

In order for our Nation to reach the promised land Dr. King referenced, we must see a racial understanding, a racial reconciliation. We are still working at it and we still have a ways to go. We need to do it through education, through cooperation, through communication, and we need to do it every way we can.

For several years now, several of us have been working together—I have particularly worked with Congressman JOHN LEWIS on the House side to create a national museum of African-American history and culture on The Mall here in Washington—in our front yard. I am proud to say that I have had the support of many Members of this Chamber on this issue, including Senators SESSIONS, SPECTER, DODD, and CLINTON.

I am confident that when the Presidential commission, which we created, submits their report on the creation of this much needed piece of American history, this body will vote to create this museum—a museum that not only means a great deal to African Americans, but to this whole Nation as well.

I don't pretend that the creation of a museum will be a cure-all for racial reconciliation. It is, however, an important and, I think, a very productive step toward healing our Nation's racial wounds. I hope it can be a museum of reconciliation at the end of the day, and that we will be expanding on Dr. King's philosophy of understanding the plight of one another through education.

As we celebrate the life and legacy of one of our greatest national leaders, we need to return to those basic values which Dr. King promoted. His values are work, family, charity for our fellow man, and, most importantly, the recognition of a higher moral authority, which empowered his life so much.

I had the opportunity last year to meet in Atlanta with Dr. King's wife, Coretta Scott King. She brought up again that point of view that empowered him, which was the power of faith that was evident in all that he did. Only through those qualities he expressed and lived by will we become a nation truly worthy of Dr. King's legacy.

According to Dr. King, I will quote again:

The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but at times of challenge and controversy. A true neighbor will risk his position, his prestige, and even his life for the welfare of others. Indeed Dr. King exemplified those qualities in his life, and I invite all of my colleagues to join me in continuing this legacy.

We will be introducing—probably within a month—the bill on the national African American museum. I hope my colleagues will join us in supporting this. I think it is going to be an important statement. We have tried now for some 73 years to get this sort of museum—I have not personally, but a number of groups have. It is time that this happens in order to tell the

difficulties, trials, tribulations, and triumphs of the African-American people. It is my hope that through this understanding we will start to improve and create bonds and a racial reconciliation in our land.

Madam President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

NATURAL DISASTERS IN NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, I rise to talk about a matter that is of urgent concern to the people I represent in the State of North Dakota, where we have been hit by a series of natural disasters, both drought and flood.

In northeastern North Dakota, we have had nearly a decade of overly wet conditions and, as a result, very severe crop damage, a dramatic loss in production. Ironically, in the other corner of the State, the southwestern corner, we have had the most severe drought since the 1930s. This combination has been a devastating blow to producers in my State, as it has been to producers in Montana, where they have suffered from terrible drought. Right down the core of the country, State after State has experienced overly dry conditions. On the other hand, States to our east have experienced overly wet conditions, with dramatic crop losses, and substantial damage to the economy as a result.

In the last farm bill, we passed in the Senate on a bipartisan basis a disaster relief package. When we went to conference with the House of Representatives, we were told there were two things that could not be negotiated. One was opening up Cuba to trade. The second was disaster assistance. We were told that both had to go to the Speaker of the House. When the Speaker of the House was contacted, he said that the answer on both of those questions—opening up Cuba for trade and disaster assistance—was a firm no.

The administration, in open session in the conference committee, indicated they would not support disaster assistance.

Madam President, we now come to this juncture, and we have another opportunity to respond to the extraordinary natural disasters that have been felt in various parts of the country. And the question is: What do we do? Some have suggested in this legislation an across-the-board cut of 1.6 percent in all domestic programs, and then to take some of that money and give a bonus payment to all farmers, whether they have been hit by natural disaster or not.

As much as I would like to see a bonus payment to all farmers, I really do not think it can be justified before we provide a disaster program for those who have been hit by natural disasters.

The hard reality is that this is something we have always done, whether it was floods in other parts of the country—Missouri—or hurricanes in Florida or earthquakes in California. Every year I have been here, 16 years, we have responded to natural disasters. Last year, for the first time ever, we failed. There was no program to respond to natural disasters.

I do not think we are going to look very good to the American people or very responsive to those who have suffered from natural disasters if our answer is to cut programs across the board and give a bonus to all farmers whether they suffered from natural disaster or not. I just do not think that can be defended. I believe such an approach is going to create very hard feelings, and I do not think it is fair.

The drought we are experiencing in southwestern North Dakota has now crept across the State. We just received the latest information from the U.S. Drought Monitor. It shows that the drought is now covering virtually all of our State and, of course, it shows the terrible and prolonged drought to our west in Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and down into Arizona. This is a drought that is expanding, that is growing, and that is devastating everything in its wake. That has to be responded to, and always before, we have had a program of natural disaster assistance.

Some have said: Just take it out of the farm bill. There are no provisions for disaster assistance in the farm bill. The administration opposed it. It is not there.

Some say it is not fiscally responsible to have a program of natural disaster assistance. We have never taken that position in the whole 16 years I have been here. We have helped every part of the country that suffered from natural disaster. Every year, we have helped those who have been hurt. I do not think we should do any less this year.

The fact is, I wrote the Congressional Budget Office and asked them: What are the savings in the farm bill because of these disasters? They wrote back to me and said: Senator, the savings, because of these natural disasters, are approaching \$6 billion this year. Why? If you have natural disasters, you have less production; less production, higher prices; higher prices, lower farm program payments.

The distinguished occupant of the chair is married to a gentleman with whom I served for many years. Senator Dole, the former Republican leader, represented Kansas in the Senate. He and I worked together many times on disaster assistance in the Agriculture Committee and on the floor of the Senate. Whether it was a problem in Kansas or a problem in North Dakota or a

problem outside of our States, we sought to be responsive to those who suffered from natural disaster, and I believe we should do that again.

The proposal in this appropriations bill was not done in consultation with the Agriculture Committee members, and it borders on bizarre. I do not know how else to say it. To cut every other domestic program by 1.6 percent and then give a bonus payment to every farmer, whether they have suffered losses or not, whether they have had natural disaster or not, I do not think can be justified.

We just passed a farm bill. I fought very hard for it. It is a good farm bill. It is not perfect, but it is a good farm bill, substantially stronger than the previous farm bill. For us to cut every other program 1.6 percent and give a bonus payment to every farmer in the country whether they suffered from a disaster or not, I do not think can be justified, I do not think can be supported.

Sign me up to give help to those who have suffered a natural disaster. Whether it is in the State of Kentucky, the State of North Carolina, the State of New Mexico, the States of North or South Dakota, Montana, or Colorado, we ought to have a disaster package, disaster assistance for those suffering from disaster. We should not cut everybody else and give bonus payments to those who have had no disaster.

How can that be justified? What are we going to do, cut law enforcement to give bonus payments to those who had no disaster? I do not believe that will be sustained. I do not believe that will be carried through the process. I do not believe the President of the United States would sign such legislation. Most of all, it is not right.

Let's take the resources that are available, the substantial savings that are in the farm bill because of these disasters. Because we had natural disasters, there is less production; as a result of that, there were higher prices; as a result of that, there were lower farm program payments to the tune of \$6 billion, maybe more. The CBO is about to release new estimates. They may show even greater savings. I think a portion of those savings ought to be allocated to help those who suffered from natural disasters, and goodness knows those losses were widespread in 2002.

I conclude by asking my colleagues to think carefully about the precedent we are setting because always before, when others suffered natural disaster, we responded. We ought to do no less now.

Mr. SARBANES. Madam President, it is appropriate that, on the eve of the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday, I rise today to pay tribute to a great Marylander and civil rights leader in his own right, former Baltimore Mayor Clarence "Du" Burns.

From humble beginnings in East Baltimore, Du Burns began a lifetime of public service and great accomplish-

ments, eventually becoming the first African-American mayor of Baltimore. Born on September 13, 1918, in East Baltimore, Du attended Frederick Douglas High School and the Larry London School of Music, where he developed a love of jazz that would stay with him through his lifetime. At the age of 21, he married Edith Phillips, and soon thereafter joined the United States Army Air Corps. Du served in the Air Corps for 3 years before returning to Baltimore and embarking on a long career of service to the city.

For 20 years, Du Burns worked at Paul Laurence Dunbar High School as a recreational and youth hygiene counselor. In 1971, he first entered the political arena, serving as 2nd district councilman from 1971 until 1982, and later became both Vice President and the first African-American President of the city council. Then, on January 26, 1987, Du was sworn in to complete the term of Governor William Donald Schaefer, becoming the 45th mayor of Baltimore and the first African-American mayor in the history of the city.

This simple list of Du's career positions does not come close to expressing all he accomplished and all he meant to Baltimore. Du Burns got his nickname because he was always "doing" things for others. He made his life's work the improvement of our city, particularly those areas that others had written off as beyond help. Among his many accomplishments were the creation of the new Dunbar High School Complex; the East Baltimore Medical Plan, the first community-based HMO in the Nation; and Ashland Mews, a 372 town home community for first time homeowners. Du was one of the founding members and later a long-time chairman of the board of the East Baltimore Corporation, a nonprofit organization that provides substance abuse services, job training and placement, and numerous other services to people that desperately needed assistance in order to revitalize the community. Du likewise was a founder and chairman of the Eastside Democratic Organization. But most central in his life was his family and his church. Du was an active member of the St. Francis Xavier Roman Catholic Church for 45 years, and devoted to his wife Edith, daughter Cheryl, granddaughter, and extended family.

Like Dr. King, Du Burns serves as an example that one person can move mountains and change the world for the better with selfless service to the community. I was privileged to attend the funeral mass for Du yesterday, which was a touching celebration of his life and legacy. I think the homily given by Father Edward Miller at that service was a wonderful tribute to the spirit that guided his life, and which we should all strive to emulate. In honor of Du Burns, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of that homily now be printed in the RECORD.

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

EULOGY FOR CLARENCE "DU" BURNS

(By Father Edward Miller)

Extraordinary people are ordinary people, who allow God's Amazing Grace to touch them and transform them.

Extraordinary people are ordinary people, who, if you hinted that they were extraordinary, would deny it, with all Christian Honesty and Humility.

Extraordinary people are ordinary people, who, are graceful in life's victories, and gracious in life's defeats, because they know the God who makes the sun to shine on the just and unjust, the rain to fall on the good and not so good.

Extraordinary people are ordinary people, who, when they are 'the first' to do something, simply say that somebody had to be first, but then look out for those who come after them, knowing that "if I can help somebody . . ."

This morning we come in faith to commend the soul of our brother in the Lord, and an extraordinary man, Clarence Du Burns, to Almighty God.

I'll bet even God calls him Du.

When I went to the hospital to give him the Last Rites of our Catholic Church, his much loved grandchild Lisa, trying to wake him up, kept calling in his ear, "Du - Du - Du - wake up!"

Now, I come from the old school, and cannot ever imagine calling either of my grandfathers John.

But I am sure that Du would have had it no other way!

He was proud of that name! And he will probably be the only Baltimorean to ever carry it. He got it the old fashioned way: he earned it.

When you speak it, and we had better tell his story to our children and children's children, speak his name with reverence, and with respect.

Du Burns embodied what was good about politics, what was good about life, what was good about Baltimore, the city he loved.

He loved his country, which he served for 4 years in the army.

He loved his Catholic Faith, and as a convert to Catholicism 45 years ago, was a member of St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church, itself a first, the first African American Catholic Parish in the US.

It was the only church he was a member of as an adult, those 45 years, although he was known to sneak over to St. Bernardine's from time to time with Cheryl and Lisa, and soon stopped standing up when visitors stood to be recognized.

He served at St. Francis Xavier as an usher, but not in an official, usher board capacity; he stepped in when needed, when the ushers were short-handed.

That was Du.

The Sun editorial on Tuesday said "when he ascended in 1987 to become the first Black mayor of Baltimore, Mr. Burns knew a thing or two about how to make things work. He knew how to run an organization, he knew how to look after people."

Cardinal Keeler, that sounds like the definition of an effective pastor! And he might have made a great Catholic priest and pastor, except that God called him to another vocation, to say "I do" to Miss Edith 63 years ago, and to travel through life together for these past 63 years.

Du loved his family, his wife, daughter and granddaughter, as the family pictures that literally cover every square inch of the living room walls attest.

Much was always made of Du's humble beginnings, of the locker room at Dunbar. And I say, "Tell it, tell it, tell it some more; tell it to our children, who flippantly dismiss flipping burgers, because it is beneath them."

Our youth need to know that if you have nothing, then nothing is below you. You can't be the CEO, if you have Zero!!! We need to tell them that in life, you do, and you keep doing; and if God gives you a lemon, you make the best lemonade anyone ever drank. That was Du's way!

Tell them that if you do what is right, God will make a way, somehow! That was Du's faith!

His being present and available back then at Dunbar, led to so many other developments.

Du became a youth counselor—to shape and guide young lives; a teacher—who shared his street smarts, and mentored aspiring politicians in East Baltimore; a developer—as the Dunbar Complex rose up; this uneducated man!; an architect—of the East Baltimore Community Development; a builder—as new housing rose up for first time home owners; a negotiator—as his skills built city council coalitions; this uneducated man!; a doctor—as the East Baltimore Medical Plan came to be; a wise man—who knew that you don't hang your dirty laundry out for all to see; but you clean it up in the back room, and hang it out clean, so no one would be embarrassed; a mathematician—who knew that "10" was the magic number; 10 votes, you win! This uneducated man!

But most of all, Du Burns was a servant of God!

The First Letter of John tells us that we cannot say we love the God we cannot see, if we do not love the sisters and brothers we do see.

Du knew that; he saw situations, he recognized needs, and he served. The phrase "too busy" was not in his vocabulary.

People were housed, fed, educated, given a chance, at his initiative. That is not irrelevant; that is life-giving, that is service; and to a believer, that is living the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Baltimore is better, because Du Burns, an ordinary man, took what God gave him, used it for others' good, and became extraordinary, and forever a piece of Baltimore history.

Too many people spend their lives climbing the ladder of success, and when they reach the top, they find out it has been leaning against the wrong building all the time.

Not so for Du.

Most important: Du knew what God would do.

He knew that it mattered not if your name appeared in Who's Who at the library; it only mattered if your name was written in the Book of Life.

Sunday afternoon, Our Father God sent an escort named Jesus, to take Du home.

As lovingly as Lisa had called his name the Sunday before, Jesus now called his name.

The man who rode to many city appointments in a city limo, now had his best ride ever, as that heavenly chariot swung down to take him to that home on the other side, to that land where he will never grow old.

And he heard the Lord say, Du, you did! You understood that, whatever you did to the least of your s/b, you did to me! Now, rest in the green pasture, sit beside the cool water, take your place at the banquet table.

On Du's tombstone will soon be inscribed his name, dates of birth and death, and a dash in between them.

What he did in that dash through life made all the difference.

The psalmist says that 70 is the sum of our years, or 80 if we are strong.

So we place a strong man, tenderly, lovingly, into God's unchanging hands.

We are better, Baltimore is better, because Du passed through.

Thank You, Lord, for Du. Give him, we pray you, the reward that his good labors deserve.

Eternal Rest grant unto him, O Lord . . .

Mr. BREAUX. Madam President, I rise today to pay tribute to a great humanitarian and a great American, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. This week, as our Nation honors Dr. King on what would have been his 74th birthday, we have an opportunity to reflect on his courage, his legacy, and his dream for a better and more equal America.

To honor his legacy and to more fully realize Dr. King's dream, we in public service must support an agenda that reflects what is most important in the lives of all Americans, policies that emphasize economic opportunity, improved education, an enhanced healthcare system, election reform and protection of basic civil rights.

First, as we commemorate the legacy of Dr. King and his dream for our Nation I would like to take an opportunity to recognize the brave contribution of the African-American community in my own state of Louisiana, men and women who have been true leaders and pioneers in our shared journey for equality, justice and human dignity for all Americans.

Our country's first bus boycott, before Rosa Parks' courageous stand in Montgomery, occurred in Baton Rouge. Dr. King's national civil rights organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was inaugurated and chartered in New Orleans. And the bravery exhibited by students at Southern University was responsible for the landmark Supreme Court case that desegregated the entire interstate commerce facilities.

Dr. King's dream for equality and opportunity is reflected in recent work here on the floor of this body.

Last year, Congress and President Bush worked together to improve education for all students in our public schools with increases in Federal incentives for the lowest performing schools. To that end, I intend to pursue increased funding for the TRIO and GEAR UP programs, and for Historically Black Colleges and Universities, HBCUs.

Congress has passed comprehensive election reform legislation to begin to correct the problems and prevent the abuses of the 2000 election that led to the disenfranchisement of African-Americans and other minorities.

Our country struggles through an economic slowdown with high levels of unemployment, particularly in the African-American community. Congress has acted and passed an extension of unemployment benefits.

In 1996, we changed the way welfare works to help families escape the cycle of poverty and achieve independence. This year we must reauthorize those landmark reforms, but do so with more funding for childcare, healthcare and transportation. Children should not be the victims of welfare reform, and no mother should be forced to choose between her job and the care of her child.

There is much more to do. Today there are more than 40 million Ameri-

cans without health insurance. As health care costs rise, we need a new approach to health care in this country, an approach that aspires to universal access for every man, woman, and child.

It is also past time to engage in a sustained and serious dialogue on racial profiling with an eye toward more public education and antiprofiling legislation.

Our country has come a long way in working to end the plague of discrimination and prejudice. Are things better? Yes, but they can be better still. We can do better, and we must.

Mr. LEVIN. Madam President, all across America preparations are being made to commemorate the life and legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. On Monday, January 20, we will memorialize a man who sought to protect the dignity of a people and awaken the conscience of a Nation.

Dr. King's death is 35 years behind us now. To some extent, deeply felt passions and the frustration, anguish, and bitterness with which the Nation was consumed during the tragic year of 1968 have cooled. But what remains with us and what is indelibly woven into the fabric and history of our Nation is the vision which Dr. King lived for and the dream for which he died. Dr. King embraced all Americans in his quest to make a living reality of equality of opportunity and economic and social justice for all humankind, those fundamental principles in our Constitution.

This great warrior, whose battlefield was the hearts and minds of those who did not feel that justice and dignity were meant for all people, whose shield and armor was a strong determination and an unassailable character and whose ammunition was moral conviction and self-sacrifice, continues to deserve the fullest honor of this Nation.

Dr. King gave a number of famous speeches during his time, most notably in Montgomery, Birmingham, Selma, Chicago, Detroit, and several other cities. He came to Detroit on June 23, 1963, the day after his first meeting with President Kennedy. Introduced as "America's beloved freedom fighter," he called the "Freedom Walk" that day in Detroit "the largest and greatest demonstration for freedom ever held in the United States." Dr. King went on to say, ". . . I can assure you that what has been done here today will serve as a source of inspiration for freedom-loving people of this nation."

Dr. King spoke about Birmingham and the vision that had been broadcast to the entire world just two months earlier, when dogs and fire hoses were turned against peaceful marchers. He said, and I quote, "Birmingham tells us something in glaring terms—it says that the Negro is no longer willing to accept racial segregation in any of its dimensions." It is said that the Freedom Walk in Detroit was in many respects a rehearsal for the upcoming March on Washington and Dr. King's I Have a Dream speech, two months

later on August 28, in our Nation's Capital.

Dr. King gave the people of this Nation an ethical and moral way to engage in activities designed to perfect social change without bloodshed and violence; and when violence did erupt it was that which is potential in any protest which aims to uproot deeply entrenched wrongs. Dr. King preached, "Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good."

He believed in a united America. He believed that the walls of separation brought on by legal and de facto segregation and discrimination based on race and color, could be eradicated. His quest was to make a living reality our fundamental principles, that "all men are created equal," and with a right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Few have dedicated their life so tirelessly in the struggle for equality as Dr. King. From the bus boycott in Montgomery to the sanitation workers in Memphis, his unyielding commitment to improve the lot of all Americans was demonstrated—he achieved significant goals by peaceful and non-violent actions. To Dr. King, those means were beneficial to those in the struggle as the ends they were seeking.

With reference to the 11-month long successful Montgomery bus boycott, he said:

Nonviolence had tremendous psychological importance to the Negro . . . This method was grasped by the Negro masses because it embodied the dignity of struggle, of moral conviction and self-sacrifice. The Negro was able to face his adversary, to concede to him a physical advantage and to defeat him because the superior force of the oppressor had become powerless . . . I am convinced that the courage and discipline with which Negro thousands had accepted non-violence healed the internal wounds of Negro millions who did not themselves march in the street or sit in the jails of the South. One need not participate directly in order to be involved . . . to have pride in those who were the principals . . . to restore to them some of the pride and honor which had been stripped from them over the centuries. We have come a long way toward achieving justice and equality for all.

When the Supreme Court order to end segregation on buses was delivered to Montgomery, Dr. King proudly told an overflow crowd at a local church:

We came to see that, in the long run, it is more honorable to walk in dignity than ride in humiliation. So in a quiet dignified manner, we decided to substitute tired feet for tired souls, and walk the streets of Montgomery until the sagging walls of injustice have been crushed.

We have come a good distance in fulfilling Dr. King's dream, but there is still a ways to go. Let us rededicate ourselves today, in his name, to continuing the struggle for human rights for all, for which he lived and died.

Mr. SMITH. Madam President, I rise today to celebrate the life and remarkable work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In remembering Dr. King, I think we should all hold close to our hearts these words, spoken by Dr. King in May 1944:

So as we gird ourselves to defend democracy from foreign attack, let us see to it that increasingly at home we give fair play and free opportunity for all people.

Even as we continue to fight the war on terrorism abroad, we are reminded of the injustice that still exists here, and we must be equally diligent to root out violence and discrimination at home.

The racial profiling and hate crimes that have occurred in the wake of September 11 are a blight on our Nation; but, we know that hate crimes are not new. June will mark the 5th anniversary of the murder of James Byrd, Jr. in Jasper, TX. James Byrd was dragged to his death for no other reason than hatred of the color of his skin. This is shameful, and our government must do more to protect all its citizens regardless of skin color, religion, gender, national origin, or sexual orientation.

As all of my colleagues know, I have been working to pass hate crimes legislation that will eliminate the bureaucratic jurisdictional hurdles that hinder our efforts to prosecute hate crimes, and give federal prosecutors new resources for cases involving race. I know that this will be the year to finally pass this legislation in the U.S. Senate. It is high time that we act to end the specter of hate across our Nation.

So as we pause to remember Dr. King next week, let us continue to look for opportunities to try to create change. We can all work a little bit harder to create the kind of world he dreamed about, a world in which things are the way they "ought" to be rather than the way they are.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SUNUNU). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, on the occasion of the day that honors Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., I offer a couple of thoughts. I will share with the Senate a couple of stories.

I think of what Dr. King and his band of brothers and sisters meant to this Nation and their extraordinary success under extremely difficult circumstances and under a great deal of duress. One of his young lieutenants is a member of this Congress, Congressman JOHN LEWIS of Atlanta. He was one of the youngest of Dr. King's lieutenants, having been a very young preacher from Alabama who had joined Dr. King, a young preacher who, by the way, has regaled so many in this Congress with the stories of how he learned to preach in a rural area of Alabama, on a dirt farm, where JOHN LEWIS as a child would go out to the henhouse, and there, with an audience of hens perched on their perch in the henhouse,

JOHN LEWIS would start to practice his oratory that ultimately brought him to be such a great preacher, to be such a great lieutenant of Dr. King's, or now, as we know, a great public servant, having been a Member of the House of Representatives for a number of years.

But the story I wanted to share about JOHN LEWIS, I asked him one day, there was something very special about what you and Dr. King and the rest of Dr. King's group would do because you were always together and there was not a lot of discord. How was it, in the face of all of that physical threat and at times physical brutality, you were able to be so successful and so single-minded of purpose that you ultimately achieved your goal?

He said: Bill, we always met together as a covenant group in prayer and we always prayed together that divine providence would watch over us, and that gave us the strength.

That was an insight for me into that extraordinary part of American history where they were so very successful. So, on this eve of Dr. Martin Luther King's holiday, I not only give the reverence and the respect to Dr. King, but to those who were with him, like our friend, our colleague here in the Congress, Congressman JOHN LEWIS.

But there is another story I wanted to tell you about. It is illustrative of some of the obstacles that have had to be overcome, particularly by minorities and people of color, for whom Dr. King fought so successfully. I want to tell you the story about Charlie Bolden from Columbia, SC.

One day I was down in my State and a very distinguished retired gentleman approached me. He said, You don't know me, but we know someone in common and that's Charlie Bolden. He knew that the relationship I had with Charlie Bolden was that Charlie was my pilot on the 24th flight of the space shuttle. Both of us were rookies. That is the same Charlie Bolden who went on to command two more flights, ultimately retired from the astronaut office, went back in the active duty Marines, and has just recently retired with a second star—General Charlie Bolden.

But the story this gentleman wanted to tell me was the extraordinary success story of Charlie Bolden from Columbia, SC, whose father was a football coach, whose mother was a librarian who had always taught him the value of an education and the value of hard work. Yet when this outstanding high school student applied to the Naval Academy, his representative from the South Carolina congressional delegation would not nominate him because of the color of his skin. So this gentleman I met in Florida wanted to tell me the story.

He was an Assistant Secretary of Defense under the administration of President Johnson, and one of his specific duties, in addition to his Department of Defense duties, was to go

around the country and find promising minority students and try to get them married up with a sponsor who would nominate them to the service academies. This gentleman found Charlie Bolden, who could not get a nomination from his congressional representative in his home State. But Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota nominated Charlie.

Charlie went to Annapolis. He was promptly elected president of the freshman class and continued as class president, interestingly, alternating as class president in that Annapolis class with another very distinguished American, the just retired Adm. Blaire, the Commander in Chief of the Pacific for the United States. Charlie, at the end of graduation, chose the Marines. He chose aviation, he became a marine test pilot, and then he applied for the astronaut office. Fate brought the two of us together on the flight that had to be scrubbed four times on the pad, delayed over the better part of a month. On the fifth try, almost a month later, we were launched into an almost flawless 6-day mission, with Charlie having to correct a helium leak immediately after launch, only to return to Earth from a very successful mission and, 10 days later, Challenger launches and blows up 10 miles high in the Florida sky.

An extraordinary success story about a fellow, an African American, who wanted to achieve, who obviously had the right stuff, who could not get in because of the color of his skin in a nomination process, who was given a break and who soared in his personal achievement and his contributions to our society. This is another example of the principles for which Dr. King fought.

I want to tell one more story. This is a story that has nothing to do with American history, but it is one of my favorite political heroes in history. A British parliamentarian by the name of William Wilburforce came to the Parliament in the 1790s and served there for almost 4 decades. He came to the Parliament at age 21. He came at the same time as his good friend, William Pitt the younger, who, 3 years later, at age 24, was elected Prime Minister and, of course, William Wilburforce, one of Pitt's best friends, could have been a part of the government. But he had an experience and he decided to devote his life to the elimination of the established economic order of the day in England at that time, the English slave trade.

Just to give you an idea of the enormous economic power of the slave trade at that time, in the 1790s and early 1800s, it would be as if you would take half of the American Fortune 500 companies, combining all of that economic power, and that was the power that invaded the whole country of England at that time. That was how much money was being made by the shipping companies, by the captains, by the seamen, by the insurance companies. They would go under the flag of truce, down

off the African coast—sometimes with the complicity of some of the tribal chieftains and sometimes not—taking natives as slaves against their will and forcing them into the holds of ships, separating them from families and shipping them to the new world where they would be sold.

Wilburforce, at age 24, and a Parliamentarian, said this is wrong; it is against God's law, and he devoted himself to the abolition of the English slave trade. Time after time, again he was beaten in vote after vote, but he persevered. He overcame, and 20 years later his bill passed the Parliament. As a matter of law, the English slave trade was abolished. Some 20 years later—literally 3 days before William Wilburforce died, news was brought to him on his deathbed that the Parliament had abolished slavery, a full 2 or 3 decades before slavery was abolished in the United States.

He also had as one of his great crusades not only the English slave trade, but what he called "The Reformation of Manners"—what we term today a moral and spiritual revitalization of the country. He did that for England in that day and was exceptionally successful, particularly after he wrote a book, which would be at the top of the New York Times best seller list today, called "A Practical View"—written by William Wilburforce.

On this eve of Dr. King's birthday I wanted to reflect on these giants—JOHN LEWIS, a contemporary among us, a lieutenant of Dr. King; Charlie Bolden, a contemporary today, a just retired Marine two-star general, former astronaut; and William Wilburforce, one of the great leaders who single-handedly as a single member of Parliament—not in the government—changed the course of history of the world by his persistence in establishing a law to abolish the English slave trade.

What do those three people have in common, JOHN LEWIS, Charlie Bolden, and William Wilburforce? What they had in common was clearly they were courageous, clearly they were persistent, and clearly they were talented. But they also were "overcomers"—to overcome the established order of the day, to make things different, and to make things more right.

This is my testimony to Dr. King.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Florida for a moving and insightful tribute to William Wilburforce, someone I never heard of before I came to the Senate. Now many of our colleagues have talked about him in the same vein as the Senator from Florida has.

Picking up from the theme he has established, I would like to talk briefly about the legacy of Martin Luther King. I was in Washington when the great march took place that led to Dr. Martin Luther King's moving address "I Have a Dream" occurred.

One of the interesting things about that address from which I take some comfort is Dr. King left his established transcript in the speech. He started out sticking to the transcript, and as the speech built he became overcome with the spirit of what he was doing, and extemporaneously launched into the soaring phrases that he outlined of "I Have a Dream," and he described to America what he saw.

One of the interesting ironies of today's debate about civil rights is the dream Martin Luther King, Jr. saw in the eyes of many is being turned on its head. He saw a country where color would make no difference, where it would make no difference in employment, where it would make no difference in academic admission, where people would be judged on the basis of anything but their skin color. He had a dream that that time would come.

I will not go into detail about the current fight that is going on with respect to the University of Michigan, but I do wonder aloud how you can square what has been going on at the University of Michigan with Dr. King's dream. If at the time he had given that speech the University of Michigan had a rating system for all of its applicants and said if you are white we will give you an automatic 20 points on our rating system, but we will deny those points to anyone who is Hispanic, Asian, or African in heritage, I think Dr. King would have had a few things to say about the inequities of that. I think clearly he would have condemned that, and he should have condemned that.

Now some of those who claim to be his spiritual heirs are applauding that when it is applied in reverse. I will leave that matter to the courts. I will let that play itself out however it happens.

But I want to make this one further observation.

What does that tell us about Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.? That tells us he had parents who were married to each other, who were stable in their family, who loved him, and who raised him in a family circumstance.

The African-American woman who has achieved perhaps the highest degree of success in contemporary society is Condoleezza Rice. What do we know about Condoleezza Rice and her rise in this struggle? We know that she was born in Birmingham, AL where Dr. King wrote the letters from a Birmingham jail. We know at the time Birmingham, AL was regarded as the most heavily segregated city in the United States. We know that is where the riots were. That is where Dr. King was arrested. That is where he wrote his letters from that jail. That is where Condoleezza Rice grew up.

We know this about Condoleezza Rice. She had parents who were married to each other, who loved each other, and who provided her with a home in which she learned.

One of the things she learned, as outlined in her biography, was because she

was black and female she would have to be twice as good and work twice as hard in order to make it in the white world. Instead of protesting that, instead of taking to the streets and complaining about that inequity, Condoleeza Rice determined she would indeed be twice as good and work twice as hard as any of her contemporaries.

The story is told that when she was at school at the college level, one of her professors began to lay out the case that blacks are inherently inferior to whites. Condoleeza Rice as a young student spoke up and said, We are the ones who play Beethoven and speak French. What about you? She is an accomplished concert pianist. She went on to a Ph.D. and she became the youngest and first female provost at Stanford University with an outstanding career as she worked twice as hard to be twice as good as anybody else.

Some would argue that the most successful black African-American of our time is Secretary Colin Powell. I have read his biography. I find, among other things, that what he talks about, in his experience dealing with segregation and discrimination in America and growing up following the contributions of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is his family. He had parents who were married to each other and who provided him with a loving and nurturing home situation. He describes that in his biography.

I suggest this because I think there is a clear thread here. Martin Luther King, Jr., came from a stable family. Condoleeza Rice came from a stable family. Colin Powell came from a stable family. And in the same period that Martin Luther King, Jr., was making his contribution, a young staffer in the Johnson administration named Daniel Patrick Moynihan wrote prophetically of the breakup of Black families in America and talked about what would happen to the African-American community if the family cohesion that had been there before was somehow not preserved.

The predictions and implications of former Senator Moynihan's work have come true, tragically. Today, over two-thirds of the children born to African-American mothers are born outside of a formal marriage, outside of a stable family, outside of that one constant that provided the launching pad for the careers of those who have been successful among us.

Of course, the lack of a family, the lack of loving parents who are married to each other and provide a nurturing circumstance—the devastation of that lack knows no racial boundaries. White students, Asian students, Hispanic students—whoever it might be—who come out of a circumstance where they do not have a stable family relationship are statistically at far greater risk educationally, economically, socially—every other way—than those who come from a family background.

So as we celebrate rightly Dr. Martin Luther King and his contribution to

this country, we should also recognize the importance of sustaining traditional family values in this country for everyone, regardless of race. And I would think that adding to Dr. Martin Luther King's dream, we should have a dream of a time when no child is reared in a circumstance where there is not a loving support system.

Now, it need not always be blood relatives. Clarence Thomas, who sits on the Supreme Court, has written movingly of his family, but his family was a family of Catholic nuns who gathered around him and provided surrogate parenthood and gave him the kind of nurturing opportunity as a young man that he needed if he was going to succeed.

We should understand that there is no substitute in Government programs for that kind of nurturing background. And we should look around us at the role models who have overcome discrimination and segregation and achieved greatness and recognize that the common thread throughout most of their lives is some kind of family background, family stability; nurturing, supporting activities when they were in their formative years.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CORNYN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MAKING FURTHER CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 2003—Continued

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, to my colleagues who have known me and who have heard me speak on spending issues before, what I am about to say may be very shocking, and it shocks me as well. I am going to vote for this appropriations bill. It contains only a 3-percent increase in total spending—can you believe that; that is mandatory and nondiscretionary domestic spending, a 3-percent increase—and a 2.4-percent increase in discretionary spending.

All of us should congratulate the President for sticking to his guns and keeping his promise that he was going to restrain spending while he was President.

We also should thank Appropriations Chairman TED STEVENS and his colleagues on the committee who have done a good job in putting this package together. It is time for us to move on.

I would first like to comment on why we are here. Why are we here today? We would not be here today if we had passed a budget last year and had not wasted so much time debating bills on the floor of the Senate that should have been taken care of properly in committee.

Last year was the first time the Senate did not pass a budget resolution since the Budget Act of 1974. Think of that. For 29 years we passed a budget, but last year we were not able to muster up the votes to get a budget passed. In addition, we have spent so much time debating bills on the floor of the Senate that should have been handled properly in the committees where those bills originated. In so many instances where the leader was unhappy with the results of the committee work, he yanked the bills out of committee, took it into his office, rewrote the bill, put it on the floor, and we debated it. For example, the energy bill, where we spent 8 weeks debating it, when it could have been taken care of in the Energy Committee. The energy bill, the farm bill, the economic stimulus bill, we spent so much time last year dealing with things that should have been done in committee.

I am hoping the new leader gives more emphasis to the importance of committees in the Senate. I cannot understand why the previous majority party's committee chairmen were not up in arms about so many bills that should have been handled in their committees, but were pulled. We wasted a lot of time last year, and the chickens have now come home to roost. We have operated on a continuing resolution for 4 months—October, November, December, and January.

The executive branch is already one-third through the fiscal year, and the President wants us to finish our work. The American people want us to finish our work. There are so many Federal agencies today that are providing services not knowing what their budget is going to be for this year. Starting this week, executive branch agencies must absorb a 3.1-percent pay raise within fiscal year 2002 funding levels. I know what that is like. I know, as a former governor and mayor, the pressure that puts on agencies. Many agencies will be unable to effectively allocate funds, particularly competitive grant funds, prior to the end of the fiscal year without a final appropriation in the next 20 to 30 days.

In other words, consider the many agencies that have competitive grant programs. These agencies will not be able to get their requests for grant applications out this year, nor the grant applications back in unless we get things done in the next few days. Also thousands of people, like my nephew, are out of work because companies they work for that have government contracts don't know if the projects that are being funded by the Federal Government will continue. Government programs have been on hold for the past 4 months and won't move forward until we pass an appropriations bill.

One of the things hurting our economy today is uncertainty. We have contributed to it because we haven't been doing our work.

My constituents ask me: Do you guys in Washington get it? Do you get it? Do