an animal Olympic games, with heavy betting on the duck and pig races.

A number of small industries, including a seed potato enterprise, have been established. A computer company is creating 100 jobs. Coca-Cola recently undertook a multi-million pound investment in a research facility in the town which will employ 150 people. And there are plans to set up a small university institution, specializing in theological studies.

"There's no doubt there is a confidence that was absent five years ago," says Terry Reilly, editor of the local Western People newspaper. "But in comparison with what's happening in the east of the country, development in this area is still slow. The great worry is when the economic downturn comes—as it inevitably will—what will happen here? The west has always been the last area to receive the benefits of economic growth and the first to be hit by a decline."

Many schools, hospitals and police stations in the area have been forced to close. The road and rail network is in dire need of updating. Graduates are forced to migrate to the east in search of jobs—the result is a declining skill pool in the west and problems of overcrowding and rapidly increasing house prices in the east, primarily in Dublin. More than a third of Ireland's population now lives in the Dublin area.

Next year Brussels is due to review Ireland's Objective One status, under which the country has received millions of pounds of EU development funding. Mr. Reilly and many others say the government won those funds by promising help to the underdeveloped state of the west of the country—but then proceeded to spend the bulk of the Brussels money in the east.

Due to the rapid growth of its economy, Ireland is almost certain to lose its Objective One status. However, many in the west are determined to fight for its retention in their region.

"So far we've had lots of government reports and initiatives but no real action," says Mr. McCole. "What's encouraging is that local people are now getting on with developing the area, with or without government help. Perhaps we'll breed our own Celtic tiger."
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

October 10, 1998

AUTHORIZING THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY TO INVESTIGATE WHETHER SUFFICIENT GROUNDS EXIST FOR THE IMPEACHMENT OF WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SPEECH OF
HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 8, 1998

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the Record two insightful and useful editorials from The Nation magazine. The first one, titled “Clinton, Starr and the Constitution” points out that “this inquiry has been driven by politics from the start.” The Nation, which has been a staunch critic of Bill Clinton, is right. Almost from the beginning of his Presidency, states that “Kenneth Starr’s impeachment report represents an assault not merely on Bill Clinton but, more significant, on the presidency, the Constitution and our democracy.”

It also rightly points out that “What the conservatives, shaped by election they have thwarted by investigation. This Congress saw no important legislation passed on tobacco and children, education, childcare, minimum wage or campaign finance reform.”

The second editorial points out that the tactics of this investigation have amounted to “sexual McCarthyism.” In drawing a powerful historical analogy, the Nation points suggest that “the Enemy Other is sexual rather than historical analogy, the Nation points suggest that “the Enemy Other is sexual rather than political deviance.” Just like during the 1950’s, there have been secret grand jury leaks, wiretapping has been used to entrap witnesses and the legal process is being used to punish or defame people for activities that may be “politically and culturally anathema,” but not necessarily crimes. Hence the need for the public to hear all the salacious details contained in the Ken Starr report.

I bring these fine editorials to the attention of my colleagues and the public.

[From The Nation, Oct. 5, 1998]

CLINTON, STARR AND THE CONSTITUTION

Kenneth Starr’s impeachment report represents an assault not merely on Bill Clinton but, more significant, on the presidency, the Constitution and our democracy. It is crucial to the future of all three that it be repudiated before its damage becomes irreversible.

We have no great affection for the President, who has systematically held most everyone and everything for which he professed to stand during his six years in office. But those failings should not obscure the grandeur that has been granted by the possibility of Starr and his minions forcing Bill Clinton out of office. Whatever the degree of the President’s responsibility for bringing this calamitous situation on his own head—and that responsibility is considerable—the nation cannot allow itself to be decapitated by what is, at its core, a politically motivated witch hunt.

Clinton’s actions ought not to be the subject of an impeachment inquiry. Starr went after possibly more serious allegations against the President related to Whitewater, Filegate and Travelgate, but despite a nearly crazed obsession with nailing his prey, he apparently came up empty-handed. He has threatened to handcuff or to decapitate any investigation case entirely on Clinton’s adulterous affair and attempts to cover it up.

A principled man, comfortable with himself and the Constitution, should be able to argue that no citizen may be compelled to testify about intimate details of his sex life in public. This is precisely the kind of abuse that the Constitution democratically, the nation’s top law-enforcement officials, Starr, the House Judiciary Committee, and the Senate, all improperly conducting a deception designed by the American people to see that Congress addresses this transgression (which does not necessarily mean crimes or misdemeanors) in addressing the nation’s problems of growing corporate power and inequality) with a punishment that fits the crime. One of the most striking surreal situations in our history is how the nation’s top law-enforcement officials, Starr, the House Judiciary Committee, and the Senate, all improperly conducting a deception designed by the American people to see that Congress addresses this transgression, which does not necessarily mean crimes or misdemeanors, in addressing the nation’s problems of growing corporate power and inequality) with a punishment that fits the crime.

The Constitution says that Congress shall impeach only “treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.” The President’s lawyers are on firm ground when they assert, “The impeachment clause was designed to prevent against a crime charge, such as that of a President who was using his official powers against the nation, against the American people, against our society. It was never designed to allow a political body to force a President from office for a very personal mistake.”

This inquiry has been driven by politics from the start. There is a partisan conservative Republican who has been the spearhead of an unprincipled, well-funded attack on the Administration almost from the moment it took office. Led we forget: Starr, former chief of staff to Reagan Attorney General William French Smith, was chosen for his current job in 1994 by a three-judge panel that itself was selected by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, who would preside over the Senate in the event of an impeachment trial. Starr considered writing an amicus brief to defend Starr, the Ninth Circuit judges that refused to censure the President in 1991 by a three-judge panel that itself was selected by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, who would preside over the Senate in the event of an impeachment trial. Starr considered writing an amicus brief to defend Starr, the Ninth Circuit judges that refused to censure the President, in a form to be determined. The President, for his part, could do his party and the country a favor by admitting he lied and making clear that he has committed such a crime. If such a conscientious resolution, if it comes to that, should be narrowly focused on the nation’s top law-enforcement official lying under oath in his Paula Jones deposition to give credence to Starr’s unproven claims of grand jury perjury and obstruction of justice.

Going forward, Congress should also insist, by way of change in statutes governing the independent counsel’s office, that no person will ever again be vested with the unconstuted power that Starr has so effectively misused. Inquisitions, sexual or otherwise, are “inappropriate” in a constitutional democracy.

STARRISM

Everyone from Wall Dershowitz to a front-page classified advertiser in the New York Times has sounded the alarm about “sexual McCarthyism” in connection with Kenneth Starr, his report and all the rest.

The word “McCarthyism,” as many have pointed out [see Navasky, “Dialectical McCarthyism(s),” July 20] is a misnomer since it describes a phenomenon that began because the junior senator from Wisconsin arrived on the scene and persisted after he was retired from it. And each time this umbrella term for the excesses of the anti-Communist crusade is recycled as a metaphor for the latest political mugging, it loses something of its original power and precision as a description of a social pathological.

Moreover, in the case of Starr & Co. the metaphor seems inexact because McCarthy was notorious for the slippiness of his methods, the manipulation of numbers (first there were 205, then fifty-seven, then eighty-one card-carrying Communists in the State Department) and, as often as not, getting the wrong target. In contrast, the political threat against Clinton appears to be well documented, and Starr seems obsessively precise and meticulous (although the closer one looks at his report the less confidence one has in its integrity).

Is “sexual McCarthyism” a misleading metaphor for what is happening? Not really. Though there are obvious differences, there are at least three significant similarities between then and now. It’s important to identify what they are before we too many reputations are shredded, too many historical values violated, too many dangerous precedents established, too much privacy invaded.

First and foremost, there is the attempt to destroy a political and social enemy. Other Historians like the late Frank Donner have demonstrated how great the Red hunt