

State toward Wallace at that time and expressed his opinion that I could win such a race. One of the motivating reasons that caused me to give serious consideration to the race was that I felt that Alabama should be represented by a senator who believed in the improvement of race relations and progress in the area of civil rights.

I met with Senator Sparkman in Washington, and he told me about how he had entered his first race for Congress. Archie Carmichael was then the Congressman from Senator Sparkman's district, and Sparkman had been his campaign manager when he was elected. Congressman Carmichael did not enjoy being a Congressman, only serving two terms. He called John Sparkman to Washington and told him that he ought to get ready to run for his congressional seat; that he had not made up his mind yet, but that there was a strong possibility that he would not offer himself for reelection and that Mr. Sparkman should get ready to run in the event he did not seek his congressional seat again. He said to me, "I am telling you that story because I think you ought to get ready to run for the Senate against Wallace." I thanked him and told him I would follow his advice. I also relayed to him that Congressman Archie Carmichael was my wife's grandfather. Sparkman said he knew that and that was one of the reasons he wanted to tell me the story.

A few weeks later, Senator Sparkman announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection, and I announced the next day that I would be a candidate for John Sparkman's seat in the U.S. Senate.

My race against George Wallace was heated for several months. And then, while speaking to the Alabama League of Municipalities Convention in Mobile, he announced his withdrawal from the Senate race, giving no reason for his decision. In advance of his announcement, I was told of several polls that showed I had pulled ahead of Wallace, including a poll conducted by the Wallace campaign itself.

I attracted other opponents, but won in a run-off race against Congressman Walter Flowers by a 2-to-1 margin.

As I think back over the reasons I entered the race for the U.S. Senate, certainly the issue of racial progress in Alabama was a motivating factor, and I was fearful that if George Wallace was in the Senate, it could deter needed changes in the civil rights laws.

In 1982, he ran again successfully for Governor. His last administration was one in which race relations were far more harmonious than they had been in his previous terms in office, with Wallace appointing a number of blacks to key positions in his administration. He publicly stated that his segregation stand had been wrong. At a recent meeting of southern black Democratic leaders in Atlanta, Dr. Joe Reed, head of the Alabama Democratic Conference, said I was the first U.S. Sen-

ator from Alabama who believed in civil rights and who took positive steps to advance the individual rights of all persons.

Mr. President, despite all the progress in race relations and civil rights over the years, there is still much to be done. Our work remains unfinished, as the church burnings illustrate. When I reflect on these horrifying arsons and the death of Judge Bob Vance just a few years ago, I am again reminded of just how much remains to be done.

Perhaps it is unrealistic to believe that we can ever have a truly color-blind society. As long as fear, ignorance, and emotion guide some peoples' thinking, there will be prejudice and bigotry. But we can look at the great progress we have made—just in the 18 years since I came to the Senate—and say that we are doing better.

Members might differ on their approaches to civil rights issues. These approaches will take on different forms based on the region of the country we come from, our personal philosophical beliefs, and our political parties. My approach has been to do as much as possible in the public arena to advance opportunity and justice. At times, this has meant working behind the scenes to secure progressive judicial nominations, to craft compromise legislation that could pass and be signed into law, and working with both sides of an issue to cool passions and promote harmony. At other times, it has meant taking strong symbolic stands aimed at education and putting the past behind us, such as the case with the United Daughters of the Confederacy issue.

Regardless of what approach we take as leaders, it is our duty to work in every way we possibly can to see that each and every American citizen enjoys the same liberty, freedom, and equality of opportunity as all others. The fulfillment of the promise of the Constitution demands that we always remain diligent in fulfilling this responsibility.

THE PARTIAL BIRTH ABORTION BAN ACT, H.R. 1833

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I supported passage of the bill to ban partial birth abortions when it was approved by the Senate on December 7 and I voted last week to override the President's veto of this measure.

My position on abortion issues is clear. I have consistently stated that I would not support overturning the Supreme Court's decision in *Roe versus Wade*. I support a woman's right to have an abortion. I do not think we should turn back the clock 25 years and make abortion illegal, but we should work in every way to reduce the number of abortions that are performed. I have also cast votes here in Congress to oppose using Federal funds to pay for abortions except in cases of life endangerment, rape, or incest.

The Senate's vote last week was on whether to override the President's

veto of legislation which would prohibit a physician from performing a partial-birth abortion, a procedure in which a fetus is delivered into the birth canal before its skull is collapsed and delivery is completed. This legislation contains a provision which would make an exception for partial-birth abortions that are necessary to save the life of the mother in cases in which no other medical procedure would suffice.

I simply cannot justify the use of this procedure to terminate pregnancies in which the mother's life is not at stake. For this reason, I voted to override the President's veto and to support the ban on partial-birth abortions.

OMNIBUS APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, yesterday I was one of a handful of Members of the Senate to vote against the FY97 omnibus appropriations bill.

This was a difficult vote and I have mixed feeling about passage of this bill.

While I am pleased a Government shutdown was avoided, I am disappointed in the way the process was handled.

Various measures that warranted separate consideration, ranging from the immigration bill, to amendments to the age discrimination law to banking legislation, were wrapped into this massive bill. The measure was hundreds of pages long, and few Members of either body were fully aware of the wide range of items shoved into this must-pass bill at the 11 hour. It has been pointed out by a Member of the other body that you could get a double hernia just trying to lift this omnibus spending bill.

I predict that over the course of the next several weeks, there will be many surprises discovered in the package. Some of the special interest pork provisions are buried deep within the various titles, as well as policy changes that should have been debated in public and voted on without the pressure to keep the government running.

Moreover, although we succeeded in avoiding a massive new tax cut that would have set us backward on the road to deficit reduction, this omnibus spending bill represents a missed opportunity to cut Government waste and stop the unnecessary spending. The fact that this bill was loaded up with special spending provisions for individual Members indicates that it is business as usual in Congress when it comes to spending Federal dollars. While we have made significant progress in reducing the Federal deficit, much of that work was done in the last Congress and we missed the opportunity in the 104th Congress to finish the job and truly get the Federal budget into balance.

This bill adds a whopping \$9 billion in deficit spending for defense systems above what Department of Defense requested. When all of the fiscal year 1997