

(Four trillion, seventy billion, one hundred eighty-five million).

Ten years ago, November 4, 1987, the Federal debt stood at \$2,392,996,000,000 (Two trillion, three hundred ninety-two billion, nine hundred ninety-six million).

Fifteen years ago, November 4, 1982, the Federal debt stood at \$1,145,846,000,000 (One trillion, one hundred forty-five billion, eight hundred forty-six million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$4 trillion—\$4,286,525,961,282.81 (Four trillion, two hundred eighty-six billion, five hundred twenty-five million, nine hundred sixty-one thousand, two hundred eighty-two dollars and eighty-one cents) during the past 15 years.

U.S. FOREIGN OIL CONSUMPTION FOR WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 31

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the American Petroleum Institute reports that for the week ending October 31, the United States imported 7,986,000 barrels of oil each day, 948,000 barrels more than the 7,038,000 imported each day during the same week a year ago.

Americans relied on foreign oil for 55.6 percent of their needs last week, and there are no signs that the upward spiral will abate. Before the Persian Gulf war, the United States obtained approximately 45 percent of its oil supply from foreign countries. During the Arab oil embargo in the 1970's, foreign oil accounted for only 35 percent of America's oil supply.

Anybody else interested in restoring domestic production of oil? By U.S. producers using American workers?

Politicians had better ponder the economic calamity sure to occur in America if and when foreign producers shut off our supply—or double the already enormous cost of imported oil flowing into the United States—now 7,986,000 barrels a day.

FIRST LADY'S VISIT TO IRELAND AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, last week the First Lady visited Dublin and Belfast. When the President and the First Lady visited those cities 2 years ago, they received a warm welcome from the people of Ireland and Northern Ireland, and Mrs. Clinton was warmly received on her return visit last week.

During her visit, she emphasized the President's commitment to peace in Northern Ireland. All friends of Ireland in the United States are grateful for the continuing interest and involvement of the President and the First Lady in this issue, which is of such great importance to so many Americans.

In Dublin on October 30, Mrs. Clinton spoke warmly of her previous visit in 1995 and the continuing strong commitment of the United States to the peace process.

At the University of Ulster in Belfast on October 31, Mrs. Clinton delivered a

lecture named in honor and in memory of Joyce McCartan, a courageous woman of peace whom the First Lady had met during her visit 2 years ago, and who had inspired many other women in Northern Ireland to take up the cause of reconciliation.

I believe my colleagues will be interested in Mrs. Clinton's eloquent remarks about the positive role of women in Northern Ireland and around the world in the search for peace and hope and opportunity. I ask unanimous consent that the First Lady's remarks in Dublin and Belfast be printed in the RECORD.

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

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY DUBLIN CASTLE; DUBLIN, IRELAND

October 30, 1997

Thank you very much, it is such a great pleasure for me to be back and I must tell you that although my visit is far too brief, my husband is very jealous. He is green with jealousy, and as I left this morning, he said "tell everyone"—as though I would have a chance to tell the entire populace—how much he wishes he could be here as well.

It has been as, we have heard, nearly two years since we were here, and I don't think we will ever have a better time anywhere than we did here. The warmth of the greeting and the outpouring at College Green are images that we think about and talk about in our house all the time. It is wonderful to be back here in this Castle, and I am especially pleased that since our visit, Ireland hosted here, the European Union leaders, to such success.

Much has happened in the Northern Ireland peace process since my husband was here. An IRA cease-fire broke down but was restored, and in this precious peace almost all the key parties of the conflict are sitting down to discuss substantive issues. There is a new government in Ireland, led by the Taoiseach, and this government has built on the determination of its predecessor to keep the political momentum moving toward a negotiated settlement.

But I've been especially pleased to see, since my visit, how Ireland has continued to prosper. It has been wonderful to read, as I have, of the important progress that has been made, not only in the peace process but in the move toward prosperity, on this island. I was very moved to have a visit just a few days ago in the White House from Mary Robinson, and I know that the polls have closed and you are about to elect her successor. She has moved from being your President to being in the forefront of human rights, another example of Irish leadership.

Dublin as you know has an important critical role in producing a settlement. As my husband said two years ago on College Green, America will be with you as you walk the road of peace. We know from our own experience that making peace among people of different cultures is the work of a lifetime. My husband and I, and all who stand with you, are under no illusions that reaching an agreement will be easy. There are centuries of feelings behind each side's arguments, and events of the past 27 years have left wounds that are still raw.

I would like to highlight two themes on this short visit here and then tomorrow in Belfast—compromise and reconciliation. When the people want peace, it is the obligation of political leaders to find the common ground where it can thrive. It involves post-

poning or even giving up cherished ideals in the belief that others will do the same to end conflict and build a better future. All sides must compromise and seek this common ground in the weeks and months ahead.

I want, on behalf of the President, to pay tribute to both sides of the border and the community divide, who have worked so hard in recent years to bring about reconciliation in the wake of this bitter conflict, and I want to mention women in particular. Women have paid a heavy price for the social turmoil generated by the troubles, and it therefore comes as no surprise that women are leading the efforts towards a lasting peace. Tomorrow, in Belfast, I will honor one such woman, Joyce McCartan, whom I was privileged to meet on my visit. The National Women's Council of Ireland has launched a project in collaboration with partners in Northern Ireland called "Making Women Seen and Heard." It features workshops designed to empower women who are politically and socially marginalized. These workshops held on both sides of the border are a tangible example of what can be done to foster communication and reconciliation.

The United States will continue to do its part to support the peace process. My husband remains personally committed to this effort and to those who take risks to make peace happen. We are also fortunate to have Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith, who has contributed so much to the relationship between our countries, to Ireland, and to the peace process. Be assured that the United States is your partner for the long haul.

I want to thank you also for the warm hospitality extended to my daughter during her private visit in June. She was able to come with a friend and just a few other keepers, and enjoy the people and the beauty of your country, and I am grateful to you for that. I also must tell you that my husband has been practicing his golf, looking at his calendar searching for a date that will enable him to return here with a seven-iron in hand. I hope that that is not too far off in the distance, and that he will have the opportunity that I have now to greet you personally, to thank you for your friendship and your support, and to wish you Godspeed in the many important efforts that you are undertaking today.

Thank you very much.

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY AT JOYCE MCCARTAN MEMORIAL LECTURE UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER; BELFAST, NORTHERN IRELAND

October 31, 1997

Thank you, Thank you very much, Chancellor. I am delighted to be here at this university. I want to thank the university for this invitation, Robert Hanna, Professor Sir Trevor Smith, Pro Vice Chancellor, and Provost Ann Tate. And I'm especially pleased that I could be joined today by the United States Ambassador to the Court of St. James Philip Lader, U.S. Counsel General Kathleen Stevens, and Senator George Mitchell, who is here in the room with us.

I want to welcome all of you because I feel so very welcome here, but particularly, a special welcome to the family, friends and associates of Joyce McCartan who have joined us today.

It is a great personal pleasure and honor for me to be back in Northern Ireland and to reunite with some of the courageous women and men I first met when I came here two years ago with my husband. The sights and sounds and emotions of that visit, the lighting of the Christmas Tree outside City Hall, our walk from Guild Hall Square to Shipquay Street, Protestants and Catholics working side by side at the Mackey Metal

Plant—all of that and so much more hold special places in my husband's heart and in my own.

And I will always treasure my visit to Ye Olde Lamplighter on Lower Ormeau Road, for it was there that I shared a cup of tea with Joyce McCartan and her colleagues. It is, therefore, a signal honor to give this, first of a series of lectures dedicated in her memory, and in recognition of the important role women have played, are playing and will play in building peace.

I am very delighted that the university, with the support of corporate sponsorship from Cable Tel, will honor Joyce McCartan's work even further by establishing bursaries to assist women who are studying conflict resolution and community reconciliation.

This is a hopeful moment, as it was two years ago. But it is even more promising now. For the first time in more than 25 years, leaders of Northern Ireland's Catholic and Protestant communities are meeting, and the world is watching to see whether they will be able to end a generation of senseless killing and forge a lasting peace.

When the people want peace, it is the obligation of political leaders to find the common ground where it can thrive. That requires compromise and reconciliation. That involves postponing or even giving up one's cherished ideals in the belief that others will do the same to end the conflict and build a better future.

All sides must compromise and seek this common ground in the weeks and months ahead. The United States will continue to do its part to support the peace process, and my husband remains personally committed to this effort and to those who take risks for peace.

Joyce McCartan was one of those risk-takers. I want to pay tribute to her and to the men and women on both sides of the border and the community divide who have worked so hard in recent years to bring about reconciliation in the wake of this bitter conflict. We would never have arrived at this hopeful moment without the countless acts of courage and faith of people like the women we honor today.

I have many memories of my visit, and I even have a souvenir. I have the teapot. (Laughter and applause.) As you can see, it is a rather ordinary, stainless steel teapot, one easily found in many Belfast kitchens. But as I told Joyce during our conversation, this teapot was so much better at keeping the tea hot than the ones I had back in the White House. So she gave it to me as a present.

I use this teapot every day in my private kitchen on the second floor of the White House. And whenever I look at it, I am reminded of Joyce's ability to warm hearts, to keep alive hope for a better world and a better time, despite tragedy after heart-breaking tragedy.

As we sipped our tea together, the women told me how they had worked over the years, how both Catholic and Protestant, they had realized so much more united than divided them. While they may have attended different churches on Sunday, seven days a week they all said a silent prayer for the safe return of a child from school or a husband from an errand in town. Seven days a week their families struggled with the same deep-rooted causes of the violence—the terrors of sectarianism, the burdens of poverty, the shackles of limited education, the despair of unemployment.

And while they may have held different views of the past, they had learned that together they could build a better present and hope for an even brighter future, by promoting understanding, saving lives, preserving families, nurturing hope, and defying his-

tory. Because, in the end, for them and for so many other women across Northern Ireland, love of family ran deeper than calls to hatred.

I had never met Joyce before we gathered together, but I had seen her compassion, courage and commitment in many other eyes—her yearning for a more peaceful and democratic world resonates through the ages and stretches across the globe. Mothers, wives, daughters, ordinary citizens—their insistent voices for peace raised sometimes in a roar, but more often in a whispered prayer—have inspired women and entire societies around the world to build more open, just, democratic and peaceful communities. This chorus of courageous voices can be heard today from Belfast to Bosnia, wherever women are working to end the violence and begin the healing.

Although I have been privileged to travel widely and meet many of the world's leaders, I often find that it is in small groups, sitting around a kitchen table, sipping tea with women like Joyce, sharing concerns and talking about our families, where I've learned the most valuable lessons. And one of those lessons is that an extraordinary power is unleashed when women reach out to their neighbors and find common ground—when they began to lift themselves up, and by doing so, lift up their families, their neighbors, and their communities.

I know that Joyce liked to call herself a family feminist because saving families was at the root of all her efforts. This is a brilliant term, and one that I have quoted throughout the globe, because it captures the very important idea that when women are empowered to make the most of their own potential, then their families will thrive, and when families thrive, communities and nations thrive as well. Women who are acting to protect and strengthen their families are playing a central role in the building and sustaining of peace and democracy around the world.

Now, often when we talk about democracy, or when classes and lectures are held about it, we talk about our highest ideals—freedom of religion, freedom of association, freedom of speech and of the press, freedom to participate fully in the civic and political life of one's country. But democracy is also about ensuring equal access to quality education, health care, jobs and credit. Democracy is about respecting human dignity and allowing people the opportunity to take responsibility for composing their own lives that will allow them to live up to their God-given promise.

What we've learned over the years is that these lofty ideals can be made real only through the everyday efforts of ordinary citizens. Yes, we need laws and a system of justice to uphold them, but democracy is nurtured and sustained in the hearts of people, in the principles they honor, in the way they live their daily lives and how they treat their fellow citizens, in the lessons they teach their children before they tuck them into bed at night.

One of the great observers of American democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville, wrote about what it was that he thought made American democracy work. He talked about the way men and women felt they could participate in making their own lives better, how they formed associations, how they worked for some common good. And he referred to the habits of the heart that are necessary for any democracy to flourish. It is these habits of the heart that must be nurtured, and that countless, unheralded women around the world are quietly doing so every day.

I have tried in my travels to shine a spotlight on their achievements because I stand in awe of women like Joyce McCartan—

women who through their own personal tragedies find the strength to go on, but more than that, to reach out and try to prevent the conditions from occurring that causes them such heartbreak. Women, like so many of you here who have endured the loss of loved ones—fathers, brothers, husbands, sons and others—to the Troubles, but have refused to give in to bitterness or to dwell in the past.

You have been working through community organizations, such as the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition to break the cycle of hatred and save other people's fathers, brothers, husbands and sons. Your efforts to share grief across sectarian lines have blossomed into dynamic alliances to end poverty and the causes of violence. And you have helped to lay a solid foundation for permanent peace.

I want you to know that you should never feel alone in your efforts. You are part of a powerful movement of family feminists, working to strengthen democracy across the globe. Your partners are everywhere. They're the women in South Africa who lost loved ones and were victimized by apartheid. But they have been willing to participate in the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and to find in their hearts the capacity for forgiveness of those who did violence to them—because what does freedom mean if people remain imprisoned by their own bitterness?

They are women who are starting small community banks in poor rural villages or inner city neighborhoods from Chile to Chicago—because what does freedom mean if people don't have the opportunity and the income to help them gain independence and self-sufficiency?

They are women in countries like Pakistan who have agitated against domestic violence—because what does freedom mean if a woman is afraid to sleep in her own home or protect her children because of a violent husband?

They are women in Zimbabwe and Bolivia who are running rural health clinics and are working in the inner cities to immunize children and provide services—because what does freedom mean if families are denied access to basic health care, and women are denied the right to plan their own families?

They are the women in Romania and Estonia who are leading voter education projects—because what does freedom mean if people do not know how to exercise their right to choose their own leaders?

They are women from the Philippines to Paraguay who are campaigning for the rights of girls to receive the same education as their brothers—because what does freedom mean if women do not gain the skills and knowledge to make the most of their God-given gifts?

Women are not only critical to advancing peace and freedom, they are redefining the very notion of what we mean by a democratic society. Democracy cannot flourish if women are not full partners in the social, economic, political and civic lives of their communities and nations. Societies will only address the issues closest to the hearts of women when women themselves claim their rights as citizens.

That message has come to life in my own country. Suddenly, the debates about politics and our future are not only about defense or diplomacy. They are also about how to balance work and family, about improving public schools, about keeping health insurance after leaving a job or sending a child off to college for an education.

These issues have become central to our political life because thousands of American women have become organized and demanded changes, and insisted that our democracy respond to their concerns. They've helped all

Americans understand that strengthening families and cherishing children are not just women's issues, but issues of vital importance to everyone concerned about our common future.

Now, there were some observers who were perplexed that during the last presidential campaign, these kitchen table issues had become so important. They, in fact, derided the phenomenon as the feminization of politics. I prefer to think of it as the humanization of politics—because how we raise our children, care for our sick, train our workers will determine the strength and prosperity of all our people in the days to come. And how we learn to live together across religious, ethnic and racial lines will determine the peace and security of our children's lives.

That's why I believe encouraging more women's voices to be heard is important for the overall effort that many of you are making to assure that your children, your grandchildren, these young people in this audience will be able to live out their lives in a peaceful, secure Northern Ireland. It is important that these women's issues that affect our deepest concerns as human beings are part of the political debate.

Most women, like Joyce McCartan, don't become involved in politics because they have any grand philosophy about how they intend to strengthen democracy. Instead, they see how politics—especially politics practiced by those who are engendering conflict between people—are hurting their families. They get fed up with the posturing; they get fed up with the speech making. When jobs are scarce and hope is in very short supply, they take matters into their own hands. They decide, as Joyce memorably said, "You can't fry flags in a pan." And they get to work on setting things right.

I am told that years ago, Joyce borrowed a couple of cows from a farmer and led a group of women to City Hall to protest the removal of free school milk for children. Another time, she attended a city council meeting and refused to leave until they discussed an increase in the bus fare. And while she had to be carried out of that meeting, she eventually forced the council to hear her grievance and convinced them to introduce a lower fare for children. It is the stuff of life. It is those issues we talk about around our kitchen tables that help to develop those habits of the heart that sustain democracy.

I thought often about the Troubles here as I have thought about Joyce McCartan and the women I met as I have fixed myself a pot of tea. I don't know whether a Catholic or a Protestant made this teapot. I don't know whether a Catholic or a Protestant sold this teapot. I only know that this teapot serves me very well. And this teapot stands for all those conversations around those thousands of kitchen tables where mothers and fathers look at one another with despair because they cannot imagine that the future will be any better for their children. But this teapot also is on the kitchen table where mothers and fathers look at one another and say, we have to do better. We cannot permit this to go on. We have to take a stand for our children.

There is no room for illusion in the difficulty that confronts the peace process. The President and all of us who support you in this effort know how difficult it will be to overcome the past when the wounds still seem so raw. But the children deserve all the work, all the prayers, all the strength, courage and commitment that can be brought to bear.

There will be more bumps on the road. There will be those who would rather smash the teapot than to fill it with piping hot tea to sit down to have a conversation. And the women and the men who believe, as Joyce

McCartan believed with all her heart, that there is a better way, who saw as she sat around so many kitchen tables talking across the division that everyone was concerned about the same issues deep down, that we all worried about our lives, our relationships, our jobs, our education, our children, our health—she understood that if we could just get enough people around some great kitchen table, where they'd have to sit down and look at one another honestly, share their fears, their hopes, their dreams, that we could make progress.

Well, now, finally, we have men and women around a table. I hope they have lots of tea. I hope that they are not only talking about all of the difficult political issues, but in quiet asides, sharing some of what is in their heart with one another. And as they do so, I hope the faces of so many women and men who have given all they could give over the years to bring this moment to pass, will be seen in the mind's eye.

Joyce McCartan deserves as her real legacy that the peace process move forward. She and all the brave women who, for more than 20 years, marched, begged, prayed, cried, shouted that they wanted peace deserve to be heard.

It is no longer in Joyce's hands. The burden has been passed to others. And I hope and I pray that those to whom it has been entrusted will pick up that burden and carry it forward. Joyce's work is done. But to honor her memory, we should all press forward with her work—to build peace here and around the world.

Thank you very much.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Williams, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 12:37 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Goetz, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House agrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 672) to make technical amendments to certain provisions of title 17, United States Code.

The message also announced that the House has passed the following bills, without amendment:

S. 587. An act to require the Secretary of the Interior to exchange certain lands located in Hinsdale County, Colorado.

S. 588. An act to provide for the expansion of the Eagles Nest Wilderness within the Arapaho National Forest and the White River National Forest, Colorado, to include land known as the Slate Creek Addition.

S. 589. An act to provide for a boundary adjustment and land conveyance involving the Raggeds Wilderness, White River National Forest, Colorado, to correct the effects of earlier erroneous land surveys.

S. 591. An act to transfer the Dillon Ranger District in the Arapaho National Forest to

the White River National Forest in the State of Colorado.

S. 931. An act to designate the Marjory Stoneman Douglas Wilderness and the Ernest F. Coe Visitor Center.

The message further announced that the House has passed the following bills and joint resolutions, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 404. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to authorize the transfer to State and local governments of certain surplus property needed for use for a law enforcement or fire and rescue purpose.

H.R. 434. An act to provide for the conveyance of small parcels of land in the Carson National Forest and the Santa Fe National Forest, New Mexico, to the village of El Rito and the town of Jemez Springs, New Mexico.

H.R. 1493. An act to require the Attorney General to establish a program in local prisons to identify, prior to arraignment, criminal aliens and aliens who are unlawfully present in the United States, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1604. An act to provide for the division, use, and distribution of judgment funds of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan pursuant to dockets numbered 18-E, 58, 364, and 18-R before the Indian Claims Commission.

H.R. 1702. An act to encourage the development of a commercial space industry in the United States, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1836. An act to amend chapter 89 of title 5, United States Code, to improve administration of sanctions against unfit health care providers under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1839. An act to establish nationally uniform requirements regarding the titling and registration of salvage, nonrepairable, and rebuilt vehicles.

H.R. 1856. An act to amend the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956 to direct the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a volunteer pilot project at one national wildlife refuge in each United States Fish and Wildlife Service region, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2265. An act to amend the provisions of titles 17 and 18, United States Code, to provide greater copyright protection by amending criminal copyright infringement provisions, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2275. An act to require that the Office of Personnel Management submit proposed legislation under which group universal life insurance and group variable universal life insurance would be available under chapter 87 of title 5, United States Code, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2731. An act for the relief of Roy Desmond Moser.

H.R. 2732. An act for the relief of John Andre Chalot.

H.J.Res. 91. Joint resolution granting the consent of Congress to the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee-Flint River Basin Compact.

H.J.Res. 92. Joint resolution granting the consent of Congress to the Alabama-Coosa-Tallapoosa River Basin Compact.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

At 4:22 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Goetz, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

S. 587. An act to require the Secretary of the Interior to exchange certain lands located in Hinsdale County, Colorado.

S. 588. An act to provide for the expansion of the Eagles Nest Wilderness within the Arapaho National Forest and the White