

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 7,105,000 barrels a day.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Tuesday, March 4, the Federal debt stood at \$5,363,582,891,993.50.

One year ago, March 4, the Federal debt stood at \$5,016,596,000,000.

Five years ago, March 4, 1992, the Federal debt stood at \$3,845,731,000,000.

Ten years ago, March 4, 1987, the Federal debt stood at \$2,260,529,000,000.

Fifteen years ago, March 4, 1982, the Federal debt stood at \$1,052,613,000,000 which reflects a debt increase of more than \$4 trillion—\$4,310,969,891,993.50—during the past 15 years.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, as we approach St. Patrick's Day, the thoughts of many turn to Ireland. More than 44 million Americans are of Irish ancestry. It is often erroneously assumed that the vast majority of Irish-Americans are Catholics. But at least half of the 44 million are Protestants, many of which are descendants of the ancestors of the present-day Protestant communities in Northern Ireland and Ireland.

In the 1990 census, nearly 6 million Irish-Americans defined themselves as "Scotch-Irish"—an American term which did not begin to be used widely until the mid-19th century. Most of Protestant immigration from Ireland occurred in the 18th and early 19th centuries, whereas the majority of the large number of Irish who arrived in the United States beginning in the mid-19th century at the time of the potato famine in Ireland were Catholic.

The Scotch-Irish in America are descendants of the approximately 200,000 Scottish Presbyterians who settled in Ireland in the early 17th century. The modern Protestant majority in Northern Ireland are descendants of that Ulster Plantation.

In the late 1600's, religious persecution of Scottish Presbyterians by England led some to leave Ulster and seek religious freedom in the American colonies. Many of these immigrants settled in the Chesapeake Bay area. One such immigrant, Francis

Makemie, is the father of American Presbyterianism.

The largest numbers of Scotch-Irish immigrants, about 250,000, left for the American colonies in the 18th century in the decades leading up to the Revolutionary War. They left Ulster less for religious than economic reasons, because of the decline in the linen industry, failed harvests, and high rents for tenant farmers. Many of these immigrants were so poor that they made their way to the colonies only by becoming indentured servants. The destination of the earliest of these immigrants was New England although many of these subsequently moved inland to the frontier. In "The Scotch-Irish and Ulster," Eric Montgomery writes of these immigrants:

Ideally suited for the new life by reason of their experience as pioneers in Ulster, their qualities of character and their Ulster-Scottish background, they made a unique contribution to the land of their adoption. They became the frontiersmen of colonial America, clearing the forests to make their farms and, as one would expect, they had the defects as well as the qualities of pioneers. President Theodore Roosevelt described them as "a grim, stern people, strong and simple, powerful for good and evil, swayed by gusts of stormy passion, the love of freedom rooted in their very hearts' core."

The Scotch-Irish were staunch Calvinists and their religious differences with New England's Congregationalists led, after 1725, to a shift in their immigration from New England to Pennsylvania. These immigrants first settled near Philadelphia, but soon spread west throughout the entire State. Others went south to the Carolinas and Georgia, always extending the frontiers.

The Log College was established to train Presbyterian ministers near Philadelphia in 1726 or 1727 by Scotch-Irish minister Rev. William Tennent, Sr. It developed close ties with the College of New Jersey, which was founded in 1746, and later became Princeton University.

The impact of Scotch-Irish settlers on America was significant. Arthur Dobbs, a member of the Irish Parliament and a landowner from County Antrim, became Governor of North Carolina in 1753. Five signed the Declaration of Independence—Thomas McKean, Edward Rutledge, James Smith, George Taylor and Matthew Thornton. John Dunlap of Strabane printed the Declaration and also founded the Pennsylvania Packet, the first daily newspaper in America.

Large numbers of Scotch-Irish immigrants joined the fight for American independence. Irish volunteers performed so courageously in the Revolutionary Army that Lord Mountjoy told the British Parliament, "We have lost America through the Irish."

Charles Thomson came to Pennsylvania as an indentured servant, and went on to serve as the Secretary of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1789.

Scotch-Irishman Henry Knox was one of four members of President George

Washington's first Cabinet. John Rutledge was the first Governor of South Carolina. Thomas McKean was the first Governor of Pennsylvania, and William Livingstone was the first Governor of New Jersey.

The Scotch-Irish were strong supporters of the Jeffersonians in the early years of American independence. The Harvard Encyclopedia notes:

The Scotch-Irish turned out in strength to vote for Thomas Jefferson in the election of 1800, and their influence, along with that of other immigrant groups, may well have been decisive in New York and thus the nation at large.

Twelve Americans of Scotch-Irish ancestry became President of the United States. The fathers of Andrew Jackson, James Buchanan and Chester Alan Arthur were each born in Northern Ireland. And James Polk, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses Grant, Grover Cleveland, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, Woodrow Wilson, and Richard Nixon were all of Scotch-Irish ancestry. President Clinton's family tree has several Irish branches, and undoubtedly contains both Scotch-Irish and Catholic roots.

The Scotch-Irish parents of John C. Calhoun emigrated to Pennsylvania and then moved to South Carolina. Born in 1782, he was elected to the House of Representatives from South Carolina at the age of 29, and went on to become Senator, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, and Vice President. As chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1812, he introduced the declaration of war against Britain. His portrait is on the wall of the reception room adjacent to the Senate Chamber today, as one of the five greatest Senators in our history.

Many other famous Americans are of Scotch-Irish descent. Sam Houston served as Governor of Tennessee before moving to Texas and leading the fight for Texas' independence from Mexico. Before Texas joined the Union, he served as the first President of the Republic of Texas and, after, as Governor. He was a staunch defender of the Union, but his efforts to keep Texas from seceding prior to the Civil War failed, and he was removed as Governor when he refused to take Texas out of the Union after the vote to secede.

Stonewall Jackson was a descendent of Scotch-Irish immigrants from County Armagh. Davy Crockett was Scotch-Irish. Cyrus McCormick, inventor of the mechanical reaper, was given the French Legion of Honour by Napoleon, who described McCormick as "having done more for the cause of agriculture than any other living man." A successful businessman, active Democrat, and Presbyterian, he founded the McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago.

The Mellon family emigrated to Pennsylvania from County Tyrone in 1818. Thomas Mellon, a young boy at the time, became a successful lawyer, banker, and businessman in Pittsburgh. He founded what became the

Mellon Bank, and was instrumental in the growth and development of Pittsburgh. His son, Andrew Mellon, served as Secretary of the Treasury for Presidents Harding and Coolidge. He helped found Gulf Oil, Alcoa, and the Union Steel Co., which later merged into the U.S. Steel Corp. He assembled one of the world's greatest art collections, established the National Gallery of Art, and donated his collection to the gallery where vast numbers of Americans enjoy it every year. Andrew's son, Paul, and other members of the Mellon family have carried on the family's business success and extraordinary philanthropy.

The Scotch-Irish have also been well-represented in the arts. Edgar Allen Poe, Stephen Foster, Horace Greeley, founder of the New York Tribune, and Harold Ross, founder of the New Yorker, were all Scotch-Irish.

The majority of Irish-American Protestants today define themselves as "Irish," not "Scotch-Irish." By and large, the term "Scotch-Irish" fell into disuse over the years as discrimination against Catholics in this country declined.

Immigrants to America from all parts of Ireland, whether Catholic or Protestant, have made brilliant contributions to the success of America. Those of us who are committed to a just and peaceful resolution of the conflict in Northern Ireland know that peace will only be achieved there when both traditions are treated equally and fairly, and when mutual respect and a good-faith political process replace bombs and bullets as the means for settling disputes.

Ireland's extraordinary contributions to America reflect Ireland's two great traditions—Protestant and Catholic—and America honors them both on St. Patrick's Day 1997.

Mr. BOND addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. BOND. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. BOND and Mr. CHAFEE pertaining to the introduction of S. 404 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 3 minutes, if I may, as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HUNGARY'S PROGRESS TOWARD NATO MEMBERSHIP

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, today I will deliver the first in a series of statements on the theme of NATO enlargement. In the next 4 months leading up to the Madrid Summit in July, I will examine the rationale for NATO's admitting new members, which countries appear to be leading candidates for admittance to the alliance, how NATO and Russia can define a new

relationship, the responsibilities of our European allies in the process, and how to share the costs of enlargement fairly.

Mr. President, as many of our colleagues are aware, the distinguished foreign Minister of the Republic of Hungary, Laszlo Kovacs is in Washington this week for a series of meetings. I would like to take the occasion of the foreign Minister's visit to note the progress that Hungary has made toward meeting the criteria for membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to thank his government for the assistance it has provided to our forces involved in the Bosnia mission.

Mr. President, the foreign Ministers from the 16 NATO members will meet in Madrid in early July to decide which Central European democracies should be invited to begin accession negotiations with the Alliance.

In the NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act of 1996, Congress named Hungary—along with Poland, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic—as a leading candidate for NATO membership and, therefore, eligible for transition assistance. I plan to travel to the region over the Easter recess to assess the progress that these countries have made toward meeting the criteria set out in the NATO enlargement study. Today, however, I can already point to several things that indicate to me that Hungary is well on its way toward assuming the responsibilities of NATO membership.

The first is the successful effort by Hungary to conclude bilateral treaties with its neighbors, Romania, Slovakia, and Ukraine. Students of Central European history know how truly important these treaties are for the security of the region. Many had predicted that the end of the cold war would bring with it a resurrection of Hungary's territorial claims against its neighbors, and they predicted an era of instability that would make us wish the cold war had never ended.

Events, and the concerted effort of the Hungarian Government, have proven the pessimists wrong. First, Hungary has succeeded in establishing a stable, open democracy that has allowed the Hungarian people to enjoy the fruits of political and economic freedom.

Equally important, Hungary has recognized that its security and prosperity are dependent upon a resolution of the territorial claims that poisoned relations with its neighbors in the decades after World War I.

For those of my colleagues who have asked: "Why should NATO admit new members?" I ask you to look closely at the Hungarian example. One of the criteria for new members of NATO is that they must resolve all territorial disputes with their neighbors.

Just as common membership in NATO has allowed France and Germany to overcome the enmity and territorial disputes that had resulted in

three wars in 80 years, so too has the prospect of NATO membership led to reconciliation in Central Europe. The Hungarian Government is to be commended for its forward-thinking policies that recognize that cooperation is the key to stability in Europe in the 21st century. I particularly want to recognize the political courage of Hungarian Prime Minister Horn in disregarding the criticism of ultranationalists in his country and signing these treaties.

In exchange for renouncing territorial claims, Hungary has secured pledges that its neighbors will respect the rights of the large ethnic Hungarian communities in those countries. As the European Union also begins to expand its membership eastward, I hope that national boundaries in Central and Eastern Europe will matter less and less, and the free exchange of people, products, and ideas will help ensure peace and prosperity for all.

Romania and Slovakia are home to the largest Hungarian communities outside Hungary, and ideally we would like to see them join NATO as well. I am pleased by the recent progress made by Romania, which through free and fair elections has peacefully changed its government. The new ruling coalition, incidentally, includes a party representing the interests of the Hungarian minority.

Slovakia, unfortunately, for the past several years has seemed to be heading in the wrong direction. I must question the commitment of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to democracy, particularly to minority rights and a free press. The treaty with Hungary is a step forward, but if Slovakia is to join the community of Western democracies, it must show that it will not water down its commitments to respect the cultural and linguistic rights of its ethnic Hungarian citizens.

The other theme I want to focus on today is the cooperation that Hungary has extended to us and our allies in connection with the ongoing peace-keeping mission in Bosnia. An essential part of that mission has been a staging base in Tazsar, Hungary, which the Hungarian Government has leased to the U.S. military. It is from that base that we have deployed our forces to Bosnia to prevent a return to Europe's worst fighting since World War II. As former Secretary of Defense Perry has stated, without the cooperation of Hungary, the IFOR and SFOR missions would have been immeasurably more difficult.

At Tazsar 1,200 Hungarian troops are working with 3,200 Americans. This cooperation has allowed Hungarian officers and enlisted men to understand how a NATO military functions and what Hungary must do to allow its forces to operate jointly with those of the NATO countries. By all accounts, the work at Tazsar has been a rousing success, both in supporting the IFOR and SFOR missions and in helping the Hungarian military.