The Senate met at 12 noon and was called to order by the Presiding Officer [Mr. Gramm].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

CELEBRATING GEORGE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY

Let us pray.

Almighty God, on this day when we celebrate the memory of the father of our country, may we remember the faith which motivated and sustained him. May we heed his conviction that "It is impossible to rightly govern the world without God and the Bible." May the spontaneous way in which he concluded his oath of office with the words "So help me God!" remind us of our dependence upon You. Renew in us the faith of our fathers that we may live and labor in its light and truth. In His name who is the Light of the World. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication from the President pro tempore [Mr. Thurmond].

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:


To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, section 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable Phil Gramm, a Senator from the State of Texas, to perform the duties of the chair.

STROM THURMOND, President pro tempore.

Mr. Gramm thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the order of the Senate of January 24, 1901, as modified on February 7, 1985, the Senator from Florida [Mrs. Hawkins], having been appointed by the Vice President, will now read Washington's Farewell Address.

[Mrs. Hawkins, at the rostrum, read the Farewell Address, as follows:] TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be charged with the important office of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have hitherto enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its benediction, that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to

* This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by the Member on the floor.
that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment. The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now deemed essential to the maintenance of your freedom; and for this reason, the main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; and of every interest dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a golden rule which you are so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite movement, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; customizing yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly from the habit and interest of your country, every attempt to alienate any portion of your country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate all its affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local partialities which, from the shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes. But these considerations, however powerful they address themselves to the heart, are greatly outweighed by those which supply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The north, in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The south, in the same intercourse, benefitting by the same agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the north, it finds its maritime strength, to which it is unequally adapted. The east, in a like intercourse with the west, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the west may disturb its advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an aposeate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalship alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are insupportable to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—northern and southern—Atlantic and western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and prejudices which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The labors in the cause of national burthen have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have been seen, in the negotiations by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government towards their prosperity. Will it not be to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the passions inflamed in Great Britain, and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the passions inflamed in Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming the prosperity of the whole, it must be the wisdom of the people for the preserv-
tion of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however fluctuating, however unsuited, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with that view to disunite, control, counteract, or awe the regular administration, are contrary to the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The very existence of a government is regarded by our system, as the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.

The sovereignty of this pensive people to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate in his combination, or whose disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty, without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it. It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one party against another; forms occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilities to the ills of the country through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should ruin the house.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into distinct and independent portions, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the
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others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be as necessary, or nearly so, as the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the instrument which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for through this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmst props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not claim the tribute of patriotism, who should be enlightened. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoid dangerous disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, but ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to the nation; every one of them is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in your mind, that without the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unproductive; that the inconvenience inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advan­tages with the loss of harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation within its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that the interests of the favorite nation are particularly alarming to the truly great and powerful interests of the other, betrays the former side, and serve to veil and even second the influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to the dangerous imputation oflapsing into the very practice they condemn. When this practice becomes general, society moves to its ruin; the humble, the simple, and the individual are lifted into power, and the government is cast on uncertain foundations. Wisdom is the audience of ages, experience is the property of nations, but the tools and dupes usurp the applause
The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending the interminable relation to them, to deal with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith: Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under the same government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality which we may assume to resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocations which we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own ground? We are one people; attached to the same government; by the same laws, subject to the same jurisdiction; forming one inews, and of the same race, gens, or nation; so far, I mean, as any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we can. It is the interest of man to do so; let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impositions of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempted to deter or divert me from it. After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound, in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of myself, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible to my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which the American people, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES.

17th September, 1796.

COMMENDATION OF SENATOR HAWKINS

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I wish to commend my colleague from Florida for the excellent reading of Washington's Farewell Address. I can assure the listeners that reading this is probably the most difficult
thing of this kind that anyone ever undertook.

There has been a lot of argument, as we all know, about whether or not George Washington wrote this address himself; but it is assumed now that he did, because the final version as was read today is in his penmanship.

However, the wonderful thing about this address is not the way it was written or the expressions or the words used but the fact that he devoted this speech to reminding his fellow citizens of his great love of liberty, his great devotion to and love of his country.

He warned his fellow citizens against the things that could happen at that time; and, unfortunately, many of these things have happened, to the detriment of our country. He particularly called the attention of his fellow citizens to the responsibility of this country in living in the world that existed then, and I think his words are still applicable today, to enjoy business with other countries but to stay out of their politics. I think we would do well today to pay attention to what George Washington told us.

I want to remind my colleagues that this is the first time in the history of the Senate that a Senator from the State of Florida has read Washington's Farewell Address; and, if I am not mistaken, it is the first time that a lady has read it. It would be a great compliment to him, and I feel a great kinship to her, because to her State and to my State came the first people from outside what is now the United States.

I commend my friend from Florida, who undoubtedly has had some of the sunshine that dominates my State, because of the warmth of her remarks and the beautiful way in which she read this address.

[Applause in the galleries.]

Mrs. HAWKINS. I thank the Senator, my good friend from Arizona.

RECESS UNTIL 2 P.M. TOMORROW

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will now stand in recess until 2 p.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon, at 12:43 p.m., the Senate recessed until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 19, 1985, at 2 p.m.