TRIBUTE TO JEFF GRIFFITH

My name is Colin McGinnis, and I am a staffer for U.S. Senator Paul Wellstone. I was a friend and colleague of Jeff's. Paul was very sad that he wasn't able to be with Jeff's family and friends here because of several longstanding commitments in Minnesota, and has asked me to be here to represent him and my Wellstone staff colleagues. Paul asked me to read a message to you from him. He writes:

'While I cannot be with you today, I send my prayers and my heartfelt sympathies to Jeff's family and friends. Jeff was one of the first members of my Senate staff. I had known him for several years, and had worked with him on the Reverend Jesse Jackson's Presidential campaign and on the Rainbow Coalition's other important work for justice, so I knew that when the chance came to bring him on to my staff, I should jump at the chance. I did.

'He was talented, energetic, and creative in his work, and was admired and respected by his colleagues on staff, who often came to him for advice. He was also a fierce advocate for social justice.

'As one of my press assistants, Jeff did a wonderful job under often difficult circumstances. During the sometimes chaotic days of the Gulf War crisis, Jeff helped to establish our press operation; no easy task. He was also instrumental in the founding of my "First Friday" radio show. Thanks to his hard work in laying its foundation, it has been very successful. It still provides one of the most important ways that I communicate directly with Minnesotans.

'It is not by chance that this was Jeff's idea. The direct and participatory nature of this live radio program was a hallmark of his style, which always sought to bring people, real people, into the political process, and to make sure they were heard, even above the din and background static that often passes for political debate in our country.

Ĵeff had a unique gift for hearing and amplifying the voices of regular people, and lift-ing up those voices for people in the wider

community to hear.

'He knew instinctively that communication, if it is authentic, is always two-way, that his job was not just to sell my ideas and programs and policies to those whom I represent, but also to make sure I heard what the people were saying, to heed their voices and be accountable to them—especially those who are at society's margins. He never lost sight of these people, and always struggled to do what he could to bring them in toward the center. That was one of his life's most important missions: to bring those at the margins of our society back toward the

"As we celebrate Jeff's life and accomplishments today, and mourn his death, my wife Sheila and I, and the members of my staff, extend our deepest sympathy and condolences to his mother, Mrs. Ella Evans, his other family members, and to all his many friends who cared so much for him. We will miss Jeff very much, and keep you all in our prayers.'

I'd like to add a short personal note to Paul's letter, from my own experience working with Jeff. he was a strong, thoughtful, decent man, a person of integrity, and real commitment to people. He had a quiet grace and wisdom that was often striking. And because he had lived through his own struggles, he was always willing to listen to his friends and colleagues, in our struggles. He'd packed a lot of living into his young life, and was not unscarred by it. But that's just the

He knew suffering, and yet could look beyond it, redeem it, and get others to do the same. He was a wounded healer. A wounded

healer whose life reminds us of how careful we must be with one another. And this concern for people translated from Jeff's personal life into his political life. In fact, people were at the center of his vision.

He was once asked, during a particularly stressful period, why he had decided to work in the political arena, and why he was willing to put up with all the long hours and struggles and stress that sometimes accompanies political life.

Without skipping a beat, he said simply, "Because I build bridges. And Lord knows we need bridges now." I will remember him as a bridge-builder, with a warmth, generosity of spirit, sense of humor and passion for justice that is rare. I hope you will, too.

WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? THE VOTERS HAVE SAID YES!

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, before contemplating today's bad news about the Federal debt, let's do that little pop quiz again. Today's question, again, is: How many million dollars are in \$1 trillion? When you arrive at an answer, bear in mind that it was Congress that ran up a debt now exceeding \$4.8 trillion.

Now then, to be exact, as of the close of business yesterday, Tuesday, March 21, the total federal debt—down to the penny-stood at \$4,843,694,087,008.02meaning that every man, woman and child in America now owes \$18,386.75 computed on a per capita basis.

Mr. President, back to that pop quiz question, How many million in a trillion? There are a million million in a trillion; and you can thank the U.S. Congress for the monstrous Federal debt exceeding \$4.8 trillion.

TRIBUTE TO HELEN KAMM HATCH

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I pay tribute today to an extraordinary woman. She was not famous. She was not wealthy. She was not formally educated. She won none of the coveted awards or accolades that we usually associate with achievement.

And yet, by anyone's measure, she was a rare and successful individual. She looked at life, both the good and the bad, and chose to shape her existence around the possible. She married and raised children in relative poverty, but taught her family what the wealth of love and hope means. She educated herself in life's classroom, constantly reading and absorbing. She reached out to those in need and gave kindness where none was expected.

Four of her nine children met early and untimely deaths. Still she looked forward. She expanded not only her mind but her many talents. She overcame challenges and embraced life's opportunities as they came, no matter what her age.

She was a woman of devout faith. Small in stature, she was large of heart and warm in spirit. Her home was a haven for friends and family.

Earlier this month, at the age of 89 and independent till her very last dayshe completed her mortality. She is survived by 5 children, 39 grandchildren, 92 great-grandchildren, and 3 great, great-grandchildren.

Her name was Helen Kamm Hatch. And she was the mother of my friend and fellow colleague from Utah, Senator ORRIN G. HATCH. I am proud to be able to honor her memory. She will be sorely missed.

AN AUSPICIOUS ST. PATRICK'S DAY

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, last week, friends of Ireland celebrated St. Patrick's Day in an atmosphere of hope. The guns have been silent in Northern Ireland for 6 months and it appears that the people of that conflict-torn land may at long last be on the irreversible road to peace.

Today, the British Government's Minister of State at the Northern Ireland Office, Michael Ancram, met with Loyalist paramilitary representatives, and Sinn Fein representatives and the British Government appear close to an agreement on an agenda for Ministerial talks to begin soon.

Most important, the people of Northern Ireland themselves are hopeful that this peace will last. The vast majority believe it is time to get on with talks. Irish citizens from Dublin and other parts of Ireland are traveling to Belfast in greater numbers because the fear of violence is disappearing. The people of Northern Ireland are going out in the evenings without fear of terrorist attacks. Peace is pervasive, and each day makes it harder for violence to return.

The United States has played a significant role in achieving this emerging peace, and great credit for it goes to President Clinton. He has taken risks for peace in Northern Ireland. He has embraced all those in Ireland who are willing to do the same. His foresight and judgment have been vindicated. Irish Americans congratulate him—but most of all, we thank him, and so do the people of Ireland, Protestant and Catholic alike.

The President and Mrs. Clinton hosted a reception on St. Patrick's Day at the White House which was an historic occasion itself. John Hume, John Alderdice, Gerry Adams and Gary McMichael—four men representing vastly different political views in Northern Ireland—were all in attendance. The evening was brought to a close when John Hume and Gerry Adams sang the poignant song, "The Town I loved So Well." The final verses of the song, which is about John Hume's home town of Derry in Northern Ireland speaks to everyone who cares about this issue:

Now the music's gone but they carry on, For their spirit's been bruised, never broken. They will not forget, but their hearts are set On tomorrow and peace once again.

For what's done is done, and what's won is won:

And what's lost is lost and gone forever. I can only pray for a bright, brand new day In the town I love so well.

Mr. President, only time will tell whether the bright, brand new day is finally here. But several recent articles verify the new optimistic mood and praise President Clinton for the role he has played. I ask unanimous consent that excellent articles by James F. Clarity in the New York Times, David Nyhan in the Boston Globe, Marv McGrory in the Washington Post, and Patrick J. Sloyan in Newsday, as well as the lyrics to "The Town I Loved So Well," and an ad thanking President Clinton which appeared in the New York Times on St. Patrick's Day, may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 22, 1995] THE I.R.A.'S POLITICAL STRONGMAN

GERRY ADAMS SEEMS ABLE TO SUSTAIN TRUCE AND ADVANCE AIMS

(By James F. Clarity)

DUBLIN, March 21.—As a result of his delicate and much-publicized visit last week to New York, Washington and the White House, Gerry Adams appears to have strengthened himself considerably as the political leader of the Irish Republican Army, the man most Irish people think has great influence in sustaining the I.R.A. cease-fire now in its seventh month.

And Mr. Adams, back in Dublin, also seems to have achieved significant success on a number of tactical goals of Sinn Fein, the I.R.A.'s political arm.

At home, in the military council of the I.R.A., Mr. Adams, the president of Sinn Fein, has shown once again that his political efforts are bringing the Republican movement benefits and concessions it could not even dream of if the I.R.A. re-started the guerrilla warfare in Northern Ireland.

In addition to gaining the right to raise funds for political purposes in America, Mr. Adams was invited to meet and chat with the President of the United States, to talk and have his picture taken with Senator Edward M. Kennedy, to attend a White House party in a tuxedo, all proud signs that he and his movement have come a long way from the days when he led the I.R.A.'s Belfast Brigade and was interned by the British for his trouble. On television screens all over the world he achieved the major Republican goal of getting international attention for his argument that the British should relinquish power in their Northern Ireland province.

Perhaps the most significant result of all this, according to Irish officials and independent experts, is that Mr. Adams' influence with the I.R.A. has probably never been stronger, and that he seems to be easily strong enough in army councils to sustain the cease-fire, at least for several months. Tim Pat Coogan, a historian whose writings on the I.R.A. are standard reference material, said Mr. Adams and his No. 2 in Sinn Fein, Martin McGuinness, who also has a guerrilla background, now have effective control of the military organization.

Mr. Adams' diplomatic victories, the experts say, have made it more difficult for any I.R.A. commanders who may still be restless with the peace effort to gain support among their fighters for a resumption of attacks on military and civilian targets in the North. While the I.R.A. reportedly keeps going through the training motions of selecting putative targets, the Roman Catholics in the North, particularly in Belfast, press for continuing the talks, for trying to negotiate the early release of I.R.A. prisoners and for

the reform of the overwhelmingly Protestant Royal Ulster constabulary, the police force.

Mr. Coogan, who has many friends in Sinn Fein, and other experts said that Northern Catholics and Protestants want negotiations that could bring their imprisoned fathers, husbands and sons home rather than military operations that risk more death and imprisonment. And, among politicians, the need to keep talking also reflects the rarely spoken fear that a particularly heinous violation of the cease-fire, one that killed several civilians or British police or soldiers, could still collapse the peace effort.

Mr. Coogan and Irish officials said that Mr. Adams was compelled to make a worth-theprice concession to the British in order to gain Mr. Clinton's approval of his visit: his agreement to discuss I.R.A. disarmament with British ministers. Asked this week if he was still ready to discuss I.R.A. disarmament at such talks, Mr. Adams said, "Absolutely," but he declined to say how soon that might happen. Previously, Mr. Adams had insisted that disarmament could only be discussed at all-party talks, including Northern Ireland's Protestant leaders, as part of a final peace settlement.

Two weeks before he left for America, Mr. Adams said, "Republicans are fairly patient," and would not expect to be included in all-party political tasks on disarmament, for three or four months.

Politically, outside the I.R.A., Mr. Adams has also won concessions. Until he and John Hume, the influential leader of the Catholic-dominated Social Democratic Labor Party, began a secret peace initiative two years ago, Sinn Fein was banned from the United States as a front for a terrorist organization.

Now Mr. Hume, once a political enemy whose candidate defeated Mr. Adams in the 1992 British Parlimentary election, has personally introduced Mr. Adams to Mr. Clinton in Washington. And Mr. Adams can visit America, raise money, and, most important, he was achieved an old Sinn Fein objective: pulling the White House directly and openly into-a mediator's role between the I.R.A. and the British. American pressure on London delights Sinn Fein and the I.R.A. because it influences, and sometimes vexes, the British Government.

Mr. Adam's agreement, under White House pressure, to discuss disarmament with British ministers was followed in a matter of days by a British concession on the issue Mr. Adams calls "demilitarization": the promised withdrawal of 400 British troops from the North.

And Mr. Adams has held on to the political support of the Irish Government of Prime Minister John Bruton, support that seemed weakened when Mr. Bruton replaced Albert Reynolds three months ago. Mr. Reynolds had urged Britain and the United States to trust the I.R.A.'s stated good intentions, to keep the cease-fire going even though they refused to renounce forever the option of returning to violence.

Mr. Reynolds welcomed Mr. Adams to Dublin to discuss peace at an open Government forum. Mr. Bruton had long been accused of being more sympathetic to the Protestants in the North who want to remain part of Britain than to the I.R.A. goal of a united Ireland free of British control.

Mr. Bruton has continued to nudge Mr. Adams on disarmament and on a categorial renunciation of violence, and he has emphasized that the Protestant unionist majority in the North has a right to reject a united Ireland in a referendum.

But Mr. Bruton has also given Mr. Adams a symbolic hand-shake and talked with him privately, and he urged the White House to let him visit last week. Some experts, invoking the Nixon-and-China principle, see Mr. Bruton as the Irish leader who has the best chance of gaining trust among Protestant unionists and persuading them to talk to Sinn Fein, eventually.

And Prime Minister Bruton, with the approval of all sides, seems willing to continue to play the role of referee in the sparring match between Sinn Fein and Britain, making sure that the predictable but sometimes sharp jabs are not struck too low and, with most of the audience hoping anxiously for a draw, that neither side tries for a knockout.

[From the Boston Globe, Mar. 22, 1955]
IRISH EYES SMILE ON CLINTON'S PEACEMAKING
(By David Nyhan)

But when I returned, Oh how my eyes did burn

To see how a town could be brought to its knees

By the armored cars and the bombed-out bars

And the gas that hangs on every breeze. . . "The Town That I Love So Well"

President Clinton put it as plainly as it can be put Friday night: "Those who take risks for peace are always welcome under this roof."

The largely Hibernian crowd in the East Room for the White House St. Patrick's Day bash erupted. While some of the Ulster Orangemen may fulminate and Britain's John Major keeps Clinton's phone call on hold and the British papers go berserk, Clinton's daring little Irish play is working, and the crowd gave the boyish president his due.

The president was straight-faced, but you knew he had to be winking inside, when he said: "The Irish knew then (in Thomas Jefferson's day) how to back a winner (the fledgling United States)." But no one missed the irony: Major's Tory party had bet big on a George Bush victory, and Clinton's overture to the Irish Republican Army and its political mouthpiece, Gerry Adams, was a longshot that paid off handsomely.

It was John Hume who prevailed upon Ted Kennedy and his sister, Jean Smith, the U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Ireland: Convince Clinton to lift the visa restriction on Adams, the Sinn Fein spokesman, and allow him into the United States to raise money and visibility—and to hell with the British. Because Ted Kennedy is arguably Clinton's biggest bulwark on the left, Hume's initiative prevailed, Adams arrived here a year ago, and the pace was set for the cease-fire that now obtains.

Any president, who can, with some dextrous diplomatic jujitsu, end a 25-year-old, guerrilla war deserves some credit. And this crowd gave it to him. Irish Prime Minister John Bruton, a veteran back-bencher who suddenly emerged to lead the government, lavished gratitude upon Clinton "for the role you have played personally, Mr. President."

Four times as many Dubliners now travel north to Ulster every day to shop and spend and renew kinship ties, he said. "There's a whole weight lifted off our shoulders," said Bruton. "We're a happy land now."

And it was the United States and "the stand for decency the United States has taken on so many occasions" that made the difference, Ireland's leader testified. "The courage of the US has been the key factor in preserving the peace (in Europe) over 50 years. Thank you again for the tremendous good you have done for our country."

Ireland may be grateful; Britain is hopping mad, if last weeks' London newspapers were any indication. To Britons, Adams' is the bearded visage of terrorism, the voice defending heinous bombers who killed kids, civilians, contractors, cab drivers, who blew up Harrods and Airey Neave and tried to kill Thatcher and did kill Mountbatten. Would

America like it if Britain's ruler invited the Lockerbie bombers to 10 Downing St. for tea? Not hardly.

But Clinton's gamble paid off. And he was toasted for it by a crowd that included plenty from around here. There were three O'Neills, enough Dunfeys to fill a bus and pairs of the following: Bulgers (the Senate president and son Bill), Flynns (Ambassador to the Vatican Ray and son Eddie), Kings (administration personnel czar Jim and son Patrick) and at least two Jesuits (BC President J. Donald Monan and former US Rep. Robert F. Drinan).

But the real pair of the evening came late, when many had left, and after Mark Gearan, the top Bay Stater on Clinton's staff, prevailed upon Bill Bulger Sr. to give us a tune. He responded with, "I come from the County Kerry; I'm a typical Irish-man." But then, Bulger said yesterday, "I saw John Hume give me the sign he had a song. So I called him up, and he did "The Town I Love So Well." That tune is the traditional lament for Derry, Hume's battle-scarred hometown in the North.

Bulger: "So then I gave Gerry Adams the sign to come up, and they did it as a duet." The sight and sound of Hume and Adams singing under Bulger's benign tutelage in the East Room, with the cease-fire holding, is all due to Clinton.

Bulger, back in Boston, said: "This is a real success. It's incredible. Everyone had said 'no' to Adams. It was a real bold thing to do. The president broke that stalemate."

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 21, 1995] (By Mary McGrory)

IRISH EYES HAVE REASON TO SMILE

Bill Clinton had a grand moment in the East Room at his second St. Patrick's Day party. The Prime Minister of Ireland, John Bruton, said to him, "We're a happy land now, thanks to the stand and courage that you and your colleagues have shown, Mr. President." He further told his host that he had been right and Dublin had been wrong about taking a chance on Sinn Fein. It was the kind of ungrudging, overflowing approval and vindication Clinton seldom hears. It was the stuff of ethnic campaign commercials.

But he missed a moment of triumph, a tableau of Irish unity and harmony that sent the audience into roaring raptures and left them with a memory for the generations.

The Clintons had left. The guests lingered. The Clintons, who forgot that the Irish rarely "go gentle into that good night" from a good party, sent down instructions for music to say good night to. Communications director Mark Gearan went to the piano, Billy Bolger, the little Caesar of the Massachusetts Senate and an eager tenor, was easily recruited and "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling" was heard once again. Suddenly Bolger stopped. "I think we should hear from John Hume," he said.

Hume, the valiant leader of the Catholic party in Northern Ireland, came up and began to sing his theme song, "The Town that I Love So Well." He was into the second or third verse when a dark, bearded figure joined him on the stage. It was Gerry Adams, and with arms around each other, they finished the song. The audience went wild. As soon as they recognized Adams, they began cheering, and as the pair continued, they stood up applauding. Adams's smile, for once, was not mocking or supercilious. 'History,' they told each other, a settlement in song in the Clinton White House.

"Those who take risks for peace are always welcome under this roof," Clinton had said in his welcome to the prime minister. No one took a greater chance than Hume, the bright, careworn favorite of Irish-American

politicians, who sought out the spokesman and Simn Fein, the political arm of the terrorist IRA, was discovered, harassed, threatened to the point when he spent weeks in a hospital with a bleeding ulcer and a bad case of despair. Hume convinced our ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith and her brother, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, that Adams was the key. Kennedy prevailed upon the president, and a year ago February, while the British raged, Clinton gave Adams a visa for a 48-hour U.S. stay.

Adams maddens many because he insists on talking about Sinn Fein as if it were a stamp club. When arms and bombs and kneecappings and hideous murders of parents before the eyes of their children come up, he looks pained and recoils. What would he know about all that? But last August, he came through. A cease-fire came into effect, the Catholics and Protestants of Ulster began to breathe. The shadow of the gunman disappeared from the streets of Belfast. Plans for Anglo-Irish talks were resumed.

It's still a long way to Tipperary, but another milestone was passed when Clinton again leaned into the wind from London, and not only let Adams come to Washington and the White House, but let him raise money for Sinn Fein. Britain saw it as a cheap bid for the votes of America's 40 million Irish. Outrage led the British press. Adams raised \$80,000 at one New York lunch, and the British boiled over with warnings that the money would go to buy arms to replace those that are supposed to be "decommissioned." Not a farthing, Adams promised. John Major refused to take Clinton's calls.

But everyone at the White House gala was happy and hopeful, particularly the Bostonians, who outnumbered all others. Ray Flynn, Boston's erstwhile mayor and now Clinton's envoy to the Vatican, was telling people the good news that while on a confidential political mission to Pennsylvania, he had found out that Reagan Democrats had put aside their differences on gays in the military and such, and are coming home.

A number of nervous Irishmen seemed to have checked their misgivings at the door. They were delighted to be able to give their views in the splendors of the Executive Mansion. Gary McMichael of the Ulster Democratic Party had a good chat with Sen. Kennedy. Outside a handful of members of the Families Against Intimidation and Terror picketed and leafletted passersby. They were protesting the 46 beatings that have been administered by both sides, Unionists and IRA, since the cease-fire. Iron bars and clubs with nails are used. The protesters had hoped to be invited in, they were not but were assuaged by a visit to the Security Council the following morning.

On Sunday, Major resumed speaking to the president and expressed the hope of putting it all behind. Adams landed in Dublin and said, with his usual surprise that anyone would ask, that no one had pressured him on decommissioning arms.

[From Newsday, Feb. 27, 1995] SINN FEIN BALKS AT DISARMING

(By Patrick J. Sloyan)

DUBLIN.—A plump dove, white on a purple backdrop, flew over the conference, streaming the Irish tricolor wrapped around the slogan: "Create Peace: Unite Ireland."

"Does anyone want to speak?" Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, asked delegates to its annual conference. "We welcome your criticism."

As the meeting of the Irish Republican Army's political wing droned to a close yesterday, Adams seemed miffed over news accounts of grumbling delegates. Some were dismayed by the tepid tone of freedom fighters turned peacemongers.

Owen Bennett stalked to the Mansion House microphone. "No one can promise some future generation will not resort to arms to win self-determination," Bennett said. He was from south Armagh, a hotbed of IRA warfare for the past quarter of a century. A roar filled the hall.

Until the IRA ceasefire last August, many of the delegates lived by nationalist-intellectual Patrick Pearse's slogan: "Life springs from death. And from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations." It was on a banner set discreetly to one side in the conference hall and was decorated not with doves but crossed rifles, a revolver and a pike.

Only a few blocks away is the Dublin post office seized on Easter 1916 by Pearse and comrades determined to end England's rule of Ireland. Now, 79 years later, Adams and the heirs to that uprising were closer than ever to that goal.

But handling doves, as Adams is learning, is far trickier than wielding a pike. The next step toward a permanent peace in Northern Ireland and the beginning of an eventual union between Irish north and south could be a difficult one for the IRA.

Before starting negotiations on the Belfast framework announced last week, British Prime Minister John Major wants the Sinn Fein to give up thousands of IRA rifles, rocket launchers, pistols and grenades and tons of hidden explosives.

"There has to be substantial progress made on the decommissioning of arms," Sir Patrick Mayhew said yesterday. He is the British government's Secretary of Northern Ireland and has refused to talk with Sinn Fein Instead, his staff conducted preliminary talks on Mayor's behalf with Sinn Fein emissaries.

"We have told the British that Sinn Fein does not have any weapons," said Martin McGuinness, who represented the organization in talks with Mayhew's staff. Most delegates at Mission House will wink at that one. McGuinness is reputed to be military commander of the IRA, succeeding Adams in directing attacks in Northern Ireland.

But McGuinness drew applause with a reminder that it was Sinn Fein's unilateral initiative that produced the cease fire that has sparked the peace process.

"We told them, just in case the reality had escaped them, that the British government and the British army had not defeated the IRA; that the IRA had not surrendered and that the British government could not even remotely expect Sinn Fein to deliver that surrender for them," McGuinness said to cheers.

Adams has a counterproposal: decommission British and Unionist guns as well as IRA weapons. And demilitarize the province by eliminating 13,500 Royal Ulster Constabulary police at 161 stations and removing 19,000 British troops at 135 forts.

London is inching toward Sinn Fein demands. Border checkpoints have become largely unmanned traffic snarls. British army patrols have decreased dramatically, and soldiers have vanished from some areas. Some British government officials say troops could be withdrawn as security needs subside.

Dublin government officials see a precedent for Sinn Fein disarmament. When the 26 counties of the south won independence in 1937, the IRA turned over many of their weapons to help equip a new Irish army. "But it would be difficult now," said an aide to Deputy Irish Prime Minister Dick Spring. "Gerry Adams has to deal with the 'hard men' [extremists] in the Sinn Fein."

One possible compromise would be the release of an estimated 600 IRA prisoners in Ulster and British prisons coinciding with a Dublin decommisssioning of IRA weapons.

In the meantime, Adams and Major's demand for IRA weapons is merely a dodge to stall the start of all-party talks, including Sinn Fein and Unionist paramilitary leaders as well as government officials from Dublin, Belfast, and London.

In response to Mayhew's statement yesterday demanding progress on disarmament, Adams said: "He wants to make up his mind. It is a precondition of talks or it's not a precondition."

The Sinn Fein leader was daring Major to obstruct an Irish peace process that has revived his slipping political fortunes in Britain. A Gallup Poll financed by the London Telegraph showed 92 percent of Britain voters supported the Belfast framework and 68 percent believed Ulster Unionists were wrong not to participate in the talks.

Another poll, commissioned by British television among Northern Ireland's Unionist voters, approved the plan. Ulster Marketing found 81 percent of the more moderate Unionist party members favored the framework, which also was supported by 61 percent on the more conservative Democratic Unionist Party.

"The British government position [on IRA disarmament] is untenable," said Sinn Fein's McGuinness. "It has to change."

THE TOWN I LOVED SO WELL (Words and Music by Phil Coulter)

In my memory, I will always see The town that I have loved so well.

The town that I have loved so well, Where our school played hall by the

Where our school played ball by the gas yard wall

And we laughed through the smoke and the smell.

Going home in the rain, running up the dark lane,

Past the jail and down behind the fountain— There were happy days in so many, many ways

In the town I loved so well.

In the early morning the shirt factory horn Called women from Creggan, the Moor and the Bog;

While the men on the dole played a mother's role,

Fed the children, and then walked the dog; And when times got tough, there was just about enough;

And they saw it through without complaining:

For deep inside was a burning pride In the town I loved so well.

There was music there in the Derry air Like a language that we all could understand:

I remember the day that I earned my first pay

When I played in a small pick-up band.

There I spent my youth, and to tell you the truth,

I was sad to leave it all behind me:

For I'd learned about life, and I'd found a wife $\,$

In the town I loved so well.

But when I've returned how my eyes have burned

To see how a town could be brought to its knees;

By the armoured cars and the bombed-out bars.

And the gas that hangs on to every breeze:

Now the army's installed by that old gas yard wall

And the damned barbed wire gets higher and higher;

With their tanks and their guns, Oh my God what have they done

To the town I loved so well.

Now the music's gone but they carry on For their spirit's been bruised, never broken; They will not forget, but their hearts are set On tomorrow and peace once again.

For what's done is done, and what's won is won;

And what's lost is lost and gone forever: I can only pray for a bright, brand new day In the town I love so well.

[From the New York Times, March 17, 1995] IRISH EYES ARE SMILING

PRESIDENT CLINTON—THANK YOU VERY MUCH (National Committee on American Foreign Policy, Inc.)

For the first time in a generation, 44 million Irish Americans can celebrate peace in Ireland.

This "emergent vision of peace," as the poet Seamus Heaney has called it, allows us to celebrate St. Patrick's Day with a pride in our heart and warmth in our soul.

Many brave men and women, Protestant and Catholic, Irish and British, helped bring about this peace process.

So did their respective governments.

Countless Americans of all traditions and from every walk of life, worked so hard to make this miracle happens.

Moreover, the important role played by the men and women of the United States Congress, from both parties can never be forgotten.

Above all, Mr. President, we celebrate your role in making this peace possible.

Since your first day in office, you have shown a rare commitment to bringing peace to that ancestral land of your mother's roots.

Your involvement in encouraging all the political parties in Northern Ireland to come together was crucial.

Your vision in granting U.S. visas to leaders of the Republican and Loyalist communities, who now wish to take the gun forever out of Irish politics, was vital.

Your overall encouragement of the British and Irish governments as they signed their historic Joint Framework Document was inspiring.

By your actions, you have made clear how much the United States wants to help create the conditions for peace, justice and reconciliation in Ireland.

By your words, you have made clear your personal commitment to the framework for an agreed Ireland that can allow all of its people to live in peace.

By your support, you have inspired your fellow Irish Americans who will now redouble their efforts to ensure that the peace continues.

Another great Irish American, President Kennedy, stated that peace must be "dynamic, not static, changing to meet the challenges confronting it, for peace is a process, a way of solving problems."

With your help, Mr. President, we can keep that peace and that process moving forward. We salute you for your concern and for your caring.

And we thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

William J. Flynn, Chairman.

Dr. George D. Schwab, President.

We, the undersigned, wish to add our voice to that of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy.

Tom Barton, President, Marz Inc.

Charles J. Boyle, Executive Director, Ireland Chamber of Commerce in the USA, Inc. Hon. Hugh L. Carey, former governor, State of New York, Executive Vice President, W.R. Grace & Co.

Stanley Q. Casey, Richardson, Mahon & Casey.

William J. Chambers, Chairman, Eirlink International.

Ed Cleary, AFL-CIO.

Elliot H. Cole, Esq., Partner, Patton Boggs, LLP.

John J. Connorton, Jr., Partner, Hawkins, Delafield & Wood.

Frank D. Cooney, Jr., Treasurer, County Asphalt, Inc. $\,$

John T. Cooney, Sr., Vice President, County Asphalt, Inc.

Robert A. Cooney, Associate Dean, Loyola Law School, Los Angeles, CA.

Gerald Cummins, Chairman, Mancum Graphics, Inc.

Joanne Toor Cummings, Sr. Vice President, NCAFP

John T. Dee, President, Service America

Corporation.
Thomas J. Degnan, President, In Progress

Environment.

Roy E. Disney, Vice Chairman of the Board, The Walt Disney Company.

Robert J. Donahue, President, Patrons of the John F. Kennedy Trust, Inc.

Thomas R. Donohue, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO.

Cornelius (Connie) S. Doolan, Director, Trade Relations North America, Guinness Import Co.

Eamonn Doran, Restauranteur, New York/ Dublin.

 $\label{eq:continuity} \mbox{John A. Doyle, President, the Doyle Group, } \mbox{Inc.}$

Raymond G. Duffy, Vice President, Jefferson Smurfit Corporation.

Hon. Angier Biddle Duke, Chairman, Appeal of Conscience Foundation.

John R. Dunne, former US Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights

Seymour Maxwell Finger.

Hugh P. Finnegan, Partner, Siller, Wilk, & Mencher LLP.

John Fitzpatrick, CEO, North America, Fitzpatrick Family Group of Hotels.

Peter J. Flanagan, President, Life Insurance Council of New York.

Adrian Flannelly, President, Adrian Flannelly Irish Radio.

Edward T. Fogarty, President & CEO, Tambrands Inc. Richard R. Fogarty, CEO & President,

Labatt.

Michael J. Gibbons.

William P. Gibbons, Attorney at Law, Cleveland, Ohio.

Claire Grimes, CEO, Irish Echo Newspaper Corporation.

Dr. Os Guinness, The Trinity Forum.

Martin Hamrogue, General Manger, Operation Control, TWA.

Peter Hanrahan, partner, Keegan Hanrahan Architects, PC.

Patricia Harty, Editor-in-Chief, Irish America Magazine.

Margaret M. Heckler, former US Ambassador to Ireland.

John F. Henning, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO.

 $\mbox{\sc Hon.}$ Alan G. Hevesi, Comptroller, City of New York.

Ray Hogan, Hogan Fragrances.

Peter J. Hooper.

Abassador F. Hoveyda, Executive Committee, NCAFP.

Carl F. Hughes, Chairman President & CEO, Fahey Bank.

Tom Ivory, CEO, Baker Street Bread.

Richard R. Joaquim, President, International Conference Resorts.

Philip M. Keating, Esq., David & Hagner.

Kevin Keegan, partner, Keegan Hanrahan Architects, PC.

Martin P. & Mary Kehoe.

Denis P. Kelleher, CEO, Wall Street Investor Services.

Michael P. Kelley, Vice President, Sales, Norcom Electronics.

Daniel J. Kelly, Group Managing Partner, Deloitte & Touche.

Patrick J. Keogh, President & CEO, Ireland Chamber of Commerce in the USA, Inc. Herbert Kurz, Chairman, Presidential Life Insurance Company.

Michael J. Larkin, Executive Vice President, The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., Inc.

Dr. Thomas J. Ledwith, Executive Director, United States Program, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

Edward S. Lewis, President, SPK/Lewis Inc.

Rev. Dr. Franklin H. Littell, Temple University.

Edmund E. Lynch, National Coordinator, Lawyers Alliance for Justice in Ireland, Inc. Jack MacDonough, CEO, Miller Brewing Company.

Shirley Whelan MacRae, President, S.W. Management.

Edward G. Maher, Patrick J. Maher, President, Business Insurance Agency, Inc.

Annette Mahon, President, Belvedere Public Relations, Inc.

John F. X. Mannion, Chairman & CEO, Unity Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Edward I. Masterman, Esq., Masterman, Culbert & Tully.

John McCabe, Account Manager, Corporate Express.

Sean McCabe, Account Manager, Corporate Express.

 \hat{J} ames F. McCann, President, 1–800–Flowers.

William C. McCann, President & CEO, Allied Junction.

Jerome R. McDougal, President & CEO, River Bank America.

Gerald W. McEntee, President, The American Federation of State, County, & Municipal Employees.

Paschal McGuinness, 1st Vice President, International Brotherhood of Carpenters & President, Irish-American Labor Coalition. Denis McInerney.

Mark P. McInerney, President, L.P. Cook

Government Securities Inc. Andrew J. McKenna, Chairman, President

& CEO, Schwarz Paper Company. William A. McKenna, Jr., Chairman &

CEO, Ridgewood Savings Bank.
Hon. Timothy Connor McNamara, Colum-

bia Consulting Group.

Thomas J. Moran, President & CEO, Mutual of America.

Bruce A. Morrison, former Member of Congress, Partner, Morrison & Swaine.

Sheillagh Mulready, Secretary/Treasurer, Patrons of the John F. Kennedy Trust, Inc.

Patrons of the John F. Kennedy Trust, Inc. James C. Nicholas, Executive Director, Connecticut World Trade Association, Inc.

Brian Nolan, Executive Vice President,

Blarney Wollen Mills.

James J. O'Connon, President & CEO, The

Annamor Group Ltd. Niall O'Dowd, Publisher, Irish America

Magazine.
Michael M. O'Driscoll, President, Cash's of

Ireland.

John A. O'Malley, President, Executive

Benefits Group. Inc. Tice O'Sullivan, President, Diversified

Management Services.

Joan Peters, Writer, Historian & Lecturer, Exec. Comm. Member & Trustee, NCAFP. Ann Phillips, Member of the Board of

Ann Phillips, Member of the Board of Trustees, NCAFP.

William Pickens III, President, Bill Pickens Associates, Inc.

Edward J. Quinn, President, Worldwide Educational Services, Inc.

James L. Quinn, Law/CPA Offices of James J. Quinn.

Bryan Reidy, General Manager, Gallagher's Steak House, NYC.

Älan Richards.

Michael J. Roarty, President, Ireland-US Council for Commerce & Industry.

William J. Rudolf, Vice President, NCAFP. Dennis G. Ruppel, President, MTD Technologies, Inc.

Dankwart A. Rustow, Distinguished Professor, City University of New York.

David L. Ryan, Vice President, The Doyle Group.

Kathleen Schmacht, Executive Vice President, E.C. Services, Inc.

Elizabeth Shannon, Writer, Boston University.

John T. Sharkey, New York City.

Stanley Shmishkiss, Chairman Emeritus, American Cancer Society Foundation.

John R. Silber, President, Boston University.

Richard Blake St. Francis.

Robert E. Sweeney, President, Robert E. Sweeney Co., L.P.A.

James D. Walker, Managing Director, VAT

America. Kevin J. Walsh, Partner, Kelley Drye &

Warren. Walsh, Partner, Kelley Drye &

 $\label{eq:Michael J. Walsh, President, Walsh Trading Company.} \\$

Stephanie Whiston.

Use of Organization name is solely for identification purposes.

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 9:39, a.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Schaeffer, one of its clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill; in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1158. An act making emergency supplemental appropriations for additional disaster assistance and making rescissions for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1995, and for other purposes.

MEASURES READ THE FIRST TIME

The following bill was read the first time:

H.R. 1158. An act making emergency supplemental appropriations for additional disaster assistance and making rescissions for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1995, and for other purposes.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-644. A communication from the Director of Administration and Management, Department of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Extraordinary Contractual Actions to Facilitate the National Defense"; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-645. A communication from the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the Commission's administrative and enforcement actions under the Fair Debt Collections Practices Act; to the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs.

EC-646. A communication from the Fiscal Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report with respect to material violations of regulations

relating to Treasury acutions; to the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs.

EC-647. A communication from the President and Chairman of the Export-Import Bank, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to a transaction with the People's Republic of China; to the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs.

EC-648. A communication from the President and Chairman of the Export-Import Bank, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to a transaction with the People's Republic of China; to the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs.

EC-649. A communication from the Deputy Associate Director for Compliance, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the refunds of offshore lease revenues where a recoupment or refund is appropriate; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-650. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Land and Minerals Management, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to compensatory royalty agreements for oil and gas for fiscal year 1994; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-651. A communication from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the awarding of specific watershed restoration contracts within the range of the northern spotted owl; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-652. A communication from the Chief Financial Officer of the Department of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, the CFO's annual report relative to Federal Facility Compliance; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-653. A communication from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, a fiscal year 1993 report relative to overweight vehicles; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-654. A communication from the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to volatile organic compound emmissions; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-655. A communication from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to worker adjustment assistance training funds; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-656. A communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the 1994 report relative to the Treasury Forfeiture Fund; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-657. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of State (Legislative Affairs), transmitting, pursuant to law, a report required under the Chemical and Biological Weapons Control and Warfare Elimincation Act; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-658. A communication from the Director of the Peace Corps, transmitting, a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations for activities under the Peace Corps Act for fiscal years 1996 and 1997; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-659. A communication from the Chairman of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the public diplomacy activities of the U.S. Government; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-660. A communication from the District of Columbia Auditor, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the revenue estimates with respect to the Mayor's budget's for fiscal years 1995 and 1996; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.