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171ST OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

No. 56

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly convened in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at 1 p.m., e.d.t., to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the first reading of the U.S. Constitution.

THE SPEAKER (K. LEROY IRVIS) IN THE CHAIR

(Indiana University of Pennsylvania Marching Band presented a musical presentation for members' entrance.)

The SPEAKER. Members and guests will please be seated.

Randee, who is our chief page, has told me they are all in place. Is that right, Randee? Good. Then we may proceed.

The hour of convening having arrived, the General Assembly will now come to order.

Sergeant at Arms, you will stand at the exits of this hall.

WELCOMES

The SPEAKER. The Chair did not expect to see some of his friends from Pittsburgh here, but the Chair is very flattered that two friends who have known the Chair for 40 years have come all this distance from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia to be with the Chair at this high moment. The Chair salutes Aaron Levinson and Sonia Levinson, who are to the right of the Chair. Thank you so much for coming.

The Chair has invited two former Speakers to be here. One could not attend; the other is in attendance - Kenny Lee. Thank you for coming, Kenny.

The Chair also is pleased to have a friend who has become one of the major political figures in this country. The Chair knew him when he was struggling with the PUC (Public Utility Commission) problems. Now he struggles with the problems of this magnificent city to which we have been so warmly welcomed and to which we so happily have come - the mayor of the city of the first class, Philadelphia, Mayor Wilson Goode.

And the Chair would like the audience to know and let history record that the Chair's wife is here to make certain that the Chair was dressed correctly, and the Chair's daughter is here to make sure that the Chair did not forget the gavel. They are to the left of the Chair. Will you please rise.

And although she would not expect it, the young woman who has been our guide, our chauffeur, and has become our friend on our trip here to Philadelphia, Scotty James. Please rise, Scotty. Thank you very much.

RESOLUTION

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S SPEECH REGARDING PRAYER IN SESSION

The SPEAKER. The Chair at this time recognizes the majority leader of the House of Representatives, the Honorable James J. Manderino, for the purpose of making a statement and presenting a resolution regarding Benjamin Franklin's speech at the Constitutional Convention of 1787 pertaining to the opening of each legislative session with prayer. Mr. Manderino.

Mr. MANDERINO. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, 10 score years have passed since the delegates of the independent States gathered in this city to "form a more perfect Union" and to "secure the Blessings of Liberty."

Finally, Mr. Speaker, on this date in 1787, eight of their number, representing the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and headed by Dr. Benjamin Franklin, presented the signed Constitution to the Pennsylvania Assembly to be read for the first time before any government body in the land, and as we reflect on the people and events of 200 years ago, we as legislators may take special satisfaction in knowing that the Constitution that established the three coequal branches of government was itself a product of legislative action, representing the collective will of legislative delegates from the separate States.

From our perspective, the perspective of those who deal daily with legislative issues and procedures, we can look with profound admiration and awe upon the enormity of their task and the scale of their achievement. Any one of the issues that they had to deal with - the powers of the States and those of the Federation, the duties of the respective branches of government, the concerns of small States versus larger States, the slavery issue, agricultural interests versus commercial interests, North versus South - all of these could easily have torn the Convention apart and often threatened to do so. Each of us, having experienced the fatigue and frustrations of legislating a State budget or development of a new State program, can relate, if but remotely, to those events.

Today we, the heirs and successors of those first legislators, still strive toward the goal of a more perfect union and we still endeavor to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity, for many of the issues of that fateful summer of 1787 remain with us as well as a whole new set of problems and issues that challenge our legislative talents,

challenge also our imagination and our will. We are better equipped to deal with those issues precisely because of the events that took place here 200 years ago, for the document that was bequeathed to us was not a finished work, a closed book, but an enduring framework for political and social progress.

We do not stand in the shadow of those first legislators; we stand upon their shoulders, and from that vantage point we can see how far we have come in 200 years and how far distant still lies that more perfect union.

Some may see that goal as an ever-receding horizon that our humanity compels us always to approach but never to reach. That perhaps is what the Apostle Paul had in mind when he wrote, "Here we have no eternal city, but we look for one in the world to come."

It was to that "eternal city" and to "the God who governs the affairs of men" that Dr. Franklin appealed when the bright hope of the Constitutional Convention verged on bitter disappointment.

On June 28, 1787, 4 to 5 weeks into the Convention's deliberations, he saw about him "this Assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark, to find Political Truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us." And in that somber hour, Franklin, the continent's foremost scientist and champion of human reason, humbly asked for prayers that the "Father of Lights might illuminate our Understandings."

He could not have foreseen the development of nuclear weapons, the onset of environmental contamination, the wars of global scale that occupy the concerns of this generation of legislators and that threaten to engulf us in total darkness.

Today, 200 years removed from Franklin's time and also confronted with great dangers and opportunities, we, like our predecessor in this Assembly and one of the first Speakers, ask the Supreme Lawgiver to bless us and enlighten our understandings.

With your indulgence, Mr. Speaker, I would like now to read the Franklin prayer resolution.

The SPEAKER. Permission granted.

Mr. MANDERINO. [Reading:]

WHEREAS, Through the vision, solicitude and courage of William Penn the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was brought into being; and

WHEREAS, He invited peoples of diverse nationalities and creeds to join with him in a "Holy Experiment" where men might worship God according to their own light; and

WHEREAS, His own prayers were that Pennsylvania might become "the seed of a nation"; and

WHEREAS, In mid-summer of 1787, Constitutional Convention debate had virtually ground to a standstill; and

WHEREAS, Delegate William Few of Georgia termed it an "awful and critical moment...where the dissolution of the union of states seemed inevitable"; and

WHEREAS, Benjamin Franklin, at 81, the oldest of the delegates and the leader of the Pennsylvania delegation, was cognizant of the great need to solve this crisis; and

WHEREAS, Doctor Franklin's solution to the impasse was to take the Floor to remind the delegates that the Continental Congress had prayed for divine protection during the Revolutionary War and that their prayers had been answered; and

WHEREAS, Because of that fortuitous outcome, Benjamin Franklin moved that prayers and blessings upon the Convention's deliberations be held preceding each day's session for an equally successful outcome; and

WHEREAS, Although Franklin's proposal was not adopted, shortly thereafter the deadlock was broken, and the successful outcome gave the American people "the finest Document wrought by the hand of man"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Pennsylvania General Assembly always remember Benjamin Franklin's reminder of the truth that "...God governs in the affairs of men"; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we commemorate this tradition originating with the First Continental Congress and practiced today in the halls of the United States Congress, as well as in our State Legislatures, and that we do hereby open today's session with prayer.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thanks the gentleman, Mr. Manderino.

The gentleman, Mr. Manderino, has moved the resolution asking that the General Assembly begin its deliberations with prayer.

To that point, the Chair now recognizes the majority whip of the House, Representative Robert W. O'Donnell. Mr. O'Donnell.

Mr. O'DONNELL. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Visitors to our country beginning with De Tocqueville have never failed to be impressed by our ability to keep religious values in public life and at the same time preserve religious tolerance and freedom of religious expression.

We have in this country and especially in this State always managed to keep religion in government and government out of religion, and toward that end and for that purpose I without reservation second the gentleman's motion.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thanks the gentleman, Mr. O'Donnell.

The question is, shall the General Assembly adopt the resolution? Those in favor will say "aye"; those opposed, "no." The "ayes" have it, and the resolution is adopted.

PRAYER

The SPEAKER. The Chair invites Rabbi Ira Samuel Grussgott of Shaare Shamayim Congregation of Philadelphia to offer the prayer in this General Assembly.

The members will rise.

(Members and all visitors stood.)

RABBI GRUSSGOTT. Lord, sovereign of the universe, citizens of this great land have gathered this week and for weeks to contemplate the concept of the Constitution. So much time and energy has been devoted to analyzing and interpreting the mending and amending of its text that we dare not lose sight

of its context, which is religious in nature. This is indeed the context of the Constitution when we define religion in its broadest sense, and religion is understood as the source for two basic constitutional assumptions - the recognition of the unique inestimable worth of the individual who is a child of God, coupled with the concern for the community and society as a whole. Placed in this concept, the Constitution becomes but the political translation of the Founding Fathers' spiritual legacy which remains even as we speak timely and timeless, universal, inalienable.

So help us, Lord, our God, to translate the Constitution in a context broader than that of any text, nearer at hand than any theory. Guide our efforts in making this text a living Constitution and a living institution accessible to all. And, God, let not its ideals in all their loftiness intimidate us.

Help us to apply to the Constitution the admonition that Moses directs to his people as recorded in the Book of Deuteronomy, Chapter 30. Upon presenting the people with the constitution of their own covenant, Moses is quite aware of the danger inherent in high-mindedness, lofty abstract ideals, and so he declares, quoting from Deuteronomy, "Surely this instruction, which I enjoin upon you this day, it is not too hard for thee, neither is it far off. It is not in the heavens, that you should say, 'Who shall go up for us and bring it down to us?' Neither is it beyond the sea, that you should say, 'Who shall go across the sea for us and bring it over?' But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, so that thou may do it." And recognizing their God-given right of choice and freedom of will to accept or reject this instruction, Moses can only conclude by imploring the assembled, quoting again from the Book of Deuteronomy, "I call heaven and earth to witness before you this day that I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse. Therefore, choose life."

So, God, even as we your children retain our right to choose, bless us in those efforts and in choices which would place the Constitution in its proper context, in the midst of life, our life, so that in the next 100 years, when the citizens of this great land gather to celebrate the Constitution's tricentennial, it might be said of this generation that we have added to the Constitution not only years to its life but life to its years. Amen.

The SPEAKER. Members and guests will now be seated.

The Chair thanks Rabbi Ira Samuel Grussgott for opening this most momentous session of the General Assembly with a very moving prayer.

WELCOME

The SPEAKER. The Chair looks to its left and sees another old friend of the Chair. He is a native Philadelphian and was the Chief Clerk when the Chair was a very young man. That was way back in about 1790, I think - Joe Ominsky. Stand up and wave your hands there, Joe. We are glad to see you here.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT HON. ROBERT P. CASEY

The SPEAKER. The Chair is informed that His Excellency, Robert P. Casey, is exterior to this hall, and the Chair now appoints the following members as a committee to escort His Excellency, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to this hall: Representative Frank Oliver, who will be chairman; Representative Marvin Miller; Senator Noah Wenger; and Senator Craig Lewis.

The committee will proceed to the performance of its duties.

All rise. His Excellency, the Governor of the Commonwealth, Robert P. Casey, is now entering the hall.

The Chair recognizes the chairman of the committee to welcome the Governor of the Commonwealth, Robert P. Casey, Mr. Oliver.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the committee escorting the Governor, I wish to report that His Excellency, Gov. Robert P. Casey, is present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thanks the chairman and thanks the committee, and the committee is discharged of its duties.

The Chair welcomes the Governor of the Commonwealth, Robert Casey. Welcome here, Bob.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX, JR.

The SPEAKER. The Chair now appoints the following members as a committee to escort the Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, Robert N. C. Nix, Jr., to the hall: Senator Frank Salvatore, who will be the chairman; Senator Eugene Scanlon; Representative Gerard Kosinski; and Representative June Honaman.

The committee will proceed with the performance of its duties.

Members may be seated until the Chief Justice enters the hall.

The Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, Robert N. C. Nix, Jr., is now entering the hall.

The Chair recognizes the chairman of the escort committee, Senator Salvatore.

Mr. SALVATORE. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the committee to escort the Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, I wish to report that Chief Justice Nix is present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thanks the chairman of the escort committee and thanks the committee and discharges the committee of its duties.

The Chair welcomes the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Robert N. C. Nix, Jr.

**COMMITTEE TO ESCORT
HON. WARREN E. BURGER**

The SPEAKER. The Speaker now appoints the following members as a committee to escort the retired Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Warren E. Burger, to the hall of this General Assembly: The chairman of this escort committee will be Representative William DeWeese. He will be accompanied by Representative Nicholas Moehlmann, Senator Stewart Greenleaf, and Senator Michael O'Pake.

The committee will proceed to the performance of its duties.

It is an inside joke for the people who are watching. We want to make sure that Bill gets out there and brings the Chief Justice in correctly. He will probably argue a couple of points with him on the way in.

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger is now entering the hall of this General Assembly.

The Chair recognizes the chairman of the escort committee, Representative DeWeese.

And the Chair welcomes the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, retired, and invites him to be seated on the rostrum.

Mr. DeWeese.

Mr. DeWEESE. Mr. Speaker, Senator Jubelirer, Governor Casey, Governor Singel, it is my distinct privilege, as chairman of the escort committee for the Chief Justice, to announce that Chief Justice Warren E. Burger is present among us and anxious to share in our celebration.

The SPEAKER. You see, he is learning.

Members will take their seats.

Mr. Chief Justice, we welcome you here to this very, very special meeting of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. We are honored indeed by your presence. We know also that Mrs. Chief Justice is to the left of the Speaker. Mrs. Burger, would you stand for a moment so they may see you.

As wise and just as the Chief Justice must be, there are times when the Chief Justice must listen to a higher justice, such as Mrs. Burger.

RESOLUTION

**ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S SPEECH
AT INDEPENDENCE HALL**

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes at this time the Republican leader of the House, a very good friend, Matthew J. Ryan, for the purpose of presenting a resolution.

Mr. RYAN. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, as we gather in this city today where our Founding Fathers created the document that made this Nation unique, we do so humbly and in celebration. The ghosts of the framers of the United States Constitution are with us still. The quills that signed the Constitution 200 years ago are at rest in the assembly room of Independence Hall, but the aura of history has not faded. The Constitutional Convention dele-

gates remain, remembered; they stand in the halls of meeting places and walk the streets of this splendid city.

Let us pause for a moment to acknowledge the presence of another great American - Abraham Lincoln. While we know he did not participate in the Constitutional Convention, he, like us, is among those who have come to Philadelphia to pay tribute to the creators of the Constitution.

Lincoln gave two speeches at Independence Hall in February of 1861, both in commemoration of the enduring contributions of the writers of this document in forming a government structure 74 years before. His remarks on that day so long ago apply here today. He said, "I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing here in the place where they collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to the principles from which sprang the institutions under which we live. All political sentiments I entertain have drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated, and were given to the world in which we stand."

Later that day, as he officially raised a new flag with an additional star upon it, he told his audience, "It is here, at a time like this, and on such an occasion, that we show reason together and reaffirm our devotion to our country, and the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution under which we have lived...."

Lincoln, this angular, awesome American who cast such a long shadow on his journey through history, could well be standing here with us today saying much the same things he said 125 years ago in this city.

Now, because we have come to Philadelphia on this particular date to commemorate a particular occasion, turn back with me in time 200 years - to September 18, 1787. It was on this date that Benjamin Franklin and other Pennsylvania delegates reported to the Pennsylvania Legislature on what the Constitutional Convention had accomplished. We gather to take note that our legislature had the distinction of being the first State to hear the very first reading of the new United States Constitution. We also want to recall Pennsylvania's fundamental role as a "keystone" on the foundation of the historical document that has given this country and this Commonwealth meaning.

We recall this important event in Pennsylvania history in the hope that coming here to mark it will help us, all of us as legislators, to become more aware of this State's key role in this Nation's heritage. Coupled with that, of course, must be a keen awareness of our role in the representation of our constituents in this, the 20th century.

Something Lincoln once said speaks to us as lawmakers in today's changing society and world. His remarks remind us of the task at hand. He said, "Let us have faith that right makes might. And in that faith, let us, to that end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."

As members of the General Assembly, we are faced with a new scenario as we prepare to move into the 21st century. But we must hold fast to Lincoln's words that tell us to reason together and reaffirm our devotion to our country—and for

us, our Commonwealth—and the principles of the Constitution. There is no greater task for us to achieve than to insure that liberty, harmony, and vitality endure as strongly as the founders intended and the Constitution has guaranteed for so long.

The aura of history has not faded. The ghosts of the men who formed our Constitution are with us still, standing alongside Lincoln and so many other historical giants who worked so hard to “form a more perfect Union.” Our Nation remains unique.

Like Lincoln, we are today filled with emotion at finding ourselves here in this place where they collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to the principles from which sprang the institutions under which we live.

It is fitting that we gather to commemorate significant events in our Nation’s history and this Commonwealth’s history - the bicentennial of the Constitution and the first reading of it to the Pennsylvania Legislature.

Let us not lose sight, however, of the fact that the bicentennial is more than an anniversary, it is more than the celebration of a single event; it is a unique opportunity for all Pennsylvanians, all Americans - “We the People” - to learn more about our system of government, to remember the origins of our freedom, and to reaffirm it and renew our efforts to preserve it.

It is fitting also that we make mention of Lincoln during this event and offer this resolution.

In closing, I echo again his words that challenge us, as Pennsylvania’s lawmakers today in this 20th century, to “have the faith that right makes might. And in that faith, let us, to that end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.”

Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. Permission granted.

Mr. RYAN. [Reading:]

RESOLVED, That those assembled here today, join in the sentiments expressed by Abraham Lincoln; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we remember, with President Lincoln, that the first flag raised above Independence Hall contained thirteen stars with each star added since then increasing the prosperity of this Nation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our devotion to our country, the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution under which we have lived for two hundred years.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thanks the gentleman.

The gentleman, Mr. Ryan, has offered a resolution asking that we reaffirm our devotion to the United States of America and to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution.

To speak to this resolution, the Chair calls on the finest historian, in the opinion of the Chair, seated on the floor of the House, his friend, the Republican whip of the House, Sam Hayes. Mr. Hayes.

Mr. HAYES. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

It is an honor being able to speak in support of this resolution. Through adoption of this resolution we acknowledge how each generation must assume responsibility for preserving the principles of self-governance as guaranteed by the United States Constitution.

When asked what the delegates of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 had crafted for the young country, Benjamin Franklin answered, “A Republic if you can keep it.” Abraham Lincoln on a later day said, “We are testing whether this Nation, or any Nation, so conceived and so dedicated can long endure.” In 1987 our duty is no different a task. We are still testing whether we can keep the Republic. Preservation of the Republic - its physical safety, its social commitment, its economic tenets, and its political essence - all rest with us, we the people.

Lincoln, a person who was haunted by the winds of conflict and dissolution, came here to reaffirm his commitment to the principles embodied in the United States Constitution. He came to commemorate the addition of another star to the banner of our Nation. While the United States of America has grown far beyond the original 13 stars and the one celebrated by Lincoln, the profound message of our flag has not changed. The flag is a symbol of a republic whose people are guaranteed a frame of government which has a written Constitution as its cornerstone. Our national banner symbolizes the visionary efforts of Madison, Hamilton, Washington, Wilson, Franklin, Morris, and the other delegates of 1787. It symbolizes our right to justice, domestic tranquillity, a common defense, and the blessings of liberty.

May all the people represented by the stars of our Nation’s flag share a unity of purpose and a determination to live together in freedom. As Lincoln did at this hallowed site, let us pledge our continuing allegiance to the flag and the principles of our constitutional Republic. As representatives of the people, let us continue our commitment to the noble experiment. No matter what the sacrifice, we must protect the Republic. It is our right, and it is our duty. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Chair thanks the gentleman.

The question is, shall the General Assembly adopt the resolution? Those in favor will say “aye”; those opposed, “no.” The “ayes” have it, and the resolution is adopted.

MR. RYAN REQUESTED TO PRESIDE

The SPEAKER. The Chair at this time is going to request that a former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Matthew J. Ryan, preside at this moment.

Matt, you and I will not be here—at least I will not be—for the next 100 years; you might make it. Therefore, I am honored to have the gavel in the hands of the most competent, the most gifted man I know in the House of Representatives and certainly with the best Irish wit of any of us, Matthew Ryan. Matt.

**THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE
(MATTHEW J. RYAN) IN THE CHAIR**

The SPEAKER pro tempore. I missed this.

I was a little disappointed when the Speaker limited the length of service I would have before the House when he said I would not be here 100 years from now. I honestly did not believe I would be here today a few years back.

In my 25 years—if I may take this moment—in my 25 years of service in the House, I do not believe I have ever felt as honored as I feel today, and, Mr. Speaker, I thank you for that.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Mr. Chief Justice Burger, Mr. Chief Justice Nix, Governor Casey, Lieutenant Governor Singel, President Pro Tempore Jubelirer, Mr. Speaker Irvis, members of the General Assembly, and all guests: I wonder if you would be kind enough to rise and join me in the Pledge of Allegiance to our great flag.

(The Pledge of Allegiance was delivered by members and visitors.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Thank you.

**THE SPEAKER (K. LEROY IRVIS)
IN THE CHAIR**

The SPEAKER. The Chair thanks the gentleman, Mr. Ryan, for presiding.

PREAMBLE OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

The SPEAKER. I would ask, while I am reading the Preamble of the United States Constitution, that all guests and all members will rise.

(Members and all visitors stood.)

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Members may now be seated.

STATEMENT BY SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. "We the People." As we came to this great city, my wife and I were discussing the United States Constitution, and although I have gone through high school, college, two graduate schools, and some additional training beyond that, she asked a question which no professor had ever asked of me. She said, why did they need a Preamble? I had never questioned that before. I had simply assumed, of course, there would be a Preamble, but no one had ever asked

me that question - why did they need a Preamble? I think once the question is asked, the answer springs to mind: The Preamble of the Constitution establishes the base, the foundation, for the rest of the words of the Constitution. There are three operative words in that Preamble - "We the People."

Today we are easily the most powerful nation on Earth. Today we are looked upon as the flagbearer for democracy, for liberty, for freedom, and that is as it should be. But when the men who met here 200 years ago gathered in Philadelphia, there were only 25,000 people in the entire city, not 2 million as we have now. There was no such thing as a union of the States. At best there was a Confederacy, under the Articles of Confederation. In fact, the men who gathered here were under specific instructions to do nothing else except modify the Articles of Confederation. They ignored that instruction, to their glory. What those men were were rebels. We call them, of course, in honor, Founding Fathers, but they were in rebellion against the rest of the world, for in 1787 there was no such thing as "We the People" governing anyplace.

Monarchies ruled, and there are still some monarchies in existence. Imagine a theory of government which says that because my father was king, I should be king after him without question. We could not stand that sort of philosophy, and we refuted it here in Philadelphia 200 years ago. And that is why the Preamble is so important, because the Preamble sets up the philosophy, which was alien, which was foreign, which had rarely been heard or discussed in the halls of mankind, that the people themselves shall govern.

And as Sam Hayes told us, the experiment still goes on. The Constitution is not engraved in granite. The Constitution lives if it is to continue at all. And like all living things, if it is to continue to be a thing alive, it must change as need be, and all of that derives from the Preamble, all of it from the three words which said "We the People" shall govern, contrary to the rest of the world and its philosophy; "We the People."

I am wearing on my left arm a watch given to me by Bud George, whose mother and father came here from Syria. I stand before you, I think pretty obviously black, but what you may not know is that on my father's side I am also German and on my mother's and my grandfather's side Dutch. All of us as Americans are mixed like this. All of us, as the President of the United States said so eloquently yesterday, all of us are Americans because we choose to be Americans, not as a matter of birthright but as a matter of individual choice.

We the people in this Commonwealth come from a great many lands. I will not read all of them because it would only take too long and you would soon be bored, but listen to a brief list: from Austria, from Belgium, from Czechoslovakia and Denmark, from Finland, France, and Germany, from Greece and Hungary and Ireland and Italy and Latvia and Lithuania, from the Netherlands and Norway, from Portugal, from Spain and Rumania, from Sweden and Switzerland, from England, from China and Hong Kong and India and Iran and Syria and Israel and Japan, from Jamaica and El Salvador and Barbados and Cuba, from Argentina, Brazil, Columbia, Ecuador, Guyana, and Peru, and there are others of "We the People" in this Commonwealth.

I read the brief list to you because I am proud to be of you. I am proud of this General Assembly, and I am proud to be your Speaker, for it could not have happened except for the people of this Commonwealth that I can stand here before you as your Speaker, and I salute them.

NATIONAL ANTHEM

The SPEAKER. Now will everyone please rise for the playing of the National Anthem by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Marching Band.

(Members and all visitors stood.)

(Indiana University of Pennsylvania Marching Band presented the National Anthem.)

WELCOMES

The SPEAKER. The Chair has been informed that the Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is in the audience. Where is LeRoy Zimmerman? Welcome. Glad you could come.

And Jim Crumlish, who is the President Judge of the Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania. Where is Judge Crumlish? Welcome. We are glad you could come. We are glad you came.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR MARK S. SINGEL REQUESTED TO PRESIDE

The SPEAKER. A very bright young man a few years ago started to work for me when I was first sworn in as Speaker. He has learned so well that he became a member of the Senate of Pennsylvania and decided that he would like to run the Senate so he ran for Lieutenant Governor. He was successful, and I am very proud of the man who first worked for me as a very, very, very young man, because he is still a young one, and I am pleased at this time in history to turn over the gavel to the Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Mark Singel.

THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR (MARK S. SINGEL) IN THE CHAIR

The PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. I appreciate those kind words of introduction. If I may say so, my early political and legislative education was at the hands of a master.

PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE ROBERT C. JUBELIRER REQUESTED TO PRESIDE

The PRESIDENT. It is now my honor and privilege to present the President pro tempore of the Senate, the gentleman from Blair County, Senator Robert C. Jubelirer.

THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE (ROBERT C. JUBELIRER) IN THE CHAIR

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Thank you, Governor Singel.

INTRODUCTION OF KEYNOTE SPEAKER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. To introduce our honored guest this afternoon, the Chair takes great pleasure in recognizing a very special person, one all of us owe a great debt of appreciation to, the chairman of the Legislative Bicentennial Committee, the gentleman from Chester County, Representative Joseph R. Pitts, who will introduce our special guest, Chief Justice Burger.

Mr. PITTS. Thank you.

Governor Casey, Chief Justice Nix, Lieutenant Governor Singel, Speaker Irvis, Senator Jubelirer, and distinguished guests, colleagues, and friends:

Two hundred years ago George Washington wrote to his friend, Lafayette, that a miracle had occurred in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787. Today, two centuries later, we celebrate that continuing miracle in Philadelphia. Not only is the Nation celebrating but also the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for today we are commemorating Pennsylvania's key role in being the first State whose legislature considered the United States Constitution. On September 18, 1787, that four-page document was first read to the Pennsylvania Assembly in our old State House.

I know we are all proud to be Americans at a time like this; we are also proud to be Pennsylvanians. We are proud of the role that the Pennsylvania delegates played in the formulation of our founding document. We are proud of their vision, their leadership, and their wisdom.

I particularly am proud to have the honor to introduce a leader of today with that same vision, leadership, and wisdom. First I should mention that he was born appropriately enough on Constitution day, September 17, 80 years ago, and on behalf of the General Assembly we wish him a happy birthday and a happy Constitution day.

His accomplishments are too many to enumerate; suffice it to say that after a distinguished career in the legal profession as professor, assistant Attorney General, and judge of the United States Court of Appeals, in 1969 he was nominated and confirmed as the 15th Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He retired from that position in 1986 after an impressive tenure. Since that time he has served as chairman of the Federal Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. He is also honorary chairman of Project 87, an undertaking by the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association to promote understanding of the Constitution. In all these roles he has been an invaluable asset to this Nation and its citizens.

Our keynote speaker, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, retired, is the embodiment of the United States Constitution. We are fortunate to have him with us today, and America is indebted to him for his years of outstanding service and devotion to our country.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is with great pride that I present to you a man who has done so much to uphold and promote the ideals of the United States Constitution, our keynote speaker, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger.

**BICENTENNIAL ADDRESS BY
HON. WARREN E. BURGER**

CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Governor Casey, Chief Justice Nix, Mr. Speaker, and distinguished guests all:

In this city, in this setting, and on this day when the Constitution first became available to a waiting people, it is a good time to turn back and take a look and speculate a little, as I will with you today.

It probably goes too far to say that the people were "waiting," because most of the people in the country were going about their ordinary affairs hardly aware except that something was going on here in Philadelphia, very distant from almost every other place at that time, although it is difficult to realize how well they functioned for those years under the feeble Articles of Confederation, and that has already been referred to.

Rather than review more of the history of the difficulty of getting this Constitution, I would like to start with you on George Mason's concept that if a free people do not look back from time to time at their freedoms and how they got them, they take the risk of losing them, and in that I will speculate with you, particularly on one or two factors that perhaps need more thought than we have given. I confess that only in the last year or two have I focused on them.

In that day when they met here, each State could issue its own currency, as we know. Each State could put up protectionist tariffs against the horse harness, the carrots, or the anvils from other States.

No one had combined the words "common" and "market" to make or express an idea, but Hamilton and Madison and some of those remarkable delegates from Pennsylvania had some ideas about what it would take to have this country expand and develop in industry and in manufacture and trade and commerce. We do not think of the Commerce Clause as a civil right, but it is a very important civil right. There are only 16 words in the Commerce Clause, and had it not been for the wisdom, particularly of those businessmen-members, and Ben Franklin of the Pennsylvania delegation and Alexander Hamilton, we might not have had the common market beginning in 1789 as we did.

It was not until the Treaty of Rome, 170 years later in 1957, that the people of Europe and the leaders of Europe finally realized the shortcoming that they had suffered under, so I would like to have you speculate with me what would have been the history of the world, of Europe especially, if something like the Treaty of Rome had been in effect in 1789 as it was in effect for our 13 sovereign States right from the beginning. Competition instead of cartels would have been encouraged. A common market at that time would have developed

an international spirit among the leaders of business and commerce and trade throughout Europe.

We know that the common market in the 13 States here at home lessened the parochial attitudes just as modern travel has changed a great many things for us. Would a common market of Europe and all that would go with it as it had here with us have tolerated a Napoleon and the Napoleonic Wars? Would the businessmen of Germany have tolerated the arrogance and the war-like attitudes of Kaiser Wilhelm? Is it possible that they would have insisted on policies and on leadership that could have avoided the Napoleonic Wars, World War I, and World War II? If we had not had that from the beginning, we would have been Balkanized and perhaps we would have much later had to call the kind of conference that led to the Treaty of Rome.

History tells us that dreams and hopes can change because of the power of an idea in a free society. The power of an idea does not go very far even under glasnost in Moscow, but the power of an idea in a democracy, in a free society, is almost irresistible.

In recent days we have heard a good many things about the hopes and aspirations of our neighbors in the five Central American states. The people and the leaders of those five Central American states, no less than people everywhere in the world, want freedom; they want opportunity and all the prosperity that goes with it. The delegates 200 years ago saw the need to forge the kind of a union not only to produce the domestic tranquillity that has been mentioned but to make a whole people who would work together, and in many respects the search of our Central American neighbors and friends parallels our search that began here in Philadelphia so long ago.

Their proposed plan now under consideration, to discourage outside influences and interference in their affairs, and their desire to terminate military activities that have interrupted the tranquillity of those countries for years, suggests something that is worth speculating about. Our 13 States had certain advantages - we had a common tradition, a common language, and we were geographically a unit. We knew, our people knew, our leaders knew, that Spain and other countries had designs on North America and on the rich lands to the south and west of the 13 original States, and France, our recent ally, could not afford to let the other powers come in. Just as other powers seek to enlarge their influence on controlling the Caribbean basin, our risk 200 years ago was that unless we united and had a common currency and a common market, we would have been easy victims for the great powers.

Now, I have speculated with you on what would have been the impact of the Common Market for Europe beginning in 1789, and it may be useful to speculate on that with reference to our friends to the south. Would it not stabilize the hemisphere as a whole if the five Central American states had a long period of domestic tranquillity and freedom from outside interference? Could that come about if a James Madison of Costa Rica and an Alexander Hamilton of

Honduras would join in calling a meeting such as was held here 200 years ago in Philadelphia? Is it fanciful to think that the leaders of those states and their people want just what our Founding Fathers wanted and that they would know that there is strength in unity and that only the strong can be free? When they look at today's world with so many millions of people controlled by dictatorships, surely they must want what we have and what we have had for two centuries. They have even advantages over us besides a common tradition and a common language. They have a common religion to bind them. Of course, the resolution of their problems, it goes without saying, is exclusively their affair, without interference from the United States of America or any other state.

Here as we celebrate this great event, government by consent, I would express the hope that our neighbors to the south will discover a James Madison and an Alexander Hamilton and find the way to freedom and opportunity that came to us and unleashed and released the powers of every individual so that he or she could develop his or her talents without interference from the outside.

I congratulate the Governor, the Chief Justice, and all of the others who have made this such a great program, and I especially congratulate Willard Rouse, who has probably put on the greatest celebration, patriotic celebration, in the history of the United States.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Mr. Chief Justice, on behalf of the entire General Assembly, thank you very much for those most poignant remarks.

PRESENTATION OF PAINTING

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If I may call you back, sir. Would you join me. If you would remain here at the rostrum for just a few moments, I would like to invite Lieutenant Governor Singel, Speaker Irvis, and Representative Pitts back to present you with a token of our appreciation.

Mr. PITTS. Mr. Chief Justice, Pennsylvania is known for her many outstanding cultural achievements. Just as in 1787 Philadelphia was the center of cultural and political achievements of the United States, we are proud today of the achievements and the many prominent artists in Pennsylvania. Their artwork is not only displayed here in Philadelphia but in many parts of our Commonwealth, including our own State Capitol Building in Harrisburg.

We are proud of the many fine artists in the Brandywine region of southeastern Pennsylvania. The Legislative Bicentennial Subcommittee commissioned one of these artists to produce an original painting of the old State House to be presented to you from the Pennsylvania General Assembly.

At this time I would like that artist, Mr. Dennis Minch, to join us at the podium.

Mr. Minch is a native of Chester County, who paints in the Brandywine tradition. His paintings can be found in many private collections in this area and throughout the country.

Mr. Chief Justice, as we mark the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution and commemorate the first

reading to the Pennsylvania Assembly, we also wish to express our gratitude to you for your leadership on the Bicentennial Commission and especially for your efforts in fostering constitutional literacy among all United States citizens. In appreciation of your key role in this historic occasion when the General Assembly returned to its original home, we would like to present you with an original Dennis Minch painting of the old State House, now known as Independence Hall. It is with great pleasure that I call upon my leaders to unveil that special painting.

The inscription reads as follows: "The Old State House, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, presented to the Honorable Warren E. Burger from The Pennsylvania General Assembly to Commemorate the 200th Anniversary of the First Reading of the United States Constitution to the Pennsylvania Assembly, September 18, 1987."

Mr. Chief Justice, as you take this piece of Pennsylvania with you, we hope you enjoy this token of our appreciation for your sharing this significant event with us.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Due to the schedule of our distinguished guest, he is going to have to leave early. I am going to call him back to make a response, and I think he would like to do that, and then I am going to ask out of order the escort committee, Chairman DeWeese, if you and your committee would come back after the Chief Justice's brief response. He needs to catch a train, and if the escort committee would come now.

Mr. Chief Justice, if you would like to say a few more words, we will then excuse you. You will not have to listen to my speech, but I sure enjoyed yours.

CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER. Thank you.

That is a lovely painting that I will hang in my chambers or in my home. I have many walls on which to hang pictures. Thank you.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The escort committee may now escort former Chief Justice Warren Burger from the podium with the great appreciation and thanks of all members of the General Assembly, staff and friends, of course His Excellency, the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, and all the dignitaries who are here today.

How about another round of applause for Chief Justice Warren Burger.

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Ladies and gentlemen, Governor Casey, Lieutenant Governor Singel, Chief Justice Nix, my colleagues in the General Assembly, and friends all:

Americans have a unique capacity for celebrating events and symbols of great heritage. The bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence, the birthday of the Statue of Liberty, which we celebrated just last year, now the celebration of the Constitution, all have given us occasion for displays of national pride and opportunity for reassessment of their meaning.

There are many ways of assessing the “miracle at Philadelphia” - the extraordinary personalities who participated, the document of clarity and vision they produced, the struggles of ratification and implementation which tested and, yes, strengthened their work.

The result was lasting; the means of enduring interest. One aspect of note is how the efforts of the delegates mirrored in many respects the legislative process. Though they were not a legislative body, being convened to develop a framework, not to pass laws, the condition and manner of their effort is familiar.

On September 18, 1787, the day following signing, one of the delegates wrote, “It was done by bargain and compromise....” Those are words that tend to reflect negatively in the minds of many. Indeed, many in the States thought the delegates had given away the store. The proposed Constitution was laced with checks and balances to allay suspicions and, yes, protect interests.

There was no straight line of progress. As with any drama there were twists and turns of plot. There were many test votes, never binding until the end, and the Convention several times came down on both sides of issues at different junctures. Issues thought settled would arise anew, at times with new outcomes. It might have been thought indecision, but it was more appropriately the deliberative and difficult process of moving a people in a direction no nation had ever gone.

While we doubt that any assemblage could do better, the Constitution was a document marked by the imperfections of political compromise. No conclusion could be reached on slavery, which succeeding generations would regret, with, oh, so much bloodshed. The question of a Bill of Rights ended up being an issue deferred. When finally pursued, it was in part to head off any new convention which might undo the accomplishments of the gathering that we celebrate today.

The quality of the debate and the levels of contribution varied. Some of the discourse was masterful; some was very bitter; some tedious. Some merited transcribing at length. James Madison also reported speeches of several hours in the condensed form of a single sentence. Several delegates merely listened. Jared Ingersoll of Pennsylvania attended every session, yet uttered not a word of debate until it came time to sign. By contrast, Gouverneur Morris made 173 speeches; Madison, 161. Others droned on for hours at a time, drawing rebuke from their suffering listeners, something that you and I know a little bit about, and I will try not to fall into that category.

The peak performance may well have been a speech not delivered by its author - James Wilson read Ben Franklin's strategically superb remarks on the final day of the Convention.

Critics might have noted that although there was no formal deadline, the process took longer than expected. The Convention came close to collapse as delegates clung stubbornly to early positions. For several weeks progress was almost imperceptible. Often adjournment saved the day; one 10-day break allowed passions to cool. Even when the final moments

loomed, a change was made in the representation formula, and delegates quarreled about the manner of signature.

We tend to think of leadership as high profile. While there was certainly the high intensity leadership of men such as James Wilson and James Madison, there was also the quiet yet commanding presence of the presiding officer, George Washington, and the careful guidance of the incomparable sage, Ben Franklin.

Not all was accomplished in formal session. We cannot know what effect the informal debates at City Tavern and other aftersession spots might have had in tempering conflict—in those “presunshine” days, I might add. There were private caucuses of delegates. Though the delegates were sworn to secrecy, no doubt issues were aired outside, so maybe we have a lesson to learn from that as well. Rumor was that delegates were assigned to accompany Franklin to prevent him from revealing the proceedings in the course of his congenial conversations.

Nor was all attention given to the business at hand. Delegates attended church services, witnessed John Fitch's steamboat plying the Delaware, visited Bartram's Botanical Gardens, unique in all America. Philadelphia was cosmopolitan, ethnically and religiously diverse, a center of commerce. There were many attractions to give respite from the weighty and contentious sessions. During one adjournment, George Washington went fishing. Respite had a hand in resolution.

Even though the delegates did not have to contend with the prying eye of the television camera or the quick tapings for drive-time radio, they opted for secrecy and went to great pains to enforce that dictate. There was much candor, I might add. Viewpoints were expressed indelicately, lacking the genteelness common to that time. Perhaps some of us in caucus might recognize that. In the years of public debate and reflection that followed, much was revealed, often tailored to fit individual biases.

These men were professionals, professionals in large part - lawyers, merchants, and financiers. They understood economic interest and economic consequences. Most were veterans of political and governmental life. A number served in both Federal and State capacities. Young but seasoned, they were in concert with John Dickinson's observation that “reason may mislead us; experience must be our guide.” Having lived through the Revolution and the possibility of hanging for treason, they quite naturally tempered high ideals with the pragmatism of experience.

“The Constitution is an experiment, as all life is an experiment,” wrote Oliver Wendell Holmes, and the Convention was a grand experiment, a tentative venture that evolved into an earnest and high-stakes roll of the political dice. The basis of the system in which we engage, it has served us well, so very well, as we seek to serve.

We have placed the Constitution in the pantheon of great documents rendered by man, but the process of its creation was marked by all the strategies, the flaws, the conflicts and diversions we deal with on the major issues of our day. The framers were influenced by the best of classical thought and

the very worst of human tendencies, yet they proved that men of strong principle could still embrace the elements of compromise; that men of special interest could still defer to the larger common interest; that men engaging in the often ugly art of politics could construct a document of magnificence.

There may be those who believe that our remembrance is a superfluous gesture, but if the occasion truly serves to spark introspection into the dynamism of the document, an appreciation of the Commonwealth's role in influencing the foundation of our federal system, and a deeper understanding of the desires and doubts of the constitutional craftsmen, then, my friends, this gathering will have served a lofty purpose indeed. Those gathered at Philadelphia knew that the faith of the people would determine the fate of the fledgling Nation, and so it did. Thus it is, 200 years later, that we maintain and foster faith in a democratic and representative system of government. We could do no more. Thank you.

RESOLUTION

FRANKLIN SPEECHES IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AND IN THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Our program indicates that as our next order of business the gentleman from Chester, Senator Stauffer, will offer a resolution. Unfortunately, Senator Stauffer cannot be here with us this afternoon because he is recuperating and, I might add, recovering quite well from surgery.

Therefore, at this time the Chair is indeed pleased to recognize the gentleman from Delaware County, the majority whip, Senator F. Joseph Loeper, for the purpose of making a statement and presenting a resolution.

Mr. LOEPER. Thank you, Mr. President.

On September 17, 1787, after 4 months of bargain and compromise, 42 of the 55 delegates to the Constitutional Convention converged upon the State House in Philadelphia to play out the final and most important scene in the making of the United States Constitution. After the document was read aloud, Pennsylvania delegate James Wilson read a speech which Dr. Benjamin Franklin had written in his own hand.

Although many lengthy and compelling speeches had been given since May of 1787 when the Convention met, Dr. Franklin presented some of the most powerful and convincing thoughts set forth during the entire Convention. In his mastery of words, he sought to change the minds of dissidents and engender complete support for the proposed Constitution.

Dr. Franklin artfully captured the very human dilemma of decisionmaking and consideration of the long-term impact of those decisions. While recognizing the delegates' struggle with their own infallibility and the localism of their views, he strategically created an undertone in his speech which struck at the very heart of responsibility to the people of the United States and the generations that were to follow. The Pennsylvania statesman explained that the diversity of personalities

gathered at the Convention precluded the achievement of a perfect document, but he noted with great satisfaction, however, that in the face of such diversity, the final product, designed to secure the blessings of liberty, was close to perfection, and as such, he would support it.

To quote Franklin, "For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men, all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded like those of the Builders of Babel; and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats. Thus I consent, Sir, to this Constitution because I expect no better, and because I am not sure, that it is not the best."

In conclusion, Dr. Franklin made a motion that the delegates sign as witnesses to the consent of the States that were present rather than as individuals, allowing the dissidents to retain their personal opposition to the Constitution. They could support the basic concept of the document without compromising any of their own values.

Even at age 81 Benjamin Franklin retained his gift of calculated diplomacy. His motion on the form of signing won by 10 votes. Of the 42 Convention members present, 39 of them signed the document. Most of the dissidents had been moved to support the Constitution by Franklin's compelling speech and his strategic motion at the Convention.

Two hundred years after Benjamin Franklin's speech, this governing body - House and Senate - would do well to reflect on Dr. Franklin's message to each and every one of us. Pennsylvania's interests today are as varied as those of the 13 States in 1787. We as legislators are charged with representing the concerns of our constituency first and foremost, but there are times when we must consider the broader constituency of all Pennsylvanians and future generations, working for the same goals and the common good.

Dr. Franklin had asked his colleagues to "act heartily and unanimously in recommending the Constitution" so that they could "turn their future thoughts and endeavors to the means of having it well administered." Today as we join in celebration of the 200th birthday of the Constitution, we can take pride in the work of our forefathers and the statesmen of this century who have wisely administered the document as Dr. Franklin had intended that document to be administered.

At this time I would ask permission of the President to introduce a resolution on behalf of Franklin.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There is no objection, and the gentleman may proceed.

Mr. LOEPER. Thank you, Mr. President. [Reading:]

WHEREAS, For most of his public life Benjamin Franklin was associated with this General Assembly, as Clerk, Assemblyman, Speaker and its Representative in England; and

WHEREAS, He was appointed by this General Assembly to the Second Continental Congress and named to a committee instructed to draft a Declaration of Independence; and

WHEREAS, He was a signatory to the said Declaration of Independence in 1776 when he was seventy years of age; and

WHEREAS, Eleven years later, after representing the United States in France and serving as President of Pennsylvania, he was chosen as a member of the Pennsylvania Delegation to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, and signed the proposed Constitution of the United States in his eighty-first year; and

WHEREAS, When the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were about to sign the finished document, Benjamin Franklin, speaking to his fellow delegates, confessed that there were several parts of it which he did not approve; and

WHEREAS, He confessed further that, during his long life, he had grown to doubt his first impression when more information was later revealed; and

WHEREAS, Because of this factor he had become more receptive to the opinion of others; and

WHEREAS, A Convention, such as the one just completed, must assemble a sufficient number of participants in order to achieve joint wisdom; and

WHEREAS, Benjamin Franklin was astonished to find the resultant system, in spite of it all, so near to perfection; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Benjamin Franklin then consented to the Constitution because he expected no better and was not sure that it wasn't the best; and be it further

RESOLVED, That he urged his fellow delegates to act unanimously in recommending this Constitution wherever this influence might extend; and be it further

RESOLVED, That while the last members were signing the Constitution, Franklin was observing President Washington's chair, and at long last, he had decided that the carved replica of the sun, on the President's chair, was indeed a "rising" rather than a "setting" sun!

Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair thanks Senator Loeper.

Our majority caucus chairman, the gentleman from Perry County, Senator William J. Moore, is not listed on your program. Since Senator Loeper offered the resolution before us, the Chair is pleased to now recognize the gentleman from Perry County, Senator Moore, for the purpose of seconding the resolution. Senator Moore.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. President, Benjamin Franklin - philosopher, journalist, scientist, and statesman - was a master of diplomacy who had great insight into men's strengths and weaknesses. The genius of this man was realized in his ability to control a confrontation or debate by using the strengths and weaknesses of all parties involved to reach agreement or compromise. He also possessed the enviable quality of applying careful, balanced reasoning to achieve resolution of difficult problems. Ultimately, these qualities carried him through his key role in the adoption of the Constitution.

In his 55 years of public service, Benjamin Franklin was a clerk of the Assembly, a State Representative, Postmaster General for the Colonies, and President of Pennsylvania. He turned a fragmented postal system into an efficient and profitable operation, and through skillful diplomacy he represented Pennsylvania's cause during the Stamp Act situation and brought a potentially explosive situation to a fair and just end.

Few are aware it was Benjamin Franklin who gave us the first public library, our first hospital, our first volunteer fire company, our first fire insurance company, and the University of Pennsylvania, my alma mater. Benjamin Franklin's interest in and support of quality health care, community services, and education opportunities were no less intense than are our efforts as legislators in the 1980's.

The statesman also displayed courage in his leadership during the movement to abolish slavery. While his involvement in the effort is often forgotten, it was a major cause in his last years.

Ben Franklin's diligent commitment to building an enlightened society, conscious of the natural rights of every man and woman, has become an example which all government leaders should strive to follow. He was so dedicated to the concept of liberty and the rights of all that he saw far beyond the boundaries of his homeland.

In a letter to David Hartley in December of 1789, the goodness of his heart showed through most clearly: "God grant that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations on the Earth so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say, 'This is my country.'"

Mr. President, I rise to second the motion to adopt the resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair thanks the gentleman.

The question before us is, will the General Assembly adopt the resolution? On the question, those in favor of the resolution will respond by saying "aye"; those opposed, "no." The "ayes" have it, and the resolution is adopted.

**LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR
MARK S. SINGEL
REQUESTED TO PRESIDE**

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It is now my honor and privilege to call back to the podium the President of the Senate, the Honorable Lieutenant Governor Mark S. Singel, to once again preside over the balance of the joint session. Lieutenant Governor Singel.

**THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR
(MARK S. SINGEL) IN THE CHAIR**

The PRESIDENT. Thank you, Senator Jubelirer.

To paraphrase John F. Kennedy, this is the finest collection of talent and genius ever assembled here except when Benjamin Franklin sat here alone.

**STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR
ROBERT P. CASEY**

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is now pleased to welcome and present to this General Assembly a man who for me epitomizes the values and ideals of the 55 men who framed the Constitution. Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome with me a special and personal friend of mine, the distinguished Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, His Excellency, the Honorable Robert P. Casey.

GOVERNOR CASEY. Mr. Speaker, Lieutenant Governor Singel, Chief Justice Nix, Senator Jubelirer, Chief Justice Burger in absentia, members of the clergy, Attorney General Zimmerman, Judge Crumlish, members of the Cabinet, distinguished guests, my fellow Pennsylvanians:

This has been a spectacular and successful week for Philadelphia and for Pennsylvania. One of the primary reasons why that was so was the support that the bicentennial observance here in Philadelphia received from the bipartisan leadership and membership of the Senate and the House of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. I congratulate you and commend you for that leadership and that effort.

We have a special reason to commemorate this historic week in this historic place. Here, 200 years ago yesterday in what was then our State House, the framers of the United States Constitution completed their remarkable work, and 200 years ago today the Pennsylvania General Assembly gathered in that very same room to consider that document.

It was no mere coincidence that the Constitution and, before it, the Declaration of Independence were conceived right here in Pennsylvania. Two centuries ago this Commonwealth and this city gave the new world its first great capital, thriving with ideas and commerce and people of diverse cultures. Our leading citizen, Benjamin Franklin, who has been mentioned so frequently today, was not only Pennsylvania's Chief Executive; he was America's leading citizen. Our society here in Pennsylvania was a model for the melting pot which America would yet become.

In 1787 we were a model because a century before that William Penn founded our "holy experiment" based on the then radical ideals of democratic self-government, religious tolerance, and cultural diversity. Where Pennsylvania led, America and free people everywhere followed.

In the last century Pennsylvania led a second revolution, this time in manufacturing and commerce. Pennsylvania led America to industrial might, to prosperity, to opportunity for anyone willing to work. In Pennsylvania the American dream came true for millions of American families like yours and like mine. And even at its founding Pennsylvania led America in understanding the vital importance of a clean, healthy environment to the quality of life and the prosperity of its people.

To attract new immigrants and investment to the Commonwealth, William Penn advertised that in Pennsylvania, and I quote, "the air is sweet and clear, the heavens serene; of living creatures, fish, fowl, and the beasts of the woods," he said of Pennsylvania, "here are diverse sorts...." And he talked about the woods being adorned with lovely flowers. He said,

"I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty, but I think," he said, "they may be improved by our woods" in Pennsylvania.

But today, on this day of celebration and joy, I must tell you that Pennsylvania faces an environmental crisis as threatening as the crisis faced by the Constitution's framers when they gathered here two centuries ago. As a matter of obligation to our people, we must act as boldly as the framers did, and we must begin today.

Our people should not have to live in the shadow of abandoned, potentially toxic waste sites. Our people should not have to drink from unfiltered water systems and suffer waterborne disease. Our people should not have to wonder where we are going to put our mounting tons of garbage.

And because as a matter of obligation we must begin to solve our environmental crisis, we dare not sit together on this historic day on this hallowed part of Penn's Green Town and simply congratulate ourselves, not when we can see the American birthright to a clean, healthful environment threatened from all sides - on ocean beaches, in our backyards, in the water we drink and the air we breathe. We are inundated by our own garbage. Some of it we know is poisonous; some of it we cannot be sure. Some of it we can see and smell and taste, and even worse, much of it we cannot.

The simple reality is that we are now paying the price of years of neglect of the natural environment, which is Pennsylvania's greatest heritage. If we do not act now and act quickly, then our children and their children will most certainly pay a higher price.

We are all endangered. Pollution caused by toxic waste, waterborne diseases, and leaking landfills threaten every one of us.

Some 2,000 abandoned waste sites exist in communities throughout our Commonwealth. They have never been assessed, so no one knows how dangerous they may be.

Two and a half million of our people drink from unfiltered water systems. I know, because in my hometown we have been boiling the water for many years.

Over 5 million of our people live in communities with substandard sewage disposal systems.

Millions of our people live in communities that will run out of places to put their garbage in less than 2 years. Almost 1.7 million of our people live in communities that have no disposal facilities at all. At the same time, garbage from neighboring States is not just sitting on barges; it is coming here at the rate of 10,000 tons per day from New Jersey alone.

In the past 8 months we have begun at last to face up to the problems that have been growing worse with each passing day. First, we put our Department of Environmental Resources in the hands of men and women who have committed their professional lives to preserving the environment.

Our first budget, which you supported, provided a desperately needed and unprecedented infusion of money and manpower devoted to hazardous waste cleanup. We reacted swiftly and surely to a number of potentially dangerous situations involving toxic chemicals, waste disposal, and tainted water.

We have made it crystal clear: we will punish the polluters. We have begun, with a sense of urgency, the long battle to clean up hazardous waste, purify our water, and solve our solid waste crisis. We will put the health and safety of our people first so that they can live to enjoy the constitutional liberties we celebrate today.

To do that we have set for ourselves an ambitious agenda which can again make Pennsylvania a leader - the leader - among our States in cleaning up the environment. In the weeks and months immediately ahead, I have ordered DER to move this agenda forward.

We will by December complete assessments of all 2,000 known waste sites in the State of Pennsylvania, and by the end of next June we will finish five Federal Superfund cleanups and have 25 new cleanups underway. Within 3 years we will triple the annual pace of those cleanups.

We will by December have municipal solid waste regulations to require state-of-the-art standards for all of our disposal facilities.

We will by December have the toughest standards in the Nation to insure that waste incinerators do not threaten public health.

We will by the end of next June have regulations in place requiring filtration of all drinking water supplies in Pennsylvania.

And in December we will join with Maryland and Virginia and the District of Columbia in ratifying our shared commitment to saving one of America's most fertile natural wonders - the Chesapeake Bay.

We can and we must do a great deal more to reclaim our environment, but to achieve our goals, we must work together. You, too, must act. You must not let party differences stand in the way. When it comes to the health of this and future generations, our people have no patience for politics as usual, and neither do I.

Before the end of this year you must take action on vital legislation that I have or will in the next week place before you, legislation which gives us the authority to pursue unprecedented environmental initiatives. Let no one doubt that the battle to reclaim our environment will be long and hard, but we cannot begin to fight in earnest until you give us the tools to do so.

You must enact a State superfund program so we can enforce the law and begin to clean up hazardous waste sites without waiting for the Federal Government.

You must enact a comprehensive program for solid waste management emphasizing trash recycling so we can cut our volume of waste by at least 25 percent and allow more than two-thirds of our people to help solve our municipal waste problems.

The Senate must pass, without further delay, our urgently needed PENNVEST program so we can help finance over 2 billion dollars' worth of water and sewer projects so our people can drink clean water and our communities can safely dispose of their sewage. The PENNVEST bill passed the House on June 16 by a vote of 198 to 1 and has been awaiting

Senate action ever since. When you act, we can expand nearly one-third of our sewage systems in this Commonwealth and bring over 1,400 Pennsylvania water systems up to State and Federal standards.

And finally, you must pass legislation before the new year so we can fulfill the goals of the four-State Appalachian Compact.

Some may say that all of this cannot be done before the end of this year, but I would remind you that the framers of the document we celebrate here today completed their historic task in less than 4 months. They established a system of government which, in the words of Benjamin Franklin, approached so near to perfection that it would astonish America's enemies.

And between this day, September 18, and December 12 of 1787, the Pennsylvania General Assembly considered, debated, and ratified that most novel and astonishing political system. Certainly between today and December 12, 1987, you can ratify that provision of our own Pennsylvania Constitution which states as follows: "The people have a right to clean air, pure water, and to the preservation of the natural, scenic, historic and esthetic values of the environment....As trustee of these resources, the Commonwealth shall conserve and maintain them for the benefit of all the people."

I believe we will enact our environmental program and astonish those who say that we cannot. We will do it because the people of Pennsylvania have already waited for too long for the Federal Government to act. We will do it because the people of Pennsylvania have waited too long to be free from the fear of toxic waste. We will do it because the people of Pennsylvania have waited too long for State Government to live up to the words of our own Constitution. And we will do it because Pennsylvanians are entitled not only to a clean environment but to a State Government which earns both the respect and the tax dollars they pay it.

Yes, Pennsylvanians have waited too long. We will act now to start cleaning up our environment because we know: they must not wait any longer.

And so we will move. We will act. We will follow the example of those remarkable Americans who took action here two centuries ago.

If this bicentennial teaches anything, it must be about the strength of unity in the face of adversity, of compromise in the face of contention, and determination in the face of danger. That was the miracle of 1787, and it must be our miracle as well today.

We will act so that on this day 100 years from now, when our great-grandchildren gather again in this place to honor Pennsylvania at the constitutional tricentennial, they will live in a Commonwealth and a country with clean water and pure air and fertile farmlands and productive forests, an environment like the one that William Penn described when he came here a century before the Constitutional Convention.

It is time, indeed it is exactly the right time, for all of us to dedicate ourselves to recapturing that natural heritage which is Pennsylvania, not for ourselves alone but for generations of

Pennsylvanians yet unborn. For make no mistake about it, we borrow the Earth from our children as surely as we inherit it from our parents.

We the people have celebrated the greatness of Pennsylvania's past, and we the people will insure the greatness of Pennsylvania's future.

The PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Governor. The Chair appreciates your remarks and appreciates your attendance at this event with us.

STATEMENT BY MR. FUMO

The PRESIDENT. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Philadelphia, Senator Fumo. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. FUMO. Mr. President, at this time, on behalf of the members of the Philadelphia delegation to the Pennsylvania Senate - Senators Hankins, Lynch, Williams, Rocks, Jones, and Salvatore - it is my distinct pleasure to officially welcome the members of the Senate and the House, their families, staffs, and friends to the beautiful city of Philadelphia on this momentous occasion.

And, Mr. President, if I may be a bit parochial, I now extend to everyone a personal welcome to this, my historic home senatorial district, the First District of Pennsylvania. May your visit here be memorable and filled with happiness, and may you return to us again soon.

Finally, Mr. President, having just returned from the Soviet Union with Senators Salvatore and Armstrong and various members of the Pennsylvania House, I feel it is most appropriate at this time to say, may God continue to bless America. It is especially good for us to be home on this great day. Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair thanks the gentleman.

STATEMENT BY MS. JOSEPHS

The PRESIDENT. The Chair recognizes the gentle lady from Philadelphia, Representative Babette Josephs.

Ms. JOSEPHS. I have a hard time standing on the right all these hours. I like the left side, if that is okay.

Thank you, Mr. President.

I have two very pleasant tasks today. My first is to thank the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Marching Band for a truly stellar, spectacular, sensational, exceptional, and exhilarating performance. We should all stand and give them a hand. Thank you.

And second, as the Representative from this district, I welcome everyone to the 182d Legislative District on behalf of the House of Representatives' Philadelphia delegation, and I personally welcome my colleagues.

Ladies and gentlemen from both sides of the aisle and from all places in this Commonwealth and all of our guests, I am very glad you are here. I hope you will stay awhile. I hope you will bring your friends, your colleagues, your associates, your families. Bring your money; spend it here. We appreciate it, we need it, and come again. Thank you.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair thanks the gentleman and the gentle lady, our host legislators, for this very fine event, and may I say on behalf of myself and the entire joint session that we appreciate all of the hospitality that has been extended to us during this really once-in-a-lifetime experience. This really has been a world-class celebration in a world-class city in the finest State of the country, the greatest nation on Earth. I am thrilled to be a part of it, and I am sure that we are all thrilled to be a part of it. Thank you all very much.

RESOLUTION

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S LETTER TO THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY

The PRESIDENT. At this time the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Allegheny County, Senator Edward P. Zemprelli, for the purpose of making a statement and presenting a resolution. Senator Zemprelli.

Mr. ZEMPRELLI. Thank you, Mr. President.

You anticipate my purpose in rising this late in the proceedings. Had we been in Harrisburg, I would have had at least 17 requests for temporary Capitol leave. Once my colleagues learned that I was to be a participant in this program, one of the members—and I hasten to add, a member of the other side of the aisle—suggested we put the calendar over.

I am very happy to have been asked to participate in this program, and I am not the least bit presumptuous. I understand very clearly that at this late hour there is little that I can offer that has not already been said.

Now, there are those who seem to anticipate that I will not have very many words to say, and though some of you applaud that, I want to say that you are absolutely incorrect. I am totally incapable of a short speech.

My purpose in rising, of course, is to offer a resolution honoring one who has been classified as the "Father of our Country," George Washington. He was a man in his time who had tremendous influence in this early country. He had led a group of colonies against the greatest military power known to the world at that time. He had a great deal to say with what took place behind the scenes. There were some, as a matter of fact, who believed that George Washington should be made king, a monarch, and it was he who said he had no desires to be a king. As a matter of fact, he was very reticent about participating in public life. His primary purpose and desire was to return to Mount Vernon and to accept the life of the private citizen.

That was not to be. The Nation wanted him; the Nation needed him. They understood that although he was not one who debated the issues of the time that finally resolved itself into what we call a Constitution, that without his influence, without the credibility that he brought to that scene in 1787, this Constitution was not possible. It is for those reasons and because of his overwhelming power that his presence in deliberations in Philadelphia made things happen that happened.

I therefore offer the following resolution and hasten to add, if I fumble it is not my language. [Reading:]

WHEREAS, George Washington, President of the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787, was, along with Benjamin Franklin, one of only two Americans at that Convention who were internationally famous; and

WHEREAS, George Washington was revered by his contemporaries at the Federal Convention; and

WHEREAS, His experience as a landowner, surveyor, commander in the French and Indian War, farmer and member of the Colonial Legislature of Virginia; and

WHEREAS, He was a member of the Virginia delegation to the First and Second Continental Congresses and Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War; and

WHEREAS, At the Federal Convention, Washington reflected the paramount concern of the majority of the delegates to see that the Convention succeeded and that their duty was to set an example for the world, as he said, "...by raising a standard to which the wise and honest could repair"; and

WHEREAS, Washington and his advisors believed that Washington's great popularity could be better utilized after the Constitution's adoption, he chose to remain in the background, through his administrative office, as President, rather than to take an adversarial role in the debates; and

WHEREAS, Washington's only recorded actions during the Convention were his support for a single Executive office and a reduction in the ratio of representation in the lower House which was approved instantly showing his great influence;—

For all of the above—

therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the General Assembly do, on the 200th Anniversary of the first reading of our newly adopted United States Constitution commend our first President upon the wise use of his overwhelming influence upon his countrymen and upon his dedicated furtherance of the newly proposed Constitution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this General Assembly of 1987 and all those to follow be mindful of the sentiments expressed by our first President in his letter to the Marquis de Lafayette on September 18, 1787 which stated "...if it be good, I suppose it will work its way good; if bad, it will recoil on the Framers." This assessment was broadened in a later letter to Lafayette which stated that the Constitution was "...beyond anything we had a right to imagine or expect and it will demonstrate as visibly the finger of Providence as any event in the course of human affairs..."

Washington did not believe that this Constitution here in Philadelphia 200 years ago was a perfect document. As a matter of fact, his purpose for subscribing to this Constitution was because it contained among its words language and mechanisms for change. Changes were made over the years. Some would argue whether they were few or many. I think many. I think daily. I am sure daily.

The Constitution, especially after the inclusion of the Bill of Rights in 1791, and I deviate a moment to suggest this: If we think the Constitution of these United States is a great document, I wonder what will entail in our celebration 4 years

from now when we celebrate the adoption of the Bill of Rights, that particular part of the document that we now know as "buckler and sword."

The Constitution and this observation in Philadelphia, a city that I truly love and have loved for many years, is much more, very much more than a few pieces of paper. It is a vital, living document which guides our lives and the lives of our public officials. The Constitution makes it possible for us to choose a career, to criticize a public official, to travel when and where we want to. It guarantees our freedom and limits the power of government. And those of you who just recently returned from Russia with a single voice indicated how great it was to return and how we once again can appreciate that which we have here. Personal freedom, we have it. We have it to such an extent that nobody in the rest of the world has it to that degree. We take advantage of that freedom and we abuse it, and we little note how important it is to us and we very rarely reflect upon what personal liberty means. We take our lifestyle as a matter of grant. We are so used to freedom, so used to being able to live our lives just the way we want to, that we forget why we are able to live so freely and to live so well.

We should pause at this moment to thank all of those who have died on the battlefields of this country in support and defense of those freedoms, and we must not forget the exceptional men who met here in 1787 to set in motion an extremely unique concept and experiment in democracy. This afternoon's joint session reminds us of a great debt that we owe to the writers of that Constitution. What men they were. They were young; they came from different backgrounds, from different States, with different priorities. They argued, often very heatedly, but were always willing to listen to another person's point of view.

Too often today we have been determined to be a body of special interests. There were no special interests at that time.

Our tradition of personal liberty, tolerance, and compassion should be a source of pride to every citizen of these United States. I am extremely proud to be an American. I am extremely happy to be a participant in this joint session, and I am grateful for that opportunity. It has been a humbling experience.

The men who labored in Philadelphia to create our Constitution set a basic standard for every public servant privileged to follow in their footsteps. The standard is a high one, but our country and our State deserve no less. I thank you very much.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair thanks Senator Zemprelli.

For the purpose of seconding the motion made by Senator Zemprelli, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Fayette County, Senator Lincoln.

The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. LINCOLN. Thank you, Mr. President.

You know, did Senator Zemprelli actually make a motion? I am not sure.

Mr. President, I rise with a great deal of pride to second this motion, and I think probably that Washington's letter, to me,

would be the most important part of the whole process, because I enjoyed Senator Jubelirer's description of what he felt took place during the 4 months that these gentlemen were closed in that hot room with no air-conditioning, no Polar water coolers to keep them going, and that had to be an exciting, fun time. Those of us who have been in those rooms on less important issues have seen the emotions and the fighting that we can get into on something that has very little to do with the future of our country.

But I believe that Washington's letter when it was sent out to the State legislatures, that at that time the challenge of the people of this Nation taking the responsibility of taking this document and making it work was issued, and I think that we here today 200 years later are witness to the fact that we the people of this great Nation did make that document work. And it was not necessarily the framers of the Constitution or the document itself but I think the magnificent part of this whole process has been that for 200 years the American people have adopted and adapted to the changes in each generation and have taken that document from a very small beginning to 200 years later to the great Nation that we have become. And I believe that 100 years from now—I will not be here and I do not desire to be here—that there will be another celebration and it will be a 300-year celebration of the success, not so much of that Constitution but of the people in the next 100 years who are going to make it work and make it work better.

I am very proud to be part of this day, and I am very optimistic that someone else will be proud to be part of the day 100 years from now when they are celebrating another day of just how great this country is.

So, Mr. President, I do rise to second the motion of the gentleman from Allegheny County, Senator Zemprelli, and would ask for adoption of the resolution. Thank you very much.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair thanks the gentleman.

The question is, will the General Assembly adopt the resolution? On the question, those in favor of the resolution will respond by saying "aye"; those opposed, "no." The "ayes" have it, and the resolution is adopted.

"AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL"

The PRESIDENT. At this time the rendition of "America the Beautiful" will be played by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Marching Band. The Chair would note that we are gratified to have with us the president of the Indiana University Board of Trustees, Senator Stapleton, who is justifiably proud of this outstanding band, and I would invite everyone to join us in singing "America the Beautiful." Please rise.

(Members and all visitors stood.)

(Indiana University of Pennsylvania Marching Band presented "America the Beautiful.")

The PRESIDENT. Please be seated.

JOINT SESSION ADJOURNED

The PRESIDENT. We are now prepared to adjourn the joint session. However, the Speaker of the House will have some closing observations in just a few moments.

The business for which the joint session has been assembled having been transacted, the session is now adjourned.

Speaker Irvis.

THE SPEAKER (K. LEROY IRVIS) IN THE CHAIR

The SPEAKER. The Chair thanks the Lieutenant Governor for presiding and asks that the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Lieutenant Governor remain here.

There are obviously a number of people who brought this great occasion about, and I would be remiss as presiding officer if I were not to thank them, and I thank the staff of the Senate and the staff of the House for performing another miracle in Philadelphia.

STATEMENT BY MR. RICHARDSON

The SPEAKER. For what purpose does the gentleman from Philadelphia, Mr. Richardson, rise?

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman state the point of order.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I have a statement that I would like to have read into the record of this joint session of the House and Senate on behalf of African-Americans and native Americans and women who were excluded in the Constitution of these United States in 1787 and would ask permission to either read the statement or ask that it be submitted for the record properly so that it can be properly recorded in this session.

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman will send the statement forward for the record, it will be filed for the record.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker.

I would indicate then at this time that I would at the end of this session want to hold a press conference to at least have an opportunity to read the statement to the press.

The SPEAKER. That will be your privilege, and as the Speaker told you at a prior meeting, if you wish to discuss this at a regular session of the House, the Chair will recognize you at that time.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I would like to do that, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Fine.

(Mr. RICHARDSON's statement appears in the Journal of September 29, 1987.)

PRESENTATIONS

The SPEAKER. There is one man who has carried more of the burden than all the rest of us, Joe Pitts; Joe Pitts, without whom—would you come up, Joe?—without whom we could not have brought this about.

From the leaders of the House and the leaders of the Senate we would like to give you this presentation, a copy of the silver dollar of 1987 and a gold \$5 piece of 1987, in memory of the service you have given prior to this date to the Commonwealth and to the high service you have given us here this week. Thank you very much, Joseph.

Mr. PITTS. Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Thank you very much.

The SPEAKER. There is one young woman who has been equally indispensable. Her name is Lucy Gnazzo. She is known as the lady in blue over there. Would you come to the podium, please, Lucy.

Lucy, in behalf of the General Assembly, made up of the members of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, we present this bouquet of roses to you as a small token of our thanks for the many hours you spent in making this meeting possible. Thank you very much.

Ms. GNAZZO. Thank you very much. It has been a pleasure working with all of you.

The SPEAKER. The Chair would also be remiss if it did not thank the Parliamentarian of the Senate and the Parliamentarian of the House for putting together this program, and the Chair thanks both men.

The Chair would also like to thank the person who was a subordinate to and an associate with Lucy, Melissa Seibert. Melissa, will you please stand. Thank you very much for being here.

And from the Speaker's staff, Susan Carduff, who spent many a long hour over here. Susan, please rise.

We appreciate the cooperation we have received during this most momentous session, and you will notice on your program that we have listed the organizations which have been so kind to us. We ask that they go immediately after the end of this session to a table set up to distribute certificates of appreciation from the General Assembly.

REMARKS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

The SPEAKER. I know that you have heard enough speeches; I know that I have, and the remarks that were prepared for me are going to be submitted for the record where they will probably never be read.

But as I get ready to dismiss you and as we leave this magnificent city, I ask that you remember this: that what the men did—and note, there were no women there, which was a grave mistake—what the men did 200 years ago was important but it in no way measures up to the importance of the job you and I must do, for they are dead and gone and can no longer act. You and I still living must attempt to so develop this Commonwealth and this Union that it will indeed be a safe haven for all posterity, that men and women throughout the world will be able to rely on the strength of this Union. That is our obligation.

May I say one other word to you: Let it be known from this point forward that the brains and talents of the people of the

United States are not limited to the geographical origin of its bearer, not limited to the color of his or her skin, not limited to the gender or sex of him or her. Let us all remember that we the people are the government.

Mr. IRVIS submitted the following remarks for the Legislative Journal:

Today we celebrate our American birthright of freedom in the city where we first proclaimed our independence and intent to "form a more perfect Union."

The Constitution originated 200 years ago, but the quest for perfection of this great dream remains in our hands today to shape and mold for future generations of Americans.

Today, we do indeed have the same intent as the original framers of the Constitution: Like them, we, too, are concerned with the need "to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity...."

Our concerns today in the State and national legislatures bear a remarkable likeness to the concerns first voiced in this city 200 years ago.

"We the People," 200 years later, still strive to form, establish, insure, provide, promote, secure and ordain the blessings of liberty.

We have been blessed with liberty and our freedoms have served as a beacon for people the world over who have come as immigrants to share in these blessings.

In a real sense, none of us are born Americans; we become Americans...and we should recall that the Constitution itself is an evolving document which has been adapted to meet the needs of a growing nation.

Throughout the land today, we are in the midst of a great debate about the meaning of the Constitution.

But we should know that on the great questions of freedom, justice, and the rule of law, there can be no neutral principles or neutral way of interpreting the rights handed down to us in the Constitution.

Our forefathers debated passionately their views of how government and democracy should work. They realized very well that they were creating a form of government that would have to last centuries.

We believe, just as passionately, that what they wrought in their deliberations remains a document, and a dream, worthy of our deepest faith.

People from all over the world came to this Nation because they, too, wanted to share in the dream of freedom, justice, and rule of law, rather than rule of men.

We came from Ireland, we came from Italy, from Greece, Poland and Russia, and still we came: from Japan and China, from Hungary and Lebanon, from Cuba and Vietnam, to join the English and Indians, the Africans and Scottish, the Germans and French.

* * *

Our Constitution has very special meaning for Pennsylvanians. The very room it was drafted and written in was the meeting place of the Pennsylvania State House. The Commonwealth's legislature literally moved upstairs so that a national government could be forged in its chambers.

And from the hands and heads and hearts of two Pennsylvanians came the memorable opening words, "We the People of the United States...."

Delegate James Wilson of Pennsylvania has been said to have devised the opening of the Preamble with "We the People..." rather than grounding the authority of the Constitution with the delegates themselves, or the various States.

The Preamble makes clear their intention to form a national government as the supreme law of the land, rather than a stronger version of association between the States as in the Articles of Confederation.

Pennsylvania Delegate Gouverneur Morris added the crucial words to "We the People...." "We the People," Morris wrote, "of the United States...."

So a new nation was founded on behalf of its people, and on behalf of future generations still to come to its shores.

BENEDICTION

The SPEAKER. With that, I ask you now to rise for the benediction, which shall be given by the chaplain of the House, Rev. Dr. David R. Hoover.

(Members and all visitors stood.)

REV. DR. HOOVER. Heavenly Father, at the conclusion of this joint session of the legislature celebrating the 200th anniversary of our living legacy, we turn to Thee in gratitude and praise. We thank Thee for the watchful eye and providential care Thou didst show to our Founding Fathers and now hast shown to these statesmen of the Keystone State. We humbly pray that Thou wilt continue to bless us as we go our separate ways and challenge us to ever foster the principles set forth in our Constitution as we render service to Thee.

O God, grant to us the confidence of Thy love, the indwelling of Thy spirit, and the benediction of Thy peace, forever and ever, world without end. Amen.

ADJOURNMENT

The SPEAKER. This session of the General Assembly stands adjourned.

(The bell in the tower at Independence Hall was rung at the time of adjournment.)

(At 3:40 p.m., e.d.t., the General Assembly adjourned.)

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