

Federal deficit by changing the U.S. Constitution.

How do you do it? By writing a budget and bringing it to the floor of the Senate. What is the requirement there? Well, the requirement is on April 1, a budget is required by law to be brought to the floor of the Senate. On April 15, a conference report is to be passed on the budget.

Now, the question that many of us asks is: Where is the urgency today? Where is the budget? Is there a budget?

Well, we expect there is a budget somewhere. We cannot seem to see the budget. We hope that those who claimed the reduction of the deficit was so urgent—and it is—just a month or two ago would now understand that urgency and meet their obligation to bring a budget to the floor of the Senate and begin to really cut Federal spending and really reduce the Federal budget deficit.

I said then and I will say again today that there is a difference between posing and lifting. There has been a lot of posing in this Chamber in the last 3 or 4 months, but now it is time for some lifting. I think the American public and the Senate would be well served if those who talked so much about changing the Constitution to eliminate the Federal budget deficit would now be interested and willing to bring a budget resolution to the floor of the Senate as required by law and really start to dig in and reduce the Federal budget deficit.

Why has that not yet occurred? Because they have ridden into a box canyon they call a middle-class tax cut which really gives most of the benefits to the wealthy in this country, and at the same time they really want to go ahead and cut about \$300 billion out of Medicare and Medicaid. They have ridden into a box canyon and discovered they have dismantled, running for the bushes, and now they cannot find any plans. They do not seem to have any notion at all about what to do about Medicare and Medicaid. They do not have a budget. They cannot bring it to the floor.

We do know this: They do have a tax-cut plan. It provides \$11,200 a year in tax cuts to families with over \$200,000 in income and it provides \$120 a year to families with under \$30,000 in income, and they call it middle class. Middle class on Rodeo Drive, I guess, but not middle class anywhere else in this country.

Most of us in this Chamber who want to deal with the deficit honestly want a budget and we want a budget that is real and does honest things. We want to cut Federal spending where we are spending too much. We want some additional revenues, to close some loopholes, and we want to reduce the Federal budget deficit. And we would like the majority party, while they are at it, while they bring the budget resolution to the floor, to jettison this tax cut and stop calling a tax cut for the wealthy a middle-class tax cut. It does not add up.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN pertaining to the introduction of S. 746 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

THE NEAS YEARS

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, tonight the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, one of the country's leading civil rights organizations, will take time to honor its executive director, Ralph Neas, as he leaves his position after a 14-year tenure. I would like to take a few moments to pay a brief tribute to this extraordinary individual, as he embarks on a new career after devoting the past 20-plus years to public service.

There is an old African proverb which says "God made the world round so we could not see too far down the road." I think it is fitting to mention that proverb here, as I first met Ralph Neas years ago, when we were both students at the University of Chicago Law School. I do not think that either of us could have imagined then that, some 20 years later, I would be a U.S. Senator saluting my former classmate as one of our Nation's foremost civil rights leaders. But I always knew that Ralph Neas would make a real difference, and I take great pride in his accomplishments, and I feel very lucky to be able to call him my friend.

Mr. President, when Ralph Neas finished law school, the world was his oyster. As one of the top graduates of the Chicago Law School, he could have been hired by any of the major law firms, and he could have made a great deal of money in the process. Instead, he chose to devote his life to public service. He joined the Congressional Research Service as a legislative attorney on civil rights, but was soon hired to a legislative assistant to Republican Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, eventually becoming the Senator's chief legislative adviser. He stayed with Senator Brooke until his defeat in 1978, at which time he accepted a job as chief legislative assistant to Senator Durenberger of Minnesota. It was shortly after accepting the job with Senator Durenberger that Ralph was stricken with Guillian-Barre syndrome. Within weeks of contracting the illness in February 1979, he had been placed on a respirator and was paralyzed from the neck down. For nearly 100 days, he lay in the hospital, kept alive by machines, unable to even speak. At one point, he was administered the last rites. When he recovered, he took an 8-month sabbatical, spending time touring Europe, drafting a book about his Guillian-Barre experience, and helping to establish the

Guillian-Barre Syndrome Foundation, now entitled the GBS Foundation International, which now has 15,000 members and 130 chapters throughout the world.

In the spring of 1981, Ralph was offered the job as executive director of the leadership conference. It was not the ideal time to take a job as head of a civil rights organization. The Republicans had just captured the presidency and control of the Senate, and many of Ralph's friends questioned why he would want to take such a demanding job after the experience he had endured. But as he stated later when asked about his decision:

I certainly had more than a few moments [while in the hospital] to think about my life. Here I just came through an experience where I had been a disabled individual, and here [I was offered] a job that dealt with equal opportunity for disabled people, and victims of discrimination. Whatever happened in 1979 was not only important but there were some reasons for it happening. I learned a lot of lessons and I took the job.

Given the fact that the majority of Ralph Neas' tenure at the leadership conference was spent under Republican Presidents and Republican Senates, it might be understandable if little was achieved. But the Neas years were actually among the most productive that the leadership conference has ever had, a fact that is a tribute to his leadership. Ralph Neas was able to reach out to individuals on both sides of the aisle, and truly make civil rights a bipartisan issue.

But you do not have to take my word for it, Mr. President. All you have to do is consider just a few of the civil rights victories that have been achieved during the Neas years. First and foremost, of course, is passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, a bill that overturned a series of Supreme Court decisions that made it harder for victims of discrimination to have their day in court. This legislation codified the "disparate impact" standard, allowing plaintiffs to present statistical evidence of the composition of a workplace in order to help prove their discrimination claims, and for the first time provided monetary damages to women, persons with disabilities, and certain religious minorities who were the victim of intentional job discrimination.

In addition, consider the passage of the Americans With Disabilities Act, one of the most significant and dramatic improvements in civil rights law in two decades. This bill extended civil rights protection in employment, transportation, communications, and public accommodations, and greatly improved the quality of life for 49 million Americans with disabilities. During the Neas years, the leadership conference played a critical role in defeating repeated attempts to weaken or repeal Executive Order 11246, the Federal Executive order on affirmative action. I could go on, Mr. President, for there

is no shortage of achievements—the Voting Rights Extension Act of 1982, the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988, the Japanese-American redress bill of 1988, the Civil Rights Restoration Act, et cetera, but I think these few examples are sufficient to illustrate what an extraordinary contribution that Ralph Neas has made to the civil rights of our Nation.

Tonight, countless individuals from the civil rights community, from the administration, and from Congress will gather to pay tribute to the remarkable leadership that Ralph Neas has provided the civil rights community, the U.S. Congress, and even the Nation during the last 14 years. This is not, however, a retirement. Ralph will continue his work in other ways, joining the Washington law firm of Fox, Bennett & Turner as counsel. While with the firm, he will establish an affiliate, the Neas group, that will provide strategic counseling to business and non-profit institutions. In addition, Ralph will serve as a visiting professor at Georgetown University Law Center, teaching a course on the legislative process. He will continue his work on the boards of the Guillain-Barre Syndrome Foundation International, the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, and the Children's Charities Foundation. I have no doubt that he will continue to provide those of us in the U.S. Senate with his invaluable advice and counsel, a fact for which I am grateful.

Mr. President, when Ralph Neas was hospitalized with Guillain-Barre so many years ago, a nun at the hospital gave him a needlepoint sampler which read "Nothing is so Full of Victory as Patience." I believe the real hallmark of his work has been the consistency and unwavering vigilance—the patience—he has brought to his efforts to assure the enforcement of laws guaranteeing equality of opportunity to all Americans. It is no exaggeration to say that millions of men and women of all races—who may never know you Ralph Neas by name—have benefited directly from his dedication and personal sacrifice in behalf of civil and human rights. He has made a positive, constructive difference for our Nation. I am pleased to have an opportunity on the floor here today, and at the dinner this evening, to celebrate his contributions. I know that I speak for many others in this body when I extend to him my thanks, and my best wishes for his new career.

I ask unanimous consent that a statement by Dr. Dorothy I. Height, the chairperson of the leadership conference, entitled "The Neas Years at the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights," be placed in the RECORD following my remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEAS YEARS

(By Dr. Dorothy I. Height)

Last summer, Ralph G. Neas announced that he would be leaving as Executive Director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR)* in the Spring of 1995. Much too soon that time has come. As Ralph completes his fourteen-year tenure at the helm of the Nation's oldest, largest, and most broadly-based coalition, it is an appropriate moment to reflect upon his extraordinary contributions to the cause of equal opportunity for all Americans and some of the reasons why he has earned his reputation as an effective leader, strategist, advocate, and coalition builder.

THE BIPARTISAN LEGISLATIVE SUCCESSES

Ralph Neas took over as Executive Director of the Leadership Conference, the legislative arm of the civil rights movement, on March 31, 1981, after eight years as a chief legislative assistant to Republican Senators Edward W. Brooke and Dave Durenberger. Ronald Reagan had just been sworn in as president. Senators Strom Thurmond and Orrin Hatch had just replaced Senators Edward Kennedy and Birch Bayh as chairs of the Senate Judiciary Committee and the Senate Subcommittee on the Constitution, respectively. The previous year, Senator Hatch had successfully filibustered to death the Leadership Conference's top legislative priority, the Fair Housing Act of 1980. Many feared that a similar fate awaited the Conference's top priority in the 97th Congress, the legislation to extend the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which was to be introduced in early April of 1981.

No small wonder then that many friends of Ralph, who just two years earlier had been totally paralyzed, on a respirator, and near death in a Minneapolis hospital room, told him that this was not their idea of a brilliant career move. But Ralph believed that his professional training in the Senate, where he had been the senior staffer on civil rights issues, and his bout with Guillain-Barre Syndrome, which had profoundly influenced his life, had prepared him for such a professional challenge.

The situation in the Spring of 1981 demanded bipartisanship, creativity, pragmatism, and leadership. Ralph and his LCCR colleagues showed an abundance of these qualities during the arduous eighteen month campaign to enact the 1982 Voting Rights Act Extension. Many people argued that the time for federal control over local voting processes had ended. But LCCR advocates demonstrated a continuing need and their efforts helped pass the extension by votes of 389 to 24 in the House of Representatives and 85 to 8 in the Senate, leaving President Reagan with no choice but to sign the historic measure into law. That law not only extended the Voting Rights Act for 25 years, but also extended the Act's bilingual assistance provisions and overturned a 1980 Supreme Court decision by reinstating the results standard in the Voting Rights Act.

The remarkable victory against great odds set the tone for the next fourteen years for LCCR. Indeed, the 1982 Voting Rights Act Extension campaign embodied several of Ralph's principal legislative theorems. Theorem number one is to always put together the strongest possible bipartisan bill that can be enacted into law. During the twelve years of the Reagan-Bush presidencies, that usually meant having at least two-thirds majorities in both Houses. Theorem number

two is that any successful national legislative campaign must effectively integrate grassroots, Washington lobbying, and media strategies. If one component is absent, the legislative campaign is likely to fail. And third, it is essential that the coalition always remains cohesive and united, never allowing adversaries to successfully use the tactics of divide and conquer. If these basic principles are understood, then one can comprehend the success of the 1982 Voting Rights Act Extension and the legislative victories that followed.

And there were many other LCCR legislative successes. No one could have predicted that more than two dozen LCCR legislative priorities would be enacted into law during Ralph's years at LCCR. In addition to the 1982 Voting Rights Act Extension, Ralph coordinated many of these legislative achievements for the Leadership Conference, including the:

Civil Rights Act of 1991—Overturned eight Supreme Court decisions which had made it much more difficult for victims of discrimination to get into court and to prove discrimination (the first time Congress has ever overturned more than one Supreme Court decision at one time). It also codified the "disparate impact" standard. And it provided for the first time monetary damages for women, persons with disabilities, and certain religious minorities who are victims of intentional job discrimination.

Americans with Disabilities Act (1990)—Perhaps the most significant and dramatic improvement in civil rights law in two decades. Provided civil rights protections in employment, transportation, communications, and public accommodations for the 49 million Americans with disabilities.

Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988—Provided for the first time an effective enforcement mechanism. Also prohibited discrimination against persons with disabilities and discrimination against families with children.

Japanese-American Redress Bill (1988)—Apologized to Japanese-Americans interned in prison camps in the United States during World War II and authorized \$20,000 to each of those who are alive.

Civil Rights Restoration Act—Congress overrode a presidential veto and overturned the 1984 Supreme Court Grove City decision. The Civil Rights Restoration Act restored the broad coverage of the four major civil rights laws that prohibit the federal funding of discrimination against minorities, women, persons with disabilities, and older Americans.

The final passage votes on all these laws averaged 85% of both the House and the Senate. In recognition of that extraordinary bipartisan success, Senator Edward Kennedy has called Ralph "the 101st Senator on Civil Rights."

Ralph also managed the successful campaigns to preserve the Executive Order on Affirmative Action in 1985-1986 and to defeat the Supreme Court nomination of Robert Bork. The Bork campaign was perhaps the most forceful statement of the determination of the coalition that the civil rights gains of three decades would not be rolled back.

Other LCCR legislative priorities enacted into law over the past fourteen years include the Family & Medical Leave Act, the Motor Voter Bill, the South African Sanctions Legislation, the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, the Voting Rights Language Assistance Act of 1982, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1994 (including Chapter One reform), the Martin Luther King Holiday Act, three disability measures which overturned Supreme Court decisions, the Age

*On May 3rd, at its Annual Dinner to be held at the Hyatt Regency on Capitol Hill, the Leadership Conference will be celebrating its 45th Anniversary and presenting its Hubert H. Humphrey Civil Rights Award to Ralph G. Neas.

Discrimination in Employment Claims Assistance Act, the Gender Equity in Education Act, the Voting Accessibility for Disabled and Senior Citizens Act, the 1989 Minimum Wage Increase, the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, and key provisions of the Economic Equity Act.

Without question, the past decade and a half has been, legislatively, a bipartisan reaffirmation of civil rights laws and a bipartisan repudiation of the right-wing legal philosophy. Indeed, the right wing did not enact one major item on its regressive civil rights agenda during that time. The LCCR victories are even more remarkable when one considers that during this time two branches of government were hostile to civil rights.

While the civil rights coalition and its congressional allies achieved considerable success, there was a serious downside to the Reagan-Bush years. We had to refight the civil rights battles that had been won during the 1960's and the 1970's. While these battles were won once again, Congress, the civil rights community, and the Nation had to devote an inordinate amount of time, energy and resources in waging these rearguard actions. Consequently, while the legal achievements of the past 30 years were preserved and in a number of instances, strengthened, the Nation by and large was unable to address the unfinished agenda of the civil rights movement—the quest for social and economic justice.

For years, Ralph and his LCCR colleagues have been advocating that economic justice must be the civil rights coalition's top priority. Our legislative efforts should focus primarily on such issues as health care; affordable housing; economic security, especially for women and children; child care; Head Start and other early educational opportunities; employment opportunity, including job creation and job training; and economic empowerment issues. Regrettably, just as this economic opportunity agenda seemed to be moving to the front of the legislative line, once again we may have to devote our energies to resisting efforts to dismantle the legislative achievements of the past several decades.

While the battles will be hard fought, I remain confident that LCCR and its allies will once again defeat the efforts of the right wing, whether the issue be affirmative action or the economic security net for millions of Americans. Indeed, the same type of bipartisanship, creativity, and pragmatism that characterized our efforts in the 1980's and early 1990's will lead us to victory in the last half of the 1990's.

THE EXPLOSIVE INSTITUTIONAL GROWTH OF THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

While the legislative successes are critically important, it is also important to point out the institutional successes as well. The fourteen years Ralph has spent managing LCCR have been characterized by explosive growth. The budget of the Leadership Conference has grown seven-fold since 1981. And the Leadership Conference, always the Nation's largest coalition, has added more than 50 new national organizations, during this time. Some of the new members are the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), the Association of Junior Leagues, the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, the American Association of University Women, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Service Employees International Union, the Congress of National Black Churches, the American Nurses Association, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Families USA, the National PTA, People For The American Way, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the Human Rights Campaign Fund, Citizen Ac-

tion, and the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium. There are now 180 national organizations, with memberships totaling more than 50 million Americans, who belong to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

Such institutional growth has meant also the expansion of LCCR priorities. In addition to minority, gender, religious, and age issues, the Leadership Conference has forged a consensus on disability and gay and lesbian civil rights issues. The exceptional growth of the coalition, while generating new challenges, has made the Leadership Conference stronger and even more effective.

Throughout the years, Ralph has masterfully maintained unity among the diverse elements of the LCCR coalition. And through his work in LCCR, on Capitol Hill, with the Executive Branch, and with the business community, Ralph has earned respect for his ability to build bridges between disparate communities of interest and across the spectrum of political ideologies.

Ralph has also managed the Leadership Conference Education Fund (LCEF), an independent organization that supports educational activities relevant to civil rights. Along with Karen McGill Arrington, LCEF's Deputy Director, he has supervised projects such as an award winning public service advertising campaign promoting tolerance and diversity; a children's anti-discrimination campaign; and the publication of books and reports on emerging civil rights issues.

RALPH'S NEW CAREER

To say the least, things have not slowed down during Ralph's final months as LCCR's Executive Director. He was a key strategist in the successful effort to defeat the Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment. Presently, he is coordinating the campaign to save affirmative action. In addition, Ralph is lecturing one day per week on the legislative process at the University of Chicago Law School.

In May, Ralph will embark on a new phase of his professional life. He will join the Washington law firm of Fox, Bennett, and Turner, where he will be Of Counsel. At the law firm, he will set up an affiliate, The Neas Group, which will provide strategic counseling to business and non-profit institutions. In addition, Ralph will be a Visiting Professor on a part-time basis at the Georgetown University Law Center where he will teach courses on the legislative process.

Among the boards on which he will continue to serve are the Guillain-Barré Syndrome Foundation International, the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, and the Children's Charities Foundation.

On behalf of everyone in the Leadership Conference, I want to express our deepest gratitude to Ralph and wish him well in all his new endeavors. We will miss the personal qualities that made Ralph so effective in his job—his cheerfulness and optimism even when facing great challenges, his patience in working with people to resolve differences within the coalition, and the respect he accorded to everyone's point of view. But we know that there will be many opportunities to work with him as we confront the challenges ahead of us. There is no question in my mind that Ralph will continue to be one of the drum majors for justice.

TRIBUTE TO FORMER SENATOR JOHN C. STENNIS

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I would like to add my voice to those which have already lamented the passing of our dear former colleague from Mississippi, John Stennis. About 25 of us

went down to Mississippi last week to his funeral to say goodbye to one of the true giants in the history of this institution.

I recall about 10 years ago, some Senators, including myself, went to Senator Stennis' hometown of De Kalb, MS, where the people of De Kalb and surrounding areas had gathered to help celebrate his birthday. There was a great outpouring of love and genuine affection from friends and neighbors who had known him, his father, and others before him. No one really knows an individual in the same way that the people of his hometown do, and you could see that as they came together that day. There was an authentic feeling of closeness and friendship.

De Kalb is a small community, probably smaller than the one I come from. The people there—the salt of the earth—knew their favorite son, John Stennis, for his character and integrity. The great outpouring of affection which was on display that day was the best evidence anyone ever needed of his graciousness, honesty, decency, and dedication to principle. All of us there could see that he stood very tall with those who knew him best.

John Stennis and I had much in common, both of us from southern families that go back for many generations. I used to enjoy the stories he would tell about his early years and how his father would raise cotton, transport it over to Alabama, and ship it down the river to Mobile. We were both judges at one time, which gave us a unique perspective on government, individuals, and human nature in general.

John Cornelius Stennis was born on August 3, 1901, in Kemper County, in the red clay hills of eastern Mississippi. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa from what is now Mississippi State University in 1923 and 4 years later, received his law degree from the University of Virginia. Just 1 year later, he was elected to the Mississippi Legislature. He later went on to serve as a district prosecuting attorney and circuit judge.

After 10 years on the bench, he ran in 1947 for the Senate seat held by the flamboyant Senator Theodore G. Bilbo and was elected over five opponents in November. His campaign theme was "I want to plow a straight furrow right down to the end of my row," and that philosophy guided the rest of his career in public service.

Until his last campaign, in 1982, he was never seriously challenged for reelection. Even then, facing future Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour, then only 34, he won by a 2-to-1 margin.

In his early days in the Senate, John would work 16 hours a day, staying in the Senate until it adjourned and then studying in the Library of Congress. He was meticulous in his work, someone who would go over something again and again until he finally mastered its complexities. He was a commanding