

Mayor, Phil Bredesen, and the United States Air Force for getting this big tree all the way across the Atlantic to be here with you tonight. (Applause.)

In this 50th anniversary year of the end of World War II, many Americans still remember the warmth the people of Northern Ireland showed them when the army was stationed here under General Eisenhower. The people of Belfast named General Eisenhower an honorary burgess of the city. He viewed that honor, and I quote, "as a token of our common purpose to work together for a better world." That mission endures today. We remain Americans and as people of Northern Ireland, partners for security, partners for prosperity and, most important, partners for peace. (Applause.)

Two years ago, at this very spot, tens of thousands of you took part in a day for peace, as a response to some of the worst violence Northern Ireland had known in recent years. The two morning papers, representing both traditions, sponsored a telephone poll for peace that generated almost 160,000 calls. In the United States, for my fellow Americans who are here, that would be the equivalent of 25 million calls.

The response left no doubt that all across Northern Ireland the desire for peace was becoming a demand. I am honored to announce today that those same two newspapers, the Newsletter and the Irish News, have established the President's Prize, an annual award to those at the grass-roots level who have contributed most to peace and reconciliation. The honorees will travel to the United States to exchange experiences on the issues we share, including community relations and conflict resolution. We have a lot to learn from on another. The President's Prize will underscore that Northern Ireland's two traditions have a common interest in peace.

As you know—and as the First Lady said—I have received thousands of letters from school children all over your remarkable land telling me what peace means to them. They poured in from villages and cities, from Catholic and Protestant communities, from mixed schools, primary schools, from schools for children with special needs. All the letters in their own way were truly wonderful for their honesty, their simple wisdom and their passion. Many of the children showed tremendous pride in their homeland, in its beauty and its true nature. I congratulate the winners. They were wonderful and I loved hearing their letters.

But let me tell you about another couple I received. Eleven-year-old Keith from Carrickfergus wrote: "Please tell everyone in America that we're not always fighting here, and that it's only a small number of people who make the trouble." Like many of the children, Keith did not identify himself as Protestant or Catholic, and did not distinguish between the sources of the violence.

So many children told me of loved ones they have lost, of lives disrupted and opportunities forsaken and families forced to move. Yet, they showed remarkable courage and strength and a commitment to overcome the past. As 14-year-old Sharon of County Armagh wrote: "Both sides have been hurt. Both sides must forgive."

Despite the extraordinary hardships so many of these children have faced, their letters were full of hope and love and humor. To all of you who took the time to write me, you've brightened my holiday season with your words of faith and courage, and I thank you. To all of you who asked me to do what I could to help peace take root, I pledge you America's support. We will stand with you as you take risks for peace. (Applause.)

And to all of you who have not lost your sense of humor, I say thank you. I got a letter from 13-year-old Ryan from Belfast. Now,

Ryan, if you're out in the crowd tonight, here's the answer to your question. No, as far as I know, an alien spacecraft did not crash in Roswell, New Mexico, in 1947. (Laughter.) And, Ryan, if the United States Air Force did recover alien bodies, they didn't tell me about it, either, and I want to know. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, this day that Hillary and I have had here in Belfast and in Derry and Londonderry County will long be with us—(applause)—as one of the most remarkable days of our lives. I leave you with these thoughts. May the Christmas spirit of peace and goodwill flourish and grow in you. May you remember the words of the Lord Mayor: "This is Christmas. We celebrate the world in a new way because of the birth of Emmanuel; God with us." And when God was with us, he said no words more important than these: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall inherit the Earth." (Applause.)

Merry Christmas, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VISIT TO ENGLAND, NORTHERN IRELAND, AND IRELAND

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I too would like to congratulate President Clinton on his visit to Ireland and the United Kingdom. His visit reminds us all of the important role that the United States can play, and is playing, in bringing peace around the world.

During his visit, the President visited Derry where he spoke to thousands of people who gathered at the Guild Hall. He also joined the American Ireland Fund and the family of the late Speaker of the House of Representatives in inaugurating the Thomas P. O'Neill Chair for the Study of Peace and Conflict Resolution at Ulster University.

The President also paid tribute to "Ireland's most tireless champion for civil rights and its most eloquent voice of non-violence, John Hume." And he spoke of reconciliation and hope. I am sure he was right when he said that Tip was smiling down on Derry that day.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President's addresses in Derry may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you very much. Mr. Mayor, Mrs. Kerr, Mr. and Mrs. Hume, Sir Patrick and Lady Mayhew, and to this remarkable crowd. Let me say—(applause)—there have been many Presidents of the United States who had their roots in this soil. I can see today how lucky I am to be the first President of the United States to come back to this city to say thank you very much. (Applause.)

Hillary and I are proud to be here in the home of Ireland's most tireless champion for civil rights and its most eloquent voice of non-violence, John Hume. (Applause.) I know that at least twice already I have had the honor of hosting John and Pat in Washington. And the last time I saw him I said, you can't come back to Washington one more time until you let me come to Derry. And here I am. (Applause.)

I am delighted to be joined here today by a large number of Americans, including a distinguished delegation of members of our United States Congress who have supported

peace and reconciliation here and who have supported economic development through the International Fund for Ireland.

I am also joined today by members of the O'Neill family. (Applause.) Among the last great chieftains of Ireland were the O'Neills of Ulster. But in America, we still have chieftains who are the O'Neills of Boston. They came all the way over here to inaugurate the Tip O'Neill Chair and Peace Studies here at the University of Ulster. (Applause.) This chair will honor the great Irish American and late Speaker of the House of Representatives by furthering his dream of peace in Northern Ireland. And I am honored to be here with his family members today.

All of you know that this city is a very different place from what a visitor like me would have seen just a year and a half ago, before the cease-fire. Crossing the border now is as easy as crossing a speed bump. The soldiers are off the streets. The city walls are open to civilians. There are no more shakedowns as you walk into a store. Daily life has become more ordinary. But this will never be an ordinary city. (Applause.)

I came here because you are making a home for peace to flourish and endure—a local climate responsible this week for the announcement of new business operations that offer significant new opportunities to you, as well as new hope. Let me applaud also the success of the Inner City Trust and Patty Dogherty who have put people to work rebuilding bombed-out buildings, building new ones, and building up confidence and civic pride. (Applause.)

America's connections to this place go back a long, long time. One of our greatest cities, Philadelphia, was mapped out three centuries ago by a man who was inspired by the layout of the streets behind these walls. His name was William Penn. He was raised a Protestant in Ireland in a military family. He became a warrior and he fought in Ulster. But he turned away from warfare, traded in his armor, converted to the Quaker faith and became a champion of peace.

Imprisoned for his religious views, William Penn wrote one of the greatest defenses of religious tolerance in history. Released from prison, he went to America in the 1680s, a divisive decade here, and founded Pennsylvania, a colony unique in the new world because it was based on the principle of religious tolerance.

Philadelphia quickly became the main port of entry for immigrants from the north of Ireland who made the Protestant and Catholic traditions valuable parts of our treasured traditions in America. Today when he travels to the States, John Hume is fond of reminding us about the phrase that Americans established in Philadelphia as the motto of our nation, "E pluribus unum"—Out of many, one—the belief that back then Quakers and Catholics, Anglicans and Presbyterians could practice their religion, celebrate their culture, honor their traditions and live as neighbors in peace.

In the United States today in just one county, Los Angeles, there are representatives of over 150 different racial, ethnic and religious groups. We are struggling to live out William Penn's vision, and we pray that you will be able to live out that vision as well. (Applause.)

Over the last three years since I have had the privilege to be the President of the United States I have had occasion to meet with Nationalists and to meet with Unionists, and to listen to their sides of the story. I have come to the conclusion that here, as in so many other places in the world—from the Middle East to Bosnia—the divisions that are most important here are not the divisions between opposing views or opposing interests. Those divisions can be reconciled.

The deep divisions, the most important ones, are those between the peacemakers and the enemies of peace—those who, deep, deep down inside want peace more than anything, and those who, deep down inside can't bring themselves to reach out for peace. Those who are in the ship of peace and those who would sink it. Those who bravely meet on the bridge of reconciliation, and those who would blow it up.

My friends, everyone in life at some point has to decide what kind of person he or she is going to be. Are you going to be someone who defines yourself in terms of what you are against, or what you are for? Will you be someone who defines yourself in terms of who you aren't, or who you are? The time has come for the peacemakers to triumph in Northern Ireland, and the United States will support them as they do. (Applause.)

The world-renowned playwright from this city, Brian Friel, wrote a play called "Philadelphia, Here I Come." And in a character who is about to immigrate from Ireland thinks back on his past life and says to himself, it's all over. But his alter ego reminds him of his future and replies, and it's about to begin. It's all over and it's about to begin. If only change were that easy.

To leave one way of life behind in search of another takes a strong amount of faith and courage. But the world has seen here over the last 15 months that people from Londonderry County to County Down, from Antrim to Armagh, have made the transition from a time of ever-present fear to a time of fragile peace. The United States applauds the efforts of Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Bruton who have launched the new twin-track initiative and have opened a process that gives the parties to begin a dialogue in which all views are representative, and all can be heard.

Not far from this spot stands a statue of reconciliation—two figures, ten feet tall, each reaching out a hand toward the other, but neither quite making it across the divide. It is a beautiful and powerful symbol of where many people stand today in this great land. Let it now point people to the handshake of reconciliation. Life cannot be lived with the stillness of statues. Life must go on. The hands must come closer together or drift further apart.

Your great Nobel Prize winning poet, Seamus Heaney, wrote the following words—(applause)—wrote the following words that some of you must know already, but that for me capture this moment. He said: "History says don't hope on this side of the grave, but then, once in a lifetime the longed-for tidal wave of justice can rise up. And hope and history rhyme. So hope for a great sea change on the far side of revenge. Believe that a further shore is reachable from here. Believe in miracles and cures and healing wells."

Well, my friends, I believe. I believe we live in a time of hope and history rhyming. Standing here in front of the Guild Hall, looking out over these historic walls, I see a peaceful city, a safe city, a hopeful city, full of young people that should have a peaceful and prosperous future here where their roots and families are. That is what I see today with you. (Applause.)

And so I ask you to build on the opportunity you have before you; to believe that the future can be better than the past; to work together because you have so much more to gain by working together than by drifting apart. Have the patience to work for a just and lasting peace. Reach for it. The United States will reach with you. The further shore of that peace is within your reach.

Thank you, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

Mayor and Mrs. Kerr, Sir Patrick and Mrs. Mayhew, Mr. and Mrs. Hume; to the commu-

nity and religious leaders who are here and to my fellow Americans who are here, Congressman Walsh and the congressional delegation; Senator Dodd, Senator Mack and others. Let me thank you all for the wonderful reception you have given to Hillary and to me today and, through us, to the people of the United States. And let me thank Tom O'Neill for his incredibly generous remarks. I am honored to be here with him and with his family and with Loretta Brennan Glucksman and the other members of the American Ireland Fund to help inaugurate this Tip O'Neill Chair in Peace Studies.

And thank you, Vice Chancellor Smith, for the degree. You know, I wonder how far it is from a degree to a professorship. (Laughter.) See, I have this job without a lot of tenure, and I'm looking for one with more tenure. (Applause.)

Tip O'Neill was a model for many people he never knew. The model of public service. He proved that a person could be a national leader without losing the common touch, without ever forgetting that all these high-flown speeches we give and all these complex issues we talk about in the end have a real, tangible impact on the lives of ordinary people. And that in any free land, in the end all that really counts are the lives of ordinary people.

He said he was a man of the House, but he was far more. He was fundamentally a man of the people. A bricklayer's son who became the most powerful person in Congress and our nation's most prominent, most loyal champion of ordinary working families.

He loved politics because he loved people, but also because he knew it could make a difference in people's lives. And you have proved here that political decisions by brave people can make a difference in people's lives. Along with Senators Kennedy and Moynihan and former Governor Hugh Carey of New York, he was among the first Irish American politicians to oppose violence in Northern Ireland. And though we miss him sorely, he will long be remembered in the United States and now in Ireland with this O'Neill Chair. It is a fitting tribute to his life and legacy, for he knew that peace had to be nurtured by a deeper understanding among people and greater opportunity for all.

Tip O'Neill was old enough to remember a time when Irish Catholics were actually discriminated against in the United States, and he had the last laugh when they wound up running the place. (Laughter.) In my lifetime—(applause)—I was just thinking that in my conscious political lifetime we've had three Irish Speakers of the House of Representatives: John McCormick and Tip O'Neill of Boston and Tom Foley of Washington State; and, goodness knows how many more we're destined to have.

I am very proud to be here to inaugurate this chair in peace studies. I have been privileged to come here at an important time in your history. I have been privileged to be President at an important time in your history and to do what I could on behalf of the United States to help the peace process go forward.

But the work of peace is really the work of a lifetime. First, you have to put the violence behind you; you have done that. Then, you have to make an agreement that recognizes the differences and the commonalities among you. And this twin-tracks process, I believe is a way at least to begin that process where everyone can be heard.

Then, you have to change the spirit of the people until it is as normal as getting up in the morning and having breakfast, to feel a real affinity for the people who share this land with you without regard to their religion or their politics.

This chair of peace studies can help you to do that. It can be a symbol of the lifetime

work of building a peaceful spirit and heart in every citizen of this land.

Our administration has been a strong supporter of the International Fund for Ireland. We will continue to do so because of projects like this one and because of the work still to be done. We were eager to sponsor the conference we had last May, aided by the diligent efforts of our friend, former Senator and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell who now embarks for you on another historic mission of peace.

I hope very much that Senator Mitchell will succeed. I think the voices I have heard on this trip indicate to me that you want him to succeed, and that you want to succeed.

A lot of incredibly moving things have happened to us today, but I think to me, the most moving were the two children who stood and introduced me this morning in the Mackie Plant in Belfast. They represented all those other children, including children here from Derry who have written me about what peace means to them over the last few weeks.

One young boy said—the young boy who introduced me said that he studied with and played with people who were both Protestant and Catholic and he'd almost gotten to the point where he couldn't tell the difference. (Laughter.) The beautiful young girl who introduced me, that beautiful child, started off by saying what her Daddy did for a living, and then she said she lost her first Daddy in The Troubles. And she thought about it every day, it was the worst day of her life. And she couldn't stand another loss.

The up side and the down side. And those children joined hands to introduce me. I felt almost as if my speech were superfluous. But I know one thing: Tip O'Neill was smiling down on the whole thing today. (Applause.)

The other night I had a chance to go with Hillary to the Ford Theater in Washington, D.C., a wonderful, historic place; it's been there since before our Civil War, and where President Lincoln was assassinated. And I told the people there who come once a year to raise money for it so we can keep it going that we always thought of it as a sad and tragic place, but it was really a place where he came to laugh and escape the cares of our great Civil War. And there, I was thinking that America has always been about three great things, our country: love of liberty, belief in progress, and the struggle for unity.

And the last is in so many ways by far the most difficult. It is a continuing challenge for us to deal with the differences among us, to honestly respect our differences, to stand up where we feel differently about certain things, and still to find that core of common humanity across all the sea of differences which permit us to preserve liberty; to make progress possible and to live up to the deepest truths of our shared human nature.

In the end, that is what this chair is all about. And believe me, we need it everywhere. We need it in the streets of our toughest cities in the United States, where we are attempting to teach our children when they have conflicts, they shouldn't go home and pick up a gun or a knife and hurt each other, they should figure out a way to work through to mutual respect.

We need it in the Middle East, where the Prime Minister of Israel just gave his life to a religious fanatic of his own faith because he dared to make peace and give the children of his country a better future.

We need it in Bosnia, where the leaders have agreed to make peace, but where the people must now purge their heart of the hatred borne of four years of merciless slaughter. We need this everywhere.

So, my friends, I pray not only for your success in making peace, but I pray that

through this Chair and through your example, you will become a model for the rest of the world because the world will always need models for peace.

Thank you, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VISIT TO ENGLAND, NORTHERN IRELAND, AND IRELAND

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in congratulating President Clinton on his trip to Northern Ireland, Ireland, and England and I commend him for his continuing contributions to the peace process which have helped silence the guns for more than 15 months.

I was honored to travel with the President on that trip. Not since President Kennedy's visit to Ireland in 1963 have the people of that island so warmly welcomed an American President. It was also the first time that an American President visited Northern Ireland.

On a sunny day in Dublin, a huge crowd turned out to hear the President's address in front of the Bank of Ireland at College Green where he was awarded the Freedom of the City. And later that day he addressed Ireland's Parliament, the Dáil.

Among other things, the President spoke eloquently about the tragedy of the famine 150 years ago and the most bittersweet of blessings which came from it—the arrival in America of Irish immigrants who would help build our country. Today, 44 million Americans claim Irish descent. They are Protestants and Catholics. Many came during the famine and many came before. All want peace in Northern Ireland. As one of those 44 million Irish Americans, I am grateful for the leadership the President has shown in helping to bring peace to that island which means so much to so many of us.

I ask unanimous consent that the President's remarks in Dublin be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT IN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND, BANK OF IRELAND AT COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN, IRELAND, DECEMBER 1, 1995

Thank you very much. (Applause.) First, let me say to all of you Dubliners and all Ireland, Hillary and I have loved our trip to your wonderful country. (Applause.) To the Taoiseach and Mrs. Bruton; Lord Mayor Loftus and Lady Loftus; City Manager Frank Feely; to all the aldermen who conferred this great honor on me.

To the Americans in the audience, welcome to all of you. (Applause.) Are there any Irish in the audience? (Applause.) I want to say also how pleased I am to be here with a number of Irish American members of the United States Congress; and the Irish American Director of the Peace Corps, Mark Gearan; the Irish American Secretary of Education Richard Riley; and the Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown, who wishes today he were Irish American. Thank you all for being here. (Applause.)

I was on this college green once before. Yes. In 1968, when I was almost as young as some of the young students over there. (Applause.) Lord Mayor, I never dreamed I would be back here on this college green in this capacity, but I am delighted to be here. And I thank you. (Applause.)

I am told that in earlier times the honor I have just received, being awarded the Freedom of the City, meant you no longer had to pay tolls to the Vikings. I'm going to try that on the Internal Revenue Service when I get home. I hope it will work. (Laughter.) Whether it does or not, I am proud to say that I am now a free man of Dublin. (Applause.)

To look out into this wonderful sea of Irish faces on this beautiful Irish day I feel like a real "Dub" today—is that what I'm supposed to say? (Applause.) Not only that, I know we have a handy football team. (Laughter.)

Let me say that, as a lot of you know, because of events developing in Bosnia and the prospect of peace there, I had to cut short my trip. But there are a few signs out there I want to respond to. I will return to Ballybunion for my golf game. (Laughter and applause.)

I am also pleased to announce that President Robinson has accepted my invitation to come to the United States next June to continue our friendship. (Applause.)

There's another special Irish-American I want to mention today and that is our distinguished Ambassador to Ireland, Jean Kennedy Smith—(applause)—who came here with her brother, President Kennedy, 32 years ago and who has worked very hard also for the cause of peace in Northern Ireland. (Applause.)

Years ago, Americans learned about Dublin from the stories of James Joyce and Sean O'Casey. Today, America and the world still learn about Dublin and Ireland through the words of Sebastian Barry, Paula Meehin, Roddy Doyle—(applause)—through the films of Jim Sheridan, Neil Jordan; through the voices of Mary Black and the Delores Keane—(applause)—and yes, through the Cranberries and U-2. (Applause.) I hear all about how America's global—the world's global culture is becoming more American, but I believe if you want to grasp the global culture you need to come to Ireland. (Applause.)

All of you know that I have family ties here. My mother was a Cassidy, and how I wish she were alive to be here with me today. She would have loved the small towns and she would have loved Dublin. Most of all, she would have loved the fact that in Ireland, you have nearly 300 racing days a year. (Laughter.) She loved the horses.

I understand that there are some Cassidys out in the audience today. And if they are, I want to say in my best Arkansas accent, cead míle faillte—(applause)—beatha saol agus slainte. (Applause.)

One hundred and fifty years ago, the crops of this gorgeous island turned black in the ground and one-fourth of your people either starved from the hunger or were lost to emigration. That famine was the greatest tragedy in Irish history. But out of that horrible curse came the most bittersweet of blessings—the arrival in my country of millions of new Americans who built the United States and climbed to the top of its best works. For every person here in Ireland today, 12 more in the United States have proud roots in Irish soil. (Applause.)

Perhaps the memory of the famine explains in part the extraordinary generosity of the Irish people, not just to needy neighbors in the local parish, but to strangers all around the globe. You do not forget those who still go hungry in the world today; who yearn simply to put food on the table and

clothes on their backs. In places as far away as the Holy Land, Asia and Africa, the Irish are helping people to build a future of hope.

Your sons and daughters in the Gardaí and the defense forces take part in some of the most demanding missions of goodwill, keeping the peace, helping people in war-torn lands turn from conflict to cooperation. Whenever the troubled places of the earth call out for help, from Haiti to Lebanon, the Irish are always among the very first to answer the call.

Your commitment to peace helps conquer foes that threaten us all. And on behalf of the people of the United States, I say to the people of Ireland: We thank you for that from the bottom of our hearts. (Applause.)

Ireland is helping beat back the forces of hatred and destruction all around the world—the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, ethnic hatreds, religious fanaticism, the international drug trade. Ireland is helping to beat back these forces that wage war against all humanity. You are an inspiration to people around the world. You have made peace heroic. Nowhere are the people of Ireland more important in the cause of peace today than right here at home.

Tuesday night, before I left the United States to come here, I received the happy word that the Taoiseach and Prime Minister Major had opened a gateway to a just and lasting peace, a peace that will lift the lives of your neighbors in Northern Ireland and their neighbors in the towns and counties that share the Northern border. That was the greatest welcome anyone could have asked for. I applaud the Taoiseach for his courage, but I know that the courage and the heart of the Irish people made it possible. And I thank you for what you did. (Applause.)

Waging peace is risky. It takes courage and strength that is a hard road. It is easier, as I said yesterday, to stay with the old grudges and the old habits. But the right thing to do is to reach for a new future of peace—not because peace is a document on paper, or even a handshake among leaders, but because it changes people's lives in fundamental and good ways.

Yesterday in Northern Ireland I saw that for myself. I saw it on the floor of the Mackie Plant in Belfast, with Catholics and Protestants working side by side to build a better future for their families. I heard it in the voices of the two extraordinary children you may have seen on your television, one a Catholic girl, the other a Protestant boy, who introduced me to the people of Belfast with their hands joined, telling the world of their hopes for the future, a future without bullets or bombs, in which the only barriers they face are the limits to their dreams.

As I look out on this sea of people today I tell you that the thing that moved me most in that extraordinary day in Northern Ireland yesterday was that the young people, Catholic and Protestant alike, made it clear to me not only with their words, but by the expressions on their faces that they want peace and decency among all people. (Applause.)

I know well that the immigration from your country to the shores of mine helped to make America great. But I want more than anything for the young people of Ireland, wherever they live on this island, to be able to grow up and live out their dreams close to their roots in peace and honor and freedom and equality. (Applause.)

I could not say it better than your Nobel Prize-winning poet, Seamus Heaney, has said: "We are living in a moment where hope and history rhyme." In Dublin, if there is peace in Northern Ireland, it is your victory, too. And I ask all of you to think about the next steps we must take.