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House of Representatives

The House met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. HEFLEY].

DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,
September 11, 1996.

I hereby designate the Honorable JOEL HEFLEY to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

NEWT GINGRICH,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Bless this day and bless this land,
Keep us safe with Your strong hand.
May Your spirit, O God, forgive,
All our lives so we might live.

May Your benediction, O gracious God, that is new every morning and with us until the last light of day, surround us and keep us in Your peace, now and forevermore. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. MONTGOMERY] come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. MONTGOMERY led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Repub-

lic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair desires to make an announcement.

After consultation with the majority and minority leaders, and with their consent and approval, the Chair announces that during the joint meeting to hear an address by His Excellency John Bruton, only the doors immediately opposite the Speaker and those on his right and left will be open.

No one will be allowed on the floor of the House who does not have the privilege of the floor of the House.

Due to the large attendance which is anticipated, the Chair feels that the rule regarding the privilege of the floor must be strictly adhered to.

Children of Members will not be permitted on the floor, and the cooperation of all Members is requested.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of Thursday, September 5, 1996, the House will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 2 minutes a.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

During the recess, beginning at about 10 a.m., the following proceedings were had:

□ 0955

JOINT MEETING OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE TO HEAR AN ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY, JOHN BRUTON, PRIME MINISTER OF IRELAND

The Speaker of the House presided.

The Assistant to the Sergeant at Arms, Donald T. Kellaher, announced the President pro tempore and Members of the U.S. Senate, who entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, the President pro tempore taking the chair at the right of the Speaker, and the Members of the Senate the seats reserved for them.

The SPEAKER. On the part of the House, the Chair appoints as members of the committee to escort the Prime Minister of Ireland into the Chamber: the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARMEY]; the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DELAY]; the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOEHNER]; the gentleman from California [Mr. COX]; the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN]; the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BLUTE]; the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. FRANKS]; the gentleman from New York [Mr. KING]; the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAZIO]; the gentleman from New York [Mr. QUINN]; the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ENGLISH]; the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FLANAGAN]; the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. KELLY]; the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. MARTINI]; the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR]; the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. KENNELLY]; the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER]; the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. MONTGOMERY]; the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARKEY]; the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KILDEE]; the gentleman from Montana [Mr. WILLIAMS]; the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BORSKI]; the gentleman from New York [Mr. MANTON]; the gentleman from Washington [Mr. McDERMOTT]; the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. NEAL]; the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. MORAN]; the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. MALONEY]; and the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. KENNEDY].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The President pro tempore of the Senate, at

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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the direction of that body, appoints the following Senators as a committee on the part of the Senate to escort His Excellency, John Bruton, the Prime Minister of Ireland into the Chamber: the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON]; the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN]; the Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS]; the Senator from Florida [Mr. MACK]; the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. DASCHLE]; the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY]; the Senator from Vermont [Mr. LEAHY]; and the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL].

□ 1000

The Assistant to the Sergeant at Arms announced the Acting Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, Dr. Joseph Edsel Edmunds, Ambassador of Saint Lucia.

The Acting Dean of the Diplomatic Corps entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seat reserved for him.

The Assistant to the Sergeant at Arms announced the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

The members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

At 10 o'clock and 5 minutes a.m., the Assistant to the Sergeant at Arms announced His Excellency, John Bruton, the Prime Minister of Ireland.

The Prime Minister of Ireland, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, and stood at the Clerk's desk.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

The SPEAKER. Members of the Congress, it is my great privilege, and I deem it a high honor and personal pleasure to present to you His Excellency, John Bruton, the Taoiseach, Prime Minister of Ireland.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY, JOHN BRUTON, PRIME MINISTER OF IRELAND

PRIME MINISTER BRUTON. Mr. Speaker, Senator THURMOND, Members of Congress, it is a great honor to Ireland that I have been asked to address this joint session of Congress today, as only the 30th head of State or government of an European country to do so since 1945. But it is a particular honor to be asked to speak here on this day, the 11th of September.

For it was on this day, the 11th of September, 210 years ago almost to the hour, that delegates from New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Virginia met just 32 miles from here at Annapolis in Maryland, and it was there, at Annapolis, that they decided to convene the convention in Philadelphia that gave the people the Constitution of the United States of America, the world's first Federal constitution, the constitution that made Americans "the first people whom

Heaven has favoured with an opportunity of deliberating upon, and choosing, the form of government under which they shall live," making America the pioneer of that most powerful of all political ideas: democracy under the rule of law.

Two hundred and ten years later Americans can look back with pride at what they have given to the world. Never before in that long period have more of humanity lived under a system based on democracy and the rule of law than do so today.

Even in the case of countries as afflicted as Burma, people are standing up for democracy and the rule of law. For the first time in their history, the Russian people have freely elected their own President. The American model, constitutional democracy, has succeeded and spread because it is built on a realistic view of human nature. Checks and balances are needed.

As James Madison said: "You must first enable the Government to control the governed, and in the next place, oblige it to control itself."

American democracy has worked because it has controlled itself through the separation of powers in a written Constitution, and through a strong and independent Supreme Court that interprets that Constitution.

As President Andrew Jackson, a man of Irish ancestry, said in 1821: "The great can protect themselves, but the poor and humble require the arm and the shield of the law."

I speak today as President in office of the European Council, a body that is aiming to do for the 15 member states of the European Union what the men who met, and they unfortunately only were men who met at Annapolis and at Philadelphia, did so long ago for the 13 colonies of America. The European Union, through an Inter-Governmental Conference launched last April in Turin, is seeking to write a new constitution for Europe that will enable the European Union to add new members to its east, just as your constitution of 1789 enabled this great union to add so many new members to its west.

The establishment of the United States of America was the great constructive constitutional achievement of the late 18th century. The establishment of the European Union out of the devastation of World War II could be described as the great constructive constitutional achievement of the late 20th century.

We in Europe have much to learn from American experience. Americans came together because of necessity. Very few of the eventual Framers of the U.S. Constitution who met at Annapolis were inspired by the theories of Montesquieu or Locke, wanting to build the perfect state, a model democracy, a castle built in the sky. They came together rather because they had to reach urgent agreement on a framework to sort out immediate problems about shipping on the Potomac, about how they would pay for the army,

about who was going to pay taxes and how they were going to be collected, how they would get their goods to market, and how their frontiers would be protected, very practical problems.

Americans in 1786 knew at Annapolis that they could not agree on commercial reforms to protect trade without making political reforms as well. That is why the men at Annapolis 210 years ago decided to call a constitutional conference in Philadelphia the following May. By working together to find the means of solving the practical problems of life for their citizens, the Framers of the U.S. Constitution forged the most durable and perhaps the fairest system of government the world has ever seen. They came together as people who were each loyal, first and foremost, to their own States. But they knew that that loyalty and allegiance could find its best expression as part of a wider American continental loyalty.

Mr. Speaker, it was necessity that brought Europe together too, the necessity of reconstruction after World War II, the necessity of resisting communism, and the necessity to resolve national conflicts that had caused 3 wars in just 80 years. That dynamic, that necessity, continues in Europe today.

It is often said that politicians and politics are made to serve commercial needs. The European Union has done the reverse. It has made commerce the servant of a great political objective. By creating a single coal and steel industry, a single agricultural market, a single commercial market, the European Union has created economic bonds that bind its members together politically.

The European Union has undermined the economic base of that force that causes wars, national chauvinism, but the psychological base of national chauvinism still remains a threat in Europe. If Europeans do not constantly work at bringing their union closer together, the strains arising from remaining differences will gradually pull their union apart.

Can the European Union create economic bonds that are strong enough to persuade European states to make sacrifices and take risks for a common objective? That is an important question for Europe, and it is also an important question for Europe's allies and the United States. And it is a question that Europe has to answer for itself. And depending on that answer, we will know whether the Yugoslav violence of 1992-93 was just the last convulsion of an old and primitive Europe or a sign of wider threats to come. And Europe has to answer that question while simultaneously bringing in new members, with a different political tradition from Central and Eastern Europe. That problem, that precise problem of bringing existing members closer together, while also expanding membership, is a familiar problem to anyone who has studied the 19th century history of the United States.