

agencies may not have the resources to oversee every polling location. Citizens who witness voting fraud or voting rights abuses may not know where to report a possible violation of law. A toll-free hotline would give citizens a means to help prevent voting fraud and voting rights abuses and would give States the information they need to prosecute violations and implement procedures to prevent further violations.

The Indiana Bipartisan Task Force on Election Integrity recently issued a report developed through months of research and with the input of election officials, voter advocates, and citizens of the State. While the State of Indiana already has implemented many measures that will enhance the integrity of elections, the Task Force recommended additional reforms for that purpose, including the development of a toll-free telephone hotline to be used by voters who believe they have witnessed a voting irregularity or voting rights abuse.

I believe that other States may wish to establish such hotlines, and I believe the hotlines could be an important tool in improving election accuracy, fairness, and legality. For these reasons, I ask my colleagues to support this amendment.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to a period of morning business and that Senators be recognized to speak for a time not to exceed 10 minutes.

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

CELEBRATING BLACK HISTORY MONTH 2002 BY COMMEMORATING AND CONTINUING THE WORK OF GREAT AFRICAN-AMERICANS

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, Willie Morris was one of the great under-recognized American writers of the 20th century. He grew up in Yazoo City, MS—population 12,000—where he learned to tell stories by listening to old Black men who sat in the shade and whittled. He said their eye for detail helped him to see things he otherwise would have missed. At 34, Willie Morris became the youngest-ever editor of America's oldest magazine, "Harper's Weekly." He wrote candidly about race long before most other white writers.

Three years ago, Willie Morris died at the age of 64, leaving behind 19 books, many of them best-sellers. Like all great writers, a part of Willie Morris continues to live on in his words. But there is another part of him that lives on as well. You see, before he died, Willie Morris decided to donate his eyes in order to give someone else a chance to see. As it turned out, his corneas went to two different men, neither of whom he had ever met. One was black, one was white. His friends say he would have loved the irony of his

gift: that a man who helped us see the world a little more clearly during his life is still helping people see after his death.

America has changed since Willie Morris was a boy listening to the stories of those old men. We no longer accept legal discrimination. We no longer permit poll taxes to bar African-Americans from voting. We no longer tolerate "separate but equal" schools or water fountains or lunch counters. We have made considerable progress—due, in large part, to courageous African-American leaders including Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, Thurgood Marshall, and John Lewis. During Black History Month, we honor those leaders and all of the other extraordinary African-Americans who have contributed so greatly to our nation—heroes like Crispus Attucks, who died at the Boston Massacre; Salem Poor, who fought at Bunker Hill and survived that brutal winter at Valley Forge; Harriet Tubman, the Underground Railroad "conductor" who rescued hundreds of people from slavery, served during the Civil War as a Union cook, spy, scout and nurse and was buried with full military honors.

We honor the Tuskegee Airmen, the first African-Americans ever to fly combat aircraft and one of the most decorated fighter squadrons in our nation's history, who fought Nazism in Europe—and racism when they returned home; and Secretary of State Colin Powell, the first African-American to serve as Chairman of America's Joint Chiefs of Staff.

We honor great scientists, including George Washington Carver and Benjamin Banneker, the mathematician and astronomer and the first African-American to receive a Presidential appointment—from Thomas Jefferson. We also honor great orators and champions of human rights, including Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth and Barbara Jordan; great educators, such as Mary McLeod Bethune and Booker T. Washington; and great artists, including Marian Anderson, the first African-American soloist to sing with the Metropolitan Opera in New York, Zora Neale Hurston, the novelist and Langston Hughes, "the poet laureate of Harlem."

This month, as the world watches the Olympic Games in Salt Lake City, we also honor extraordinary earlier Olympians like Jesse Owens, who shattered the myth of Aryan supremacy by winning four gold medals at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin; and Wilma Rudolph, the first African-American woman to win three Olympic gold medals, in 1960. We also honor other great athletes including Jackie Robinson, the first African-American to play Major League baseball; and Arthur Ashe, champion of tennis and human rights.

We remember exceptional leaders such as W.E.B. DuBois, one of the founders of the NAACP; A. Philip Randolph, the former vice president of the AFL-CIO and founder of the first Afri-

can-American trade union; and Ralph Bunche, diplomat, Under Secretary General of the U.N., and the first Black person from any nation ever to win the Nobel Peace Prize. And we honor the countless other African-Americans who changed our nation for the better simply by having the courage to say no to indignity and injustice in their own lives.

The stories of African Americans are the missing chapter in America's history books. If we don't know them, we cannot truly know ourselves.

But it's not enough just to celebrate their work. Especially this year, we must continue their work.

To the terrorists who attacked us on September 11, the America Martin Luther King described—an America built on equality, justice, freedom and human dignity for every person—is not a dream. It is a nightmare. By attacking us, the terrorists thought they could destroy our dream. But they were wrong. Instead of turning on each other in the wake of the attacks, as the terrorists had expected, Americans turned to each other. We came together in ways that most of us had never seen in our lifetimes. We were truly one people, indivisible.

Those of us who work in this building, and people all over the world who look to this Capitol as a symbol of democracy, are incredibly fortunate that another chapter in African-American history was written last fall. Just five days before September 11, former Army Major General Al Lenhardt became this Senate's Sergeant at Arms, the first African-American ever to serve as an elected officer in either the House or the Senate. I know I speak for all of us when I say how grateful we are to him for seeing us safely through September 11 and the anthrax attack.

We are also proud of our men and women in uniform, who are now bringing justice to the killers of September 11. What they are doing is right and necessary. But it is not the only way we can honor the nearly 3,000 innocents who died in New York, at the Pentagon and in western Pennsylvania. We can defy the killers right here at home—by keeping Martin Luther King's dream alive, and strengthening the democracy the terrorists sought to destroy.

We can start this month by strengthening our election system so that we never again experience an election like we did in 2000, when millions of votes went uncounted, especially those of African-Americans. We have an extraordinary opportunity. Senators DODD, MCCONNELL and BOND have given us a good, truly bipartisan election reform bill that requires states to meet uniform, nondiscriminatory voting standards, and provides the resources they need to do so. That bill is on the Senate floor now. I hope we will pass it this week with overwhelming support. If we are a democracy in fact as well as in name, the right to vote and to have that vote count must not be compromised.

The income gap between Blacks and whites in America is narrower today than it has ever been. But it is still too wide. We can do better. Last week, we voted to provide an additional 13 weeks of benefits to laid-off workers who have exhausted their unemployment benefits.

I hope we can still find a way to expand unemployment insurance coverage to part-time workers and recent hires—a disproportionate number of whom are African-American—and to help all laid-off workers maintain their health benefits.

Let's also raise the minimum wage. It's been five years since the last increase. The purchasing power of the minimum wage is now the lowest it's been in more than 30 years. And a full-time minimum wage income won't get you over the poverty line. We can do better.

Nothing has more power than education to move us from separate to equal. Yet today, nearly half-a-century after *Brown v. Board of Education*, most minority students still attend schools that are predominantly minority. Their class sizes, on average, are larger, their books are older, their lessons are less challenging and their teachers have less training in the subjects they teach. Last year, we passed a promising, bipartisan school reform act. This year, let's work together to make sure that "Leave No Child Behind" is a promise kept, not a dream deferred. Our goal should be to make sure that every child in America comes to school ready to learn and leaves school ready to succeed.

If we learned anything from the terrible ordeal of September 11, it is that we cannot tolerate acts of hatred and discrimination. Make no mistake about it: Chaining a man to the back of a pickup truck and dragging him to his death for no reason other than the color of his skin is an act of terrorism. And while James' Byrd's death may be the best-known racially motivated hate crime in recent years, it is not the only such crime. A hate crime scars this country every hour and 10 minutes of every day, 365 days a year. In the last Congress, the Senate passed a bipartisan bill strengthening federal protections against hate crimes only to see it die in conference with the House. We need to pass it again this year. And this time, let's make sure it becomes law. We came together on September 11. If we are to stay together, we must stand against every form of bigotry and hatred.

Finally, we know that protecting rights in law is only half the battle. We also need a judiciary that protects our rights in court. As Senators, we have a special obligation to ensure that the men and women who are nominated for lifetime positions on the federal bench or the Supreme Court will protect the basic rights for which so many Americans, from Crispus Attucks on down through the years, have given their lives. Let us honor that obligation this

month and every month we are privileged to be here.

We don't need Willie Morris' eyes to see how far America has come on civil rights since he was a boy. We also don't need Willie Morris' eyes to see that there is still a gap between the America we are and the America we can be. We all see those things. Our challenge today is to envision ways to close that gap, and then to transform that vision into law. In doing that, we will honor African-Americans and every American of every race and creed who died on September 11.

I yield the floor.

IMPRESSIVE STEPS TAKEN AGAINST THE WAR ON TERRORISM

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have sought recognition to comment about our war against terrorism and about the recent statements made by Administration officials concerning possible actions toward Iraq.

At the outset, I compliment President Bush and the Administration for the very effective steps taken on the war against terrorism. We have seen the response to the disastrous, tragic, horrendous events of September 11, with the military moving in, doing in Afghanistan what the Soviets could not do, and doing what the British could not do much earlier. We are well on our way, having defeated the Taliban and al-Qaida; very impressive steps taken in the war against terrorism. The President has done an outstanding job on leadership on this critical issue.

There have been comments recently about the possibility of action against Iraq, and that may well be warranted. On this state of the record, it is my thinking there are quite a number of serious questions which have to be answered. We need to know, with some greater precision, the threat posed by Saddam Hussein with respect to weapons of mass destruction. There is solid evidence about Saddam Hussein having chemical weapons, substantial evidence on biological weapons, and some questions about nuclear weapons. However, there really ought to be a comprehensive analysis as to the precise nature of Saddam Hussein's threat.

Iraq is on the record as having supported terrorism, and it seems to me there ought to be an elaboration as to the terrorist activities which are attributable to Iraq. If there is to be military action, we ought to have a full statement as to Iraq's violations of UN inspections. We know that the UN inspectors have been ousted, but here again, this is an issue where more information is necessary for the Congress and, in my view, for the American people. There also has to be an analysis of what the costs would be, some appraisal in terms of casualties, depending upon the nature of the contemplated action.

Then there is the issue as to what happens after Saddam Hussein is top-

pled. There is no doubt about the desirability of toppling Saddam Hussein. By twenty-twenty hindsight, perhaps it is regrettable the United States and its allies did not move on Baghdad in 1991. That, obviously, is water over the dam. There were many factors to be considered including the unwillingness of our allies at that time to move. The U.S. had success against Iraq in 1991, but toppling Saddam Hussein was an action that was obviously not taken.

There have been statements by the President in identifying the axis of evil as Iran, Iraq, and North Korea. The President has stated if we do not have the cooperation of our allies we will act alone, and I think there is a solid basis for the President to say that and for the President to give serious consideration to acting alone.

We know there were many danger signals as to Osama bin Laden and al-Qaida. We know that bin Laden was under indictment for murdering Americans in Mogadishu in 1993. He was under indictment for murdering Americans and others in the embassy attacks in 1998. He was implicated in the terrorism against the USS Cole. He pledged a worldwide "jihad" against the United States. There was substantial authority under international law for what had transpired for the United States to act.

What we have seen in modern times is in effect a non-determination of guilt and action against terrorism as a matter of self-defense recognized under international law. When President Reagan acted against Muammar Qadhafi in April of 1986, that was in effect a non-determination of guilt, and we moved in self-defense against Qadhafi. When President Clinton dispatched missiles to Afghanistan in August of 1998—again, a non-judicial determination of guilt. There would have been total justification for the United States moving against al-Qaida and Osama bin Laden in advance of September 11. That experience suggests we have to make a careful analysis, a calculated analysis of the risks.

It may well be justified as a matter of self-defense to act, and act against Saddam Hussein and Iraq. As we know by twenty-twenty hindsight, the vision is very clear. We know in twenty-twenty hindsight that it would have been wise to have acted against Osama bin Laden and al-Qaida before September 11.

The statements reported from Secretary Colin Powell yesterday, in testifying before the Senate Budget Committee, are worth noting with particularity. Secretary Powell was quoted as saying: "With respect to Iraq, it has long been for several years now a policy of the U.S. Government that regime change would be in the best interests of the region, the best interests of the Iraqi people." Secretary Powell also said: "With respect to Iran and with respect to North Korea, there is no plan to start a war with these nations."