

Guam, it was clearly inadequate. It was recognized by a number of Federal commissions, including the Hopkins Commission, Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes in 1947 and 1948, that the Guam Meritorious Claims Act, which was in existence for one year, was inadequate to deal with the thousands of claims that had to be submitted and in fact were not submitted.

It was inadequate to deal with the claims of a people who had simply lost all their homes and, instead of concentrating on the claims, they were all trying to find ways to be resettled. As a consequence, thousands of people, the vast majority of people of Guam never submitted claims. And most of the claims that were submitted and adjudicated by the United States Navy, which was the administering authority by congressional action for these claims, basically most of them were property claims.

To give my colleagues an example, one person who was beaten to death for saving a Navy pilot was given by the U.S. Navy, his family was given \$665.10 for the sacrifice of their father. A Navy plane had been shot down. He tried to go and help the pilot. The Japanese discovered him. He was subsequently beaten to death. The pilot was also executed. And for this the family received compensation, \$665.10.

□ 1700

If you wanted to personally, if you wanted to adjudicate a claim in 1946 dollars of more than \$5,000, which was allowed for a death claim, you had to come to Washington, D.C. to personally adjudicate the claim, which was quite an impossibility for a community that was war-torn at the time and did not really recover from World War II until the 1950s.

In asking on Congress to revisit this issue I want to point out a couple of items:

In 1945 there was the Guam Meritorious Claims Act. This was the act designed to deal with the American nationals of Guam for their suffering during World War II.

In 1948 there was similar legislation for Americans and American nationals, that was the term used at the time, to adjudicate their claims as a result of their suffering at the hands of the Japanese and the Germans. This includes people like who were nurses, for example, or American civilians who happened to be caught in the Philippines when the Japanese came. These people, including some people from Guam who happened to be in the Philippines at the time of the Japanese occupation, were allowed to submit claims under the 1948 law, and as a result of the inefficiencies in that law, that later was amended in 1962 to further perfect and finalize the arrangements dealing with the wartime experience.

The people of Guam were not included in the 1948 law, and they were not included in the 1962 law, and I want to explain a brief personal example of how that worked.

My grandfather, James Holland Underwood, was from North Carolina and he was a civilian on Guam when the Japanese landed. He was taken by the Japanese as a civilian internee, put in Japan for four years. While he was in Japan for four years, his wife, my grandmother, his sons, including my father, and their families were subjected to the Japanese occupation under very horrendous conditions. My parents lost three children during the Japanese occupation.

My grandfather was allowed to file a claim with the 1948 law, later revised in 1962, but neither of my parents were ever compensated for any of the experiences that they had, despite the fact that they were the ones who suffered the most. Not to say that my grandfather did not suffer as well, but it was an anomaly of congressional law.

The first question that I am always asked on something like this is why do we not submit these claims to the Japanese Government, since they were the source of this problem to begin with? And the issue is rather simple. The U.S.-Japan peace treaty in 1951 forever closed the door. That is typically part of peace treaties, whereby if you sign a peace treaty with a country, that claims of your own citizens against the other country are inherited by your own government. This was acknowledged by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles when the issue was raised in the 1950s.

So what we have is a case of legislation that has fallen through the cracks, has taken the one single group of Americans in this century who directly experienced foreign occupation and has ignored their sacrifices and has not respected their loyalty.

Yet despite this experience, July 21, which is the day that the Marines landed on Guam, is by far the biggest holiday on Guam. People are eternally and genuinely grateful for the sacrifices of the men of the Third Marine Division, First Marine Provisional Brigade, units of the 77th U.S. Army infantry, the Coast Guard, the Navy, very genuinely grateful for the sacrifices in removing the Japanese from Guam.

Yet the people of Guam have not been treated the same as the people of the Philippines, who were granted \$390 million by the U.S. Congress and who in turn, because they became an independent Nation, were allowed to submit separate claims against Japan. The people of Guam were not treated the same as other U.S. nationals and other American citizens and most noticeably sometimes different people, because they were in the same family, were treated differently.

This is an issue which will take some resolution. I am glad to see that there have been several cosponsors for this legislation. I have introduced this legislation today. I hope and I pray that this will be the Congress that will finally put this issue to rest. World War II, the sacrifices of the World War II generation, are no less the men in uni-

form and the people back on the domestic home front, but certainly for a very small group of people who were considered American nationals at the time, who endured a horrendous occupation by an enemy power, subject to forced marches, forced labor, brutal killings, many injuries and widespread malnutrition which itself caused hundreds of deaths, must not go unnoticed, must not go unrecognized.

And so I hope and I pray that this will be the Congress where we will finally bring an end to this wartime legacy.

Mrs. Beatrice Flores died two years ago. Under this legislation, if she had remained alive, she would be awarded \$7,000 for injuries suffered as a result of World War II. Today, even if this legislation passes, nothing would happen. Her family would get nothing because the only legitimate claims that can be made were for those people who actually died during the Japanese occupation.

So, the longer we wait, the more justice is delayed, the more certain people who experience this directly will not get compensated, and so I feel very strongly about this. I feel that the people of Guam finally need for this to come to a conclusion, and I hope that Members of this body will support this piece of legislation.

#### GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IN PERIL

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to acknowledge at this time my good friend and colleague from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) who will join me and other Members, including the gentleman from New York (Mr. BEN GILMAN) in a bipartisan discussion concerning the Northern Ireland peace agreement.

Mr. Speaker, the peace process in Northern Ireland is in serious trouble. The Good Friday agreement we cautiously celebrated last spring is now under attack from within. Ulster Party leader David Trimble, who signed the agreement just nine months ago, is now balking and trying to reopen, renegotiate and re-interpret the terms of that hard-fought agreement. Over the past few months we have seen deadlines pass, deals reneged upon and a return to the ugly politics of exclusion.

Let me remind those who support the status quo that the people in Ireland, north and south, voted decisively for change in the referendums last May. History will not be kind to those who fail to deliver.

The next couple of weeks are critical. On Monday the Northern Ireland Assembly will meet to formally approve the creation of the 10-member executive and cross-border bodies. Over the

next two weeks the assembly will make preparations for the transfer of powers from the Northern Ireland office on March 10.

David Trimble wishes to lay claim to the title of first Minister of Northern Ireland. If he is ever to fulfill the tremendous responsibilities of serving as the first minister for both communities in Northern Ireland, he needs to move forward to implement the agreement that he is a party to and to appoint ministers to the executive. If he fails to do so, the two governments party to the agreement, namely Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Great Britain should reject the Trimble veto, take responsibility into their own hands and implement the agreement. They must support those who are working for peace, who wish to govern and serve in a new Northern Ireland. They should implement the agreement.

Mr. Speaker, why should the people of the United States care? Well, because first of all there are millions and millions of Americans of Irish descent who reside in the United States, some of whom have paid very close attention to this, others who have not but yet understand what all Americans understand, and that is that Northern Ireland must move forward into a pluralistic, democratically-elected government that makes it possible for everyone to live out their lives, and practice their religion, and practice their own philosophy, and raise their family and raise their children in a spirit of equality and under a government that allows for individual freedoms and beliefs.

One of the issues that has really hung this process up is something referred to as decommissioning. Decommissioning is the term that is used by the political parties of the north that in effect would disarm all of the combatants in this process, and I stress the words all of the combatants. As you probably know, there has been for the last 30 years at least a period of strife, civil strife, violence, and it has been a very difficult time. Decommissioning would require under the agreement that all parties to the agreement, all political parties to the agreement, would use their good offices and their political capital to remove all of the guns and all the bullets from Northern Ireland. The agreement provided two years for this to take place and urged that all parties work toward that end, and at the end of the two-year period ideally all the weapons would be removed.

Mr. Trimble has seized upon this issue and has, I think, really backed himself into a corner, because what he is saying now is that in order for him to implement the agreement, the IRA and the political leadership of Sinn Féin must deliver decommissioning prior to the implementation of the government, which is in direct contradiction to the agreement. The agreement says we all work together toward the end of violence and decommissioning, the end of arms, in a two-year period.

Meanwhile we have deadlines that have to be met in order to put this government together, and if Mr. Trimble would stick to the agreement, progress would be being made now, and in fact one of the things that has to occur along the way is to eliminate the root causes for violence. And if those root causes are not eliminated, then regardless of whether the weapons disappear now or later, if the root causes are still there, the violence will return.

So the agreement was hard-fought, every "I" was dotted and "T" was crossed with everyone watching, and words do matter over there. So the agreement needs to be implemented.

I will take another moment and focus on another very important element in this agreement, and then I will yield to my friend from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL).

The Good Friday agreement calls for a new beginning to policing in Northern Ireland and contains a clear and unmistakable mandate for a new approach in this area, one capable of attracting and maintaining support from the community as a whole. In doing so it acknowledges the major defects in the current policing arrangement and the vital need for change.

□ 1715

At this critical juncture in the peace process, there is an enormous responsibility on Members of the Patten Commission. It is essential that they submit the kind of innovative proposals which the situation demands. It is no exaggeration to say that many in the Nationalist community will judge the value of the agreement by what the Commission delivers on policing. The terms of reference given to the Patten Commission, which are detailed in the Good Friday Agreement, are comprehensive and far-reaching. I propose today to include them in the record of the House.

They require that the Commission deal with key issues, such as the composition, future police structure, and the whole culture and character of the force. The objective is to provide a police service with which both communities can identify. That is definitely not the case at present.

The overriding problem is that the Nationalist community does not see the RUC, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, as their police force. This is hardly surprising, given that 93 percent of the force is drawn from the Unionists, as opposed to the Nationalist community, and for much of its history the force operated as an arm, often an oppressive arm, of the Stormont Unionist administration.

People in Nationalist areas recall in the not too distant past the use of lethal force by police, the use of plastic bullets, the use of physical abuse and torture in interrogation centers. They want to know that these features of policing are gone, and gone forever.

In Northern Ireland, policing has been a major source of division, push-

ing the two communities farther and farther apart. In these circumstances, the demand for change is not about getting more Catholics into the RUC, it is about completely overhauling how policing operates in Northern Ireland. It is about creating a new police service with which the Nationalist community can fully identify.

The situation cannot be resolved by tinkering with the problem or merely changing the name or the uniforms of the force, however necessary those changes may be. It requires a fundamental reappraisal of policing structures.

The Good Friday Agreement identifies the objective, a police service enjoying the support of both communities. The Patten Commission must work back from that objective. It is its task to devise the kind of policing service which meets that standard. The status quo cannot be the point of departure.

The new agreement must include fundamental changes in the composition, structure, culture and character of the police. The Commission's guidelines stress the need for the police to become accountable to the community that they serve. This means real power over policing at the regional and local level, with input into recruitment and direction of the force.

The issue is not about adjusting simply the sectarian imbalance within the RUC. It is about creating a police service which Nationalists see as their own. They have never had that.

It is no exaggeration to say that getting the policing issue right will have a major bearing on the ultimate success of the agreement. It is vital, therefore, that the Patten Commission's recommendations be acted upon without delay.

We have seen too many examples of the so-called Securicrats, those shadowy bureaucrats who operate behind the scenes and appear to pay little attention to the political leaders, slowing down reforms to fit some alternative agenda. This must not be allowed to happen with policing.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend and colleague from Massachusetts, who has shown great leadership on this issue, Mr. NEAL.

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH).

Mr. Speaker, there is high significance to this issue as we confront it here again on the House floor in the sense that in terms of international relations, this issue was inspired by Members of the House. It was the constant vigilance of the Members of the House of Representatives many years ago that played an enormous role in bringing this question to the surface and allowing members of the international community to pass some judgment.

I want to thank Mr. WALSH. Time and again, like many Members of the Republican Party, he and others have

been of great assistance on this question over a long period of time.

As one who has been involved in the issue of Ireland for the better part of two decades, in fairness it should be acknowledged this afternoon how far we have come. But the truth is, as we have continued to role the boulder back up the hill time and again in the face of obstacles, some minor and some major, it has been the vigilance of this Congress that has ensured that all voices have rightly been heard.

But let me, if I can, speak for a few moments about the Good Friday Agreement and the issue of decommissioning, as it is commonly known.

The Good Friday Agreement states that all participants reaffirm their commitment to the total disarmament of all paramilitary organizations and to achieve the decommissioning of all paramilitary arms within two years following the endorsement of referendums in the north and the south of Ireland.

What is significant about this occasion, I believe, is that nowhere in the Good Friday Agreement is that issue compromised. It is pointed out time and again in a prescribed timetable that the people in the Republic of Ireland and the north of Ireland simultaneously voted for and endorsed.

So what brings us to this point on the House floor? We are here because, once again, the Nationalist community, the Social Democratic and Labor party, led by John Hume, and the Sinn Fein political party, led by its president, Gerry Adams, have met all of the agreements that were reached on Good Friday under the substantial and able leadership of former Senator and our friend George Mitchell.

And what has been their reward as they have gotten to the goal line? As they have gotten to the goal line, the response has been to move the goal posts back. Sinn Fein and SDLP both have stated emphatically that there are no preconditions that have been offered nor none that were accepted on the issue of decommissioning.

But what do we have as a response from David Trimble and the Ulster Unionist party? They have sought to rewrite and to renegotiate the agreement on the matter of decommissioning.

What is to suggest to the Nationalist community that if they want to subscribe to this precondition, that another precondition might not be offered in the near future, as it has always been done in the far and recent past?

David Trimble in this instance, who, by the way, has won a Nobel Peace Prize, and I held great hopes for just a few weeks ago, has attempted to review the agreement that the people on the island of Ireland have voted for. He and some of his allies have deliberately delivered a crisis in the peace process by refusing to cooperate in the establishment of the new political institutions in the north of Ireland that, once again, the people in those six counties have voted for.

They have repeatedly missed deadlines, and they have used decommissioning as an excuse to try to review the whole topic. What is sorely needed here is the leadership of the First Minister in Waiting to accede to the views of the electorate and to all of the political parties by Monday of next week, or February 15th.

David Trimble and the Unionist party should not be allowed to park, to rewrite, or to renegotiate this agreement that was approved by the vast majority. Ten months after the agreement and nine months after the historic North-South referendums, the Assembly, the Executive and the North-South Council have still not been established. The refusal to establish these new institutions is in fundamental conflict with the letter of the Good Friday Agreement. It is undemocratic and a denial of the rights and wishes of a majority of the people who voted for that agreement on May 22, 1998.

We cannot diminish on this occasion or on this floor how significant this achievement has been. To think that all of the political parties, with the exception of some fringe elements, have come to the bargaining table and hammered out an agreement with the endorsement of Bill Clinton and Tony Blair, who both have done a great job, now to discover as the deadline for the North-South bodies approach that the would-be First Minister has decided to erect a new barrier to the accomplishment of our overall goal, and that is to have a role for Dublin in the day-to-day affairs in the north of Ireland.

It was just a few weeks ago that we saw the process stumble and we saw Prime Minister Blair intercede to help pick it up. In this instance, we hope once again that he would be willing to do precisely that.

We should not underestimate how far this has come. We should time and again remind ourselves that we are now far up the hill as to where we once were. But it needs an extra nudge, and the nudge would be, I believe, to encourage Prime Minister Blair, and if it is the consensus of the political parties in the North, Bill Clinton, to once again intercede.

But if we are to find ourselves each and every step along the way in this process of having a referendum which parties agree to and the parties all endorse, and then to say at the end of the day that is not entirely what was meant, we have to go back and revisit all of these issues that have intervened in recent time, then the agreement will collapse of its own weight, and none of us here who have been party to this solution want to see that happen.

It is time for the development of these bodies, fully in compliance and in agreement with the wishes of the people in the North.

Mr. WALSH. I thank the gentleman. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished Chairman of the Committee on International Relations, a real leader on this issue of peace and justice in Ireland, the gentleman from New York (Chairman GILMAN).

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

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be able to rise today on this very important issue as the new 106th Congress is taking time to address an ongoing issue of important foreign policy concern to our own Nation. The question of the difficult struggle for lasting peace and justice in the north of Ireland is one of concern to millions of Americans, as well as peace-loving people throughout the world.

I thank the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH) for arranging this special order, enabling us to discuss the status of the Ireland peace process. We welcome his remarks. I want to commend to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) for his supporting remarks and for his ongoing concern for peace in Ireland.

Last year, as we know, was an historic one in Irish history. The good Friday accord was signed in April of 1998. The Irish people, both North and South, overwhelmingly endorsed that peace accord in public referendum. The people in the North then elected as part of the accord a new Northern Ireland assembly, an assembly to govern much of their own internal affairs.

Sadly, as so often has been case over the many years, and as my colleagues have just recited, the issue of arms decommissioning is still a major obstacle to further progress in the effort to bring lasting peace and real concrete change in the north of Ireland.

These are goals we and most of the people on that island accept and want desperately. What is sadly lacking is the political will and leadership on the ground in the North. The arms issue is once again being used as the old Unionist veto, which blocks progress and blocks full implementation of the Good Friday peace accord.

While it is notable that some people have won Nobel Peace Prizes for their leadership up to and signing the Good Friday accord, the real prize should come when the terms of the accord are fully adhered to and agreed upon as negotiated by all the parties.

□ 1730

In particular, the decommissioning issue is being used to block creation of a Northern Ireland cabinet level executive intended to help govern the north, as well as to help implement the new North-South bodies under the Good Friday Accord.

The new cabinet executive must include Sinn Fein who won that legitimate right through the ballot box and a Democratic process to participate and to govern the north, as well as to be able to sit on the new North-South cross border bodies to govern the new Ireland.

Like it or not, the Unionists must acknowledge that Sinn Fein has a legitimate Democratic mandate which,

under the terms of the accord, entitles him to two ministerial posts on the new executive cabinet.

The Good Friday Accord never mandated that the issue of IRA decommissioning would be a precondition to Sinn Féin's entry into government and the new institutions it established. It provides only for "best efforts" and the "hopeful completion of the arms decommissioning process" by the year 2000.

The entire and complex Good Friday Accord and peace process will work only if everyone keeps their word and does not seek to renege on those portions of the agreement that they now profess to dislike. That is just how it is, and there can be no unilateral renegotiations, period.

Yet, sadly, the issue is back to being used as a red herring to rewrite and to undo the Good Friday Accord and thwart the will of the Irish people who voted in massive numbers for the accord and for peaceful political change.

It is time to get on with it and put an end to the Unionist veto which, for far too long, has been used to maintain the unsatisfactory status quo which is the north of Ireland today. We all know far too well how political vacuums in the past have been filled in Northern Ireland. No one wants a return to violence on all sides.

Change must come on the ground, and the nationalist community must be treated with equality. They must be given their rightful voice in the future of the new north. Many in the nationalist community have chosen Sinn Féin to represent them in a new government, and no one has a right to undo that election.

We also need to see new and acceptable community policing in the north, and equal opportunity, and a shared economic future. I am pleased to report today that our House Committee on International Relations will be holding hearings on April 22nd on policing in the north. We will be taking testimony from the north and from leading international human rights groups on the RUC question and the compelling need for new and acceptable policing, which is both responsive and accountable as envisioned by the Good Friday Accord. I am convinced that many constructive ideas for meaningful peace reform will emerge from our efforts.

It is important that we all work together to bring about concrete and meaningful change, and bring about reform in the north so that one day soon, the future of Ireland and its warm and generous people will be theirs and theirs alone to make. It is time to get on with it, to end the foot-dragging, and to implement the will of the good and generous Irish people.

I thank the gentleman for arranging this Special Order, and I thank him for yielding time.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his thoughtful comments and his leadership, as always, and I welcome the prospect of hearings

in the Committee on International Relations on policing in Northern Ireland. It is a welcome addition to this overall equation, and I am sure it will be very, very helpful to all of us who are interested in this important issue.

Mr. Speaker, I yield at this time to my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL).

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) who has been a good leader on this issue and a faithful friend as well.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Worcester, Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), who has had a long interest in the issues and affairs of Northern Ireland.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my friend, the gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH), and my dear friend and colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) for their long years of leadership and advocacy for a fair, just and lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

Like so many of my colleagues, I have relied on their wisdom and their insights in understanding the complex issues confronting this country as it moves into a new era of peace. I want to thank them again for the opportunity this afternoon for Members to come together and discuss the status of the peace process in Northern Ireland. I would also like to acknowledge and express my appreciation to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) for all of his efforts in bringing about a peaceful settlement to the troubles in Ireland.

Mr. Speaker, like the people of Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and England, the world was deeply moved and experienced a universal feeling of hope when all sectors of the Irish conflict signed the Good Friday Agreement last year and put in motion a process to bring lasting peace to Northern Ireland.

All of us watched the people of Ireland and Northern Ireland vote overwhelmingly in support of the peace agreement, and we watched with great concern as violent parties attempted to destroy or undermine the agreement with acts of violence. But the heart and the soul and the spirit of the Irish people held true to the calling of peace and they rejected these violent provocations.

The peace process has now reached yet another important crossroads. For over the next days and weeks, we will actually witness the transfer of power to the people of Northern Ireland, all the people of Northern Ireland. And we will see the various parties and sectors form a new executive, receive posts and ministries in that executive power, and have the new assembly ratify the North-South Agreement. In March, we will witness the formal transfer of power to this newly established executive.

But there are some who state that the establishment of these new polit-

ical institutions cannot and should not take place without the disarmament of paramilitary groups, most notably the decommissioning of the Irish Republican Army. But Mr. Speaker, the Good Friday Agreement, as has already been mentioned, requires no such precondition for the initiation of these new political bodies and the transfer of power. Indeed, establishing these new institutions and empowering the various parties and sectors of Northern Ireland will contribute greatly to building the climate of confidence and trust so necessary for the successful disarmament of paramilitary groups.

Another key for successful disarmament will be what happens this summer when the proposals are reforming the police and completing the demilitarization of troops that will be presented. The reorganization of the police so that it is both responsible and responsive to all the communities of Northern Ireland is a critical item of the Good Friday Agreement. So is the withdrawal and the demilitarization of British troops on Irish soil a key element to a lasting peace and the rejection of armed conflict in the future.

According to the framers of the agreement and the British government, the IRA needs to lay down about 1,500 arms or weapons by May 2000. Mr. Speaker, I have been very actively involved in the peace accords that ended the Civil War in El Salvador and that required the guerrilla forces in that country to give up literally tens of thousands of weapons. Believe me, Mr. Speaker, it only needs a matter of days to disarm 1,500 weapons if, and I emphasize if, the political and social institutions called for in the Good Friday Agreement have been established and are allowing all the people of Northern Ireland to participate fully for the first time in determining the future destiny of the country.

Mr. Speaker, it is easy to overlook the tremendous progress that the peace process has brought to Northern Ireland. The British government, to their great credit, is ahead of schedule in the release of political prisoners. Families are being reunited. It is safer for people to walk home on the streets of Belfast and Ulster, and business and local commerce are expanding, and communities are coming together across sectarian lines, many for the first time, to plan a common destiny.

Those of us in the United States and the international community must continue to support the peace process, and we must salute the people of Northern Ireland for remaining firm in their commitment to creating a lasting peace. But we also must, as my colleagues have already said here today, put pressure on those who would seek to undermine or rewrite or amend the process which has already brought us and moved us so far along this goal toward peace.

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to speak, if I could for just a few moments again,

about that policing issue. It was touched upon by the gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH) earlier and the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), but it is a crucial issue in terms of developing some faith in the institutions of governance in the north of the nationalist community that they fundamentally see a change in the identity of the police force. They cannot be seen as occupiers in a land that people see as their own. There have to be changes in the uniform, the name of the force, the emblems and the flag of the new force that will eventually command respect in both communities. We seek not the triumph of one community over the other as much as an agreed upon Northern Ireland.

What we ask for is that North-South policing cooperation reinforce community confidence, and that a permanent international team be sent to the north to monitor the implementation of the agreements and the reforms as proposed. This opportunity must be emphasized in terms of the overall agreements in the north. If we are to have a professional police force, it must be one that is acceptable to both sections of the community and indeed, to both traditions. And while the Good Friday Agreement calls for a new beginning to policing, it has been slow to come about, and we are anxious to see the Patten Commission deliver on the agreement of policing and to see the composition of the police force of the URC in the north be dramatically changed.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Newark, New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), an individual who again has been a great friend on this issue.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to add my support to the continuation of the peace process in the north of Ireland. As we all know, the Good Friday Accords were promulgated nearly a year ago this April, with the best intent in mind, to end the authoritarian rule and domination of the Protestant party over the minority Catholics. It gave Catholics a real voice for once by ending 3 decades of conflict in the north of Ireland.

Last marching season, last July 4th weekend I had the opportunity to travel again on my several trips to the north of Ireland, and I was there during that march when the Orange Order came into Drumcree, and the standoff was there. That was a tragic week. Following the standoff in Drumcree, 3 little boys were fire-bombed to death. Very sad and brutal.

People started to think that perhaps enough is enough, to continue to celebrate the victory of William of Orange, in which Irish land was seized and confiscated, is really an insult to the people of Ireland and Catholics everywhere. Sadly, this parade glorifies a part of history and is really provoca-

tive in nature. So we felt that with the Good Friday Accords that this would be behind us. So one can imagine the excitement when President Clinton, along with those of us here, went to celebrate the Good Friday Accords.

I believed that the political prisoner release of paramilitary groups on both sides was certainly an issue that was a tough issue. I know that perhaps Tony Blair is receiving pressure to overturn this rule. I think this would set a bad precedent for all involved if this was overturned.

In the same light, I know that the de-commissioning issue was one of the last issues discussed before all parties made the last push towards peace. I think we know that disarming the paramilitaries was going to be very difficult, and we know it is a tough, sticky issue in most negotiations, even with the Palestine and Israel negotiations. The tough issues are put last, what should happen to the Holy City. So we are at the tough times.

But let me say that the peace agreement does not explicitly require a start on disarmament, but it seems like politics is dictating this. I would hope that we could work out a solution. We have gone too far, we have suffered too long. We really believe that peace in the north of Ireland is irreversible, but we do need cooperation from all parties.

I would also like to conclude by adding an article that was in today's Washington Post by a Mary McGrory who had an article called the Art of Understanding, and it talked about a dinner that was held Sunday evening at the Irish Embassy, but it was a little bit different. She said the number of blacks and whites were equally divided, and the new mayor of the city was there, and the chairman of the Republican National Committee was also there. They talked about issues of commonality, and the thing that was interesting about this is that the Anacostia area of Washington is an area where Frederick Douglass lived.

□ 1745

He moved into the area, although blacks were restricted, and he even had an integrated marriage. He moved there, anyway.

But there was an Irish patriarch named Daniel O'Connell who Frederick Douglass admired. Frederick Douglass heard him speak in 1845, when Frederick Douglass went to Dublin. The two men often spoke in public. Douglass and O'Connell often complimented each other. This article is extremely interesting.

Please allow me to include in the RECORD this article from today's Washington Post, which talked about two great fighters for freedom in the 1800's, Frederick Douglass, the great African American spokesperson of the time, and Daniel O'Connell, an Irish patriot.

The article referred to is as follows:

(From the Washington Post, Feb. 11, 1999)

THE ART OF UNDERSTANDING

(By Mary McGrory)

It wasn't your usual diplomatic do last Sunday night at the Irish Embassy. The

guests, for one thing, were about equally divided between blacks and whites, which doesn't happen much unless African dignitaries are visiting. For another, the city's new mayor, Tony Williams, was there, and so was the chairman of the Republican National Committee, Jim Nicholson.

The company had been invited by the Irish ambassador, Sean O'Huiginn, and his artist wife, Bernadette, to stop by for supper on their way to Union Station, where an exhibit of art in Anacostia, the capital's stepchild ward, was opening. The mayor was there to encourage the "Hope in Our City" initiative as just the kind of rational enterprise he hopes will occur in his administration. And Nicholson was on hand as "spouse of" his artist wife, Suzanne. Her warm, evocative painting of three abandoned buildings on Martin Luther King Avenue so charmed the mayor that he put it on his Christmas card.

Suzanne Nicholson's husband's party may have trouble with African American voters, but she is a heroine in Anacostia. Although it is most known for its high unemployment and low rate of trash collection, she finds it a place of beauty and inspiration. She visits often, and patronizes the Imani Cafe, across the street from the scene of her painting.

The Irish ambassador told the gathering about an old tie between Anacostia's most famous inhabitant Frederick Douglass and the great Irish patriot, Daniel O'Connell. The two mighty champions of the oppressed were friends.

Douglass admired O'Connell's fiery speeches on liberty. He realized his dream of a meeting in 1845, when he went to Dublin. The two spoke often in public. Douglass of a race in chains, O'Connell about a nation deprived of all rights and liberties.

Bernadette O'Huiginn created a sculpture to commemorate the tie between green and black. She found a Celtic cross in the gift shop of the National Cathedral, chains to drape over it at Hechinger's; hunted down a slave's iron collar and bought a shotgun ball that she "aged" for the exhibit.

At one side of the drawing room, which throbbed with the good cheer of people of the same town in search of the same thing, Chairman Nicholson talked more about politics than the arts. Guests sought his views on censure—he's against—and the luck of Clinton. "Can you believe," he asked with hands spread wide, "that the pope would come and the king would die all in the month he needed them the most?" He meant, of course, that the pope's visit to St. Louis gave him a chance to place a filial hand under the pope's elbow and King Hussein's death gave him a chance to comfort a queen and be pictured with three ex-presidents.

Impeachment has only widened the gulf between Republicans and African Americans, who see Clinton as a fellow victim of persecution by the authorities.

Across the room, guests crowded around the mayor to wish him well or to give him advice. Williams has just weathered his first big flap—brought on by a career umbrage-taker in the city's employ who does not know the meaning of the word "niggardly."

After they had supped on curried lamb and Irish potatoes, the guests went to their cars and headed for Union Station to see a high display of photographs and paintings that were all by or about the people of Anacostia. They were pictured as prophets and angels or just infinitely appealing human beings. It is a vivid, intimate view of a neighborhood that never had much going for it, but that now has the attention of its fellow citizens. The Washington Arts Group, which arranged the show, says it seeks "reconciliation through art." It seemed quite a plausible goal Sunday night.

Once again, I would just like to commend the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH), and all those involved in wishing the peace process in Northern Ireland to continue. We need to keep the pressure on. It always gets tough when we are right near the end, but the end of the tunnel is in sight. We hope that the politics does not destroy this, whether it is in England, whether it is in Ireland, whether it is in the north of Ireland.

Mr. NEAL. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Newark, New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE).

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Baltimore (Mr. BEN CARDIN), a good friend to the Irish peace process, as well.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) for yielding to me. I thank him for his leadership on this issue, and thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH) for his leadership on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, I have the honor of representing the Third Congressional District of Maryland. It is known as the ethnic district. We have many ethnic communities that are located in my congressional district. We have a proud Irish tradition in Baltimore and in Maryland.

The people of my district strongly support the peace process in Northern Ireland. I take this time to emphasize the importance of us staying the course for peace. I also wish to pay tribute to a young Belfast man named Terry Enright, who was slain a little over a year ago in front of a nightclub where he worked by those who would have hoped his murder would rekindle the smouldering ashes of sectarian strife and the mindless killings in Northern Ireland.

One year later, though talks on the implementation of the historic peace agreements have stalled, the streets of Belfast, Antrim, and Omaugh and all of Northern Ireland are relatively calm and quiet. Terry Enright's murder could not eclipse his life and its message.

You see, Terry was a young youth counselor, a lover of the outdoors, sports, and children, who realized that bringing these things together was part of the solution to the troubles. Terry Enright worked with children from all walks of life, Protestants, Catholics, Unionists, Loyalists alike.

I mention this, Mr. Speaker, because his murder did not prompt the resurgence of violence that his killers had hoped. Rather, it prompted a collective recoiling in horror from people all over the island of Ireland. Following a deep and profound sadness, there was a recommitment from all sides to keep their eyes on the goal line. That is what Terry would have coached.

Seamus Heaney, the Nobel Prize-winning poet from Northern Ireland, tells the story of his aunt, who planted a chestnut in a jam jar the year of his

birth. When it began to sprout, she broke the jar and planted it under a hedge in the front of his house. As the chestnut sapling grew, Heaney came to identify his own life with that of the chestnut tree.

Eventually the family moved away, and the new family that moved in cut down the tree. Reflecting on that tree as an adult, Heaney began to think of the space where it had been, or what would have been.

He writes, "The new place was all idea, if you like; it was generated out of my experience of the old place but it was not a topographical location. It was, and remains, an imagined realm, even if it can be located at an earthly spot, a placeless heaven rather than a heavenly place."

Mr. Speaker, let the words of Seamus Heaney and the life of Terry Enright be a reminder to us all, especially Irish leaders, as they steer through the particularly rough shoals of implementing the peace talks. We ask that these men and women be remembered; that we understand and reflect on their lives.

Terry's life has been reflected on by his parents and by his two sad and mystified daughters, who hope all remember Terry in life, just as Heaney remembered his chestnut tree in life. But let us hope that also the imagined realm of peace and equality in Northern Ireland generates "an earthly spot of placeless heaven" for all those in Northern Ireland.

Through the work of President Clinton, Senator George Mitchell, David Trimble, John Hume, and the citizens of Northern Ireland, we can almost glimpse it.

Though the negotiations in Stormont may be stalled, they should not stall the momentum of hope. Let these leaders hear and speak the words of present compromise instead of stumbling over the words of past conceits. Terry's father reminds us it was a similar impasse in the peace talks before the Good Friday agreement that created the political vacuum in which his son was murdered.

Terry Enright's mother, Mary, when asked how she can cope with the rage and frustration over her 28-year-old son's tragic killing, explains: "But if you drive a car looking through the rearview mirror, you'll end up crashing."

Mr. Speaker, the imagined realm of Heaney's fallen chestnut tree and the reality of Terry Enright's work in life ought to direct these leaders in this perilous moment of peace to look up and to look ahead. I know I speak for all Members of this body in urging us to remember the goal of peace in Northern Ireland. It is within our grasp. We must stay the course. I urge us to continue to do so.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN) for calling attention to what happened on the night of January 14, 1998, when Terry Enright, a 28-year-old nationalist, was killed by the Loy-

alist volunteer forces outside of a Belfast pub. He was the 3,233rd person killed in the 30 years of sectarian conflict in the north of Ireland. His wife, Deidre, is a niece of Gerry Adams.

His funeral was the largest burial service since Bobby Sands in 1981, attracting thousands of people from both the Nationalist and the Unionist communities. They came in such numbers because Terry Enright was a popular social worker and an athlete who worked with disadvantaged youths. He was a role model to both Protestant and Catholic youngsters who participated in his Outward Bound program and admired his message of non-violence.

Many people said they would remember the funeral, where two bright rainbows appeared when the casket was brought to the church and when it was eventually taken away to the cemetery. On the 1-year anniversary of his death, let us remember the life and spirit of Terry Enright, and let us pay tribute to a brave young man who rose above the conflict and dreamed of an Ireland free of violence and sectarian hate.

This life highlights how difficult this task has been, but at the same time, the acknowledgment demonstrates how far we have all come in this process. We should note the work of not only the friends of Ireland here in this Congress, with the gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH) and many others on the Ad Hoc Committee on Irish Issues, but also the role that President Clinton, Prime Minister Blair, Mo Mowlam and Bertie Ahern have played, as well as John Hume and Gerry Adams.

We should not be discouraged at this time. We can only hope and pray that the best instincts of all the parties will prevail in the next few weeks as we enter this critical phase once again of Irish history. We hope and conclude in the near future that all the people on the island of Ireland will live in an agreed-upon Ireland. I thank my friend, the gentleman from New York (Mr. JIM WALSH) for organizing this special order.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD this article from the Online Edition of the Irish News.

The article referred to is as follows:

(From Irish News: Online Edition, Feb. 11, 1999)

#### SQUARING THE ARMS CIRCLE

The future of Northern Ireland will be decided within weeks. Next week the assembly will decide whether or not to adopt proposals for a 10-member executive and cross-border bodies.

In the next week or two the executive will be established in shadow form, ready to accept powers back from Westminster.

The deadline for that is March 10—though Tony Blair and Mo Mowlam have both said they are prepared to allow some slippage.

Progress depends on reconciling David Trimble's refusal to sit alongside Sinn Féin ministers in the absence of concrete decommissioning with Sinn Féin's refusal to link membership of the executive with the hand-over of arms.

Nobody knows how this particular circle will be squared. One thing is certain, neither



Mr. Trimble nor his Sinn Féin counterpart Gerry Adams seems willing to give way first.

The most likely formula revolves around the status of ministers.

It has been suggested that the appointment of ministers with shadow powers would be a clear signal to republicans of unionist bona fides. This in turn would give republicans space for the beginning of actual de-commissioning.

There may be an element of wishful thinking here. But it is difficult to see any other solution which would give both sides the space they need.

Mr. Trimble would be able to tell his electorate that republicans would not bet a hand on the reins of power without movement on weapons. Mr. Adams would be able to say that Sinn Féin ministers had been appointed without de-commissioning being given in return.

Both men should take encouragement from the real desire for movement within the community they serve.

That was well articulated yesterday by the G7 group which represents business and the trades unions.

Their interests are at one with the interests of the entire community. They know all too well that political stability will bring enormous economic rewards.

Sir George Quigley put the issue succinctly when he said: "For everybody to wait for somebody else to move before moving themselves is a sure recipe for permanent immobility."

"Northern Ireland has no future of any quality except as a stable, inclusive, fair, prosperous and outward-looking society."

That fact has not been lost on the prime minister. Yesterday Downing Street let it be known that Tony Blair intended to become "much more fully engaged" in the coming weeks.

Mr. Blair has played a crucial role in moving the process forward. He has done so because he has earned the respect of both traditions.

He should know that the vast majority of people on this island, as well as within Northern Ireland, will support efforts to find a way around this problem which recognizes the concerns of both sides and strives for an accommodation.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. As always, I am inspired by the thoughts and words of my colleagues. Certainly nothing stirs the blood of an American more than the issues of war and peace and freedom and liberty versus subjugation of philosophy or religion or free speech.

My colleagues who have spoken tonight not only have given their thoughts and words to this, but their time. Many, many of them have traveled back and forth over the Atlantic to lend whatever assistance we can to this very critical process at a very critical time. I am inspired by their actions, and I am comforted by their actions, and I am comforted by the leadership that both parties have provided, that our president has provided. Progress would not have been made without that effort.

I would also like to thank our dedicated staffs who have put so much time, of their time and energy into this, providing us with a the background, making the phone calls, staying on top of the issue. It is not just out of the fear that they will not have their job, they are doing it because

they believe in it. Their effort is appreciated.

I would also again like to thank my colleagues. There were many who had planned to attend this evening's special order, but with the change in schedule they headed home, people like the gentlemen from New York, Mr. PETER KING, Mr. VITO FOSSELLA, and Mr. JACK QUINN.

For the good of the order, I would like to make my colleagues aware, and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) knows that, that the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT), the new Speaker of the House, accompanied President Clinton on his first visit to Ireland back in 1995 at the historic beginning of the American role in this peace process under President Clinton's leadership.

This is a critical time. As has been mentioned, there are several critical dates coming up. We will be watching. The price of failure is great. The judgment of history if we fail will be cruel and harsh.

With the receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize, Mr. Trimble, along with Mr. Hume, was recognized. Their efforts were recognized, but the stakes were raised. Surely with the receipt of this prize comes a tremendous responsibility to fulfill the obligation of truly creating peace.

If Mr. Trimble is to be a leader of all of the people of the north of Ireland, certainly he must address the hopes of the vast majority of those people who voted for the agreement, not his interpretation of the agreement.

We have worked together well, Republicans and Democrats, House and Senate, President and Congress. We cannot stop now, we are so close to the end. I am reminded, after we had spent a good 5 or 6 days in Northern Ireland this summer with Speaker Gingrich, full of hope, we returned to the United States, only to be advised on landing that a bomb had exploded in Omagh, killing little kids and pregnant women and old folks and people with hope and promise and belief that peace is at hand.

Let us not let those lives go for naught. Let us continue this effort. Let us close the deal. Let us bring peace and justice to all of Northern Ireland.

Mr. COYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to urge the participants in the Northern Ireland peace process to continue carrying out the agreement that was reached and ratified last year. I also want to thank my esteemed colleague and good friend, RICHARD NEAL, for organizing this evening's special order.

Mr. Speaker, many of the Members of Congress who, like myself, have been actively involved in Irish affairs were greatly pleased when negotiations last year were successful in producing the Good Friday agreement on the future of Northern Ireland, and when the people of Ireland subsequently voted to approve the agreement. This was a major step in resolving this unfortunate, bloody stalemate. I was honored to have been asked to be part of the official U.S. delegation visit to Ireland and Northern Ireland last September.

No one anticipated that there would not be further setbacks and obstacles to peace as the process agreed to last year was implemented. The Omagh bombing in Northern Ireland, the conflicts during last summer's "marching season," and the debate over the scheduled release of IRA prisoners, all threatened last year to derail the peace process that was set in place by the Good Friday peace pact. Now, the peace process has become stalled over disagreement over Sinn Féin's participation in the new executive assembly.

I want to urge the signatories to the Belfast Agreement to abide by the clear terms of the agreement they signed. All of the signatories agreed that the terms that they agreed to were fair to all involved. Moreover, the voters overwhelmingly approved this process. Now is not the time for anyone to back out of their commitments or to renegotiate the parts they don't like. No, Mr. Speaker, the peace process has been clearly laid out and agreed to. The alternative is more violence and terror and stalemate. The people of Northern Ireland deserve peace. Enough blood has been shed. I urge the parties to the Belfast Agreement to carry out their obligations under that document and take the brave steps necessary to achieve a lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

#### A RESPONSE TO LETTERS FROM CONSTITUENTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS) for 60 minutes.

Mr. SHIMKUS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to respond to letters that were sent to me by many of my constituents. I would also like to thank each of these individuals for notifying me of their concerns. I want to encourage more of my constituents to become proactive in issues that are important to them. Writing letters, sending E-mails, and even picking up the phone and calling my office is a great start.

The first letter that I will read addresses the topic of abortion, and although I have received over 200 letters this year on this topic, I unfortunately only have enough time to read one. The letter that I have chosen to read was written by Tasha Barker, a 17-year-old high school student from Vandalia. This is her letter.

Tasha wrote, "Dear Congressman Shimkus, I am writing you this letter to express my feelings about abortion. I feel that abortion is a horrible thing, and that killing an innocent life is awful. When it comes to making decisions or taking stands about abortion, please remain pro-life. It would be greatly appreciated by many people. Thank you for taking the time to read these letters. Sincerely, Tasha Barker."

Good letter, Tasha. I also received letters from Charles Hake of Nashville, Robert Smith of Quincy, and Mary Black of Springfield, to which I would also like to extend my responses.

Plus I would like to thank the group of young people from Vandalia whose