

and treatment facilities; 60 million cubic yards of gravel mined.

The other side, you have no development which is what we are saying. First, let us look at SUVs. First, let us look at buildings. First, let us make ourselves more efficient. First, let us use technology to cut OPEC down to size. They know that we are addicted to these vehicles that get 12 to 14 miles a gallon. We should not go to the Arctic wilderness first, we should go to where we consume the energy.

### 36-YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARCH ACROSS EDMUND PETTUS BRIDGE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KENNEDY). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2001, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I take a Special Order today with my colleague, my friend, the gentleman from New York (Mr. HOUGHTON). We co-chair an organization, a group called Faith and Politics. It is truly a group that is bipartisan in nature. For the past few years, we have been engaging in what we call a dialogue on race. We have been taking Members of Congress, Republicans and Democrats, back on a journey, a journey of reconciliation, back to places in Alabama: Birmingham, Montgomery, and Selma.

Just a few days ago, to be exact, on March 2, 3 and 4, we had an opportunity as a group to travel again, a learning experience for many of us, so I thought it would be fitting to come to the House floor this afternoon and talk for a few moments about what we saw, what we felt and what we came away with from this trip to Birmingham, to Montgomery, to Selma.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is fitting and appropriate for us to have this dialogue today, this discussion, for today, exactly 36 years ago today, March 21, 1965, 2 weeks after Bloody Sunday, 700 of us, men and women, young children, elected officials, ministers, priests, rabbis, nuns, American citizens from all over the country, walked across the Edmund Pettus Bridge on our way from Selma to Montgomery to dramatize to the Nation and to the world that people of color wanted to register to vote.

Just think, just a few short years ago in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, it was almost impossible for people of color to register to vote. You had to pass a so-called literacy test in the States of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. On one occasion a black man was asked to give the number of bubbles in a bar of soap. If you failed to cross a "t" or dot an "i," maybe you misspelled a word, you flunked the so-called literacy test.

Well, because of the action of the Congress and the leadership of a President, 36 years ago, and the involvement of hundreds and millions of our citizens, we have come the distance. And

so tonight we want to talk about what has happened and the progress.

Mr. Speaker, I want to yield to my friend and my colleague, the co-chair of the board of Faith and Politics, the gentleman from New York (Mr. HOUGHTON).

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, it is always an honor to be with the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) whether we are on the House floor or in Selma or any place. I had a wonderful experience with the gentleman from Georgia; Ambassador Sheila Sisulu; and Douglas Tanner, who is the president of the Faith and Politics organization in my part of the country, upstate New York; and it was fascinating talking about the gentleman's reminiscences and experiences in Alabama, and also comparing those to Ambassador Sisulu's experiences in South Africa. It was absolutely great.

I have a couple of comments I would like to make and then also, Mr. Speaker, of my friend, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS), I would like to ask a question at the end of this. Let me make a comment or two if I could.

We had an extraordinary experience in Alabama. I had children and grandchildren, and it was a family affair because I wanted them to have the same sense that I did the first time I was down there of the enormity of this. We celebrate Washington's birthday and Lincoln's birthday and Labor Day, but this is something that we should put a fine point on because it did something to break us over a tidewater in this country which many of us did not feel at the time because we were not there.

I was down there with the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS), and he is all dressed up as he is today and he is handsome and he has a nice suit on and he speaks well and he is a very dignified individual. And yet I think back to that time 36, 37 years ago when the gentleman was on the pavement having been beaten and bloodied and representing all of the aspirations that we have for fairness and decency in our society, and we were not there. We wanted to be there, but we were not there; but the gentleman from Georgia was there.

I am a member of the World War II generation, and we are dying pretty rapidly. And someone said at the end of 2008 we will all be gone, but not so of the people of the gentleman from Georgia's generation and the people who fought those battles in Selma, Birmingham, and Montgomery. You cannot listen, as you have heard me say so many times to this lovely lady, Betty Fikes, singing without understanding something about our country that one does not sense unless you sing the Star Spangled Banner or America the Beautiful. This is an extraordinary experience, and this is the lady who was singing at the time of the marching and the beatings and the death and the tragedy down there. These people are all alive. And so to be able to go down there and experience that, be with

them, knowing that they are alive and still giving their message, their testament, is always an extraordinary experience.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask a question, if I could. Those of us who have seen the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) in action and were with Betty Fikes and with Bernard Lafayette and with so many others, look back and see something which was an enormous change in our whole philosophy. But as we know now, it was only one moment in time, it was only one incident and it did not cure our sense of discrimination in this country, it only opened it up. So the question I ask of the gentleman from Georgia, what do we do next? What are those things that we must continue to do not only to honor this legacy but to fulfill our pioneering spirit and try to make this a better place.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his kind words, and let me try to respond to his kind question.

I notice several of my colleagues are here, and I want to give them an opportunity to say something. But any time we see racism, bigotry, see people discriminated against because of the color of their skin, because of their race or national origin, because of their sex or sexual orientation, for whatever reason people are kept down or kept out, we have an obligation, all of us as citizens of America, as human beings, to speak out and say something, to get in the way, to not be quiet.

When I was growing up, my mother used to tell me do not get in trouble. But as a young person I got in trouble, and I saw many young people getting in trouble by sitting down. President Kennedy once said back in 1960, by sitting down on those lunch counter stools, we were really standing up. So by marching for the right to vote 36 years ago, we were helping to make America something better. So from time to time, we all have to get in the way.

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I would advise the gentleman from Georgia that I will yield to somebody on the gentleman's side, and then I know that the gentlewoman from Missouri (Mrs. EMERSON) wants to say something.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, let me recognize the gentlewoman from the Virgin Islands (Mrs. CHRISTENSEN).

Mrs. CHRISTENSEN. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month I was privileged to be one of 140 people of all walks of life, all ages, from all over the country and all over the world who joined the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS), the gentleman from New York (Mr. HOUGHTON), and the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. HILLIARD) in the Faith and Politics Institute on the fourth annual pilgrimage to Alabama.

I blocked out that weekend early in the year because I wanted to go, but I did not anticipate the depth of feelings and emotion that pilgrimage would evoke. Revisiting the history of the

life-changing and Nation-changing events which occurred more than 40 years ago, it is an experience even now that I will never forget. Yes, we went to the different institutes, museums, the historical sites, but it was also having several of the leaders of that important and tumultuous time with us to inform and guide us which made it come alive.

As we walked through Kelly Ingram Park, prayed at the 16th Street Baptist Church, now a memorial to the four little girls killed by a bomb made not only of explosives but of hate, moved on to Montgomery to the First Baptist Church and to the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church which Dr. King pastored, and which along with others was a central meeting place of that movement, and finally took that solemn march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, we knew that we had truly come once again treading our path through the blood of slaughter.

□ 1430

It was a time of introspection. How insignificant many of the things we squabble, worry and fret about became. I recall that during much of the movement, I was safely ensconced at St. Mary's College in Notre Dame, Indiana; and, though far away in many ways, the summer of 1963 changed even those two campuses.

Even more than before, I understood the level of indebtedness that all of us owe to the multitude of committed and courageous people, like John Lewis, Reverend Shuttlesworth, Dr. Bernard Lafayette, Bob Zelner, Betty Pikes and others who ministered to us that weekend, some well known, others unnamed, who believed in an America of justice, equality, fairness and respect and who were willing to sacrifice, bear painful beatings and even to give their lives, as too many did, to make it a reality. Unquestionably, all of us, like those who made this pilgrimage before, returned inspired, refocused and revived personally as well as for the work that each one of us do every day.

Looking back at what we as a people had achieved because of the civil rights movement and taking stock of the many troubling events that have occurred over the past few years, we can see that although much change was brought about because of the movement, we have lost some ground. The need is clear more than ever that we must be vigilant and continue to walk in the way of those brave men and women, to forever secure and preserve the rights and privileges that they so courageously won. We still have so much more to work towards.

Although I have heard it said before and I have heard the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) say it, I have said it myself, after this weekend it became even clearer that the right to quality health care is the major civil rights issue of this time. The civil rights movement that we had just revisited

provided not only inspiration but living lessons for those of us who are thrust by need, time and circumstance into positions of leadership. We only hope and pray that we are as up to the task.

We live today at the beginning of the third millennium in a country which spends more money than any other in the world on health care. Yet today hundreds of African Americans and other people of color, people in our rural communities, will die from preventable diseases and causes, all because in one way or another they have been denied access to quality health care.

I want to say on behalf of the millions of Americans, both in the States and in the territories, that today, with a significant surplus projected, it would be another travesty of justice if the health care needs in this country were not fully addressed. Universal coverage must be provided and the disparities that exist for people of color in this country must be eliminated. This is our charge. Although different, this cause is no less just, and the movement must be no less fervent or steadfast.

I want to take this opportunity to thank the Faith and Politics Institute and the many people who were a part of our pilgrimage this year for reminding me that with faith in God and belief in the better America that this country can be, that on all of the important challenges that face our community today we can and will overcome.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I would like now to yield to the gentleman from Missouri (Mrs. EMERSON).

Mrs. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I am going to, if I could, address my comments to my good friend the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS). I want to thank him from the bottom of my heart and that of my husband for allowing us to go with him and all of our colleagues and others to this most incredible experience in Alabama. I cannot relate to the gentleman from Georgia how extraordinary it felt to meet with and see him and Bernard Lafayette and Reverend Shuttlesworth and Bob Zelner, all of you and others who were such vital and vibrant parts of the civil rights movement in their youth. I can see him very easily back then now after that weekend. Perhaps he does not just have quite as much hair, but he has that same spirit and that same belief. It was extraordinary to be able to hear and exchange stories and tales from what I think is probably the most dramatic movement in the 20th century.

There are two or three things that I learned and that had a significant impact on me beyond the visits that we made to the significant landmarks over the weekend. One thing that I learned that I did not realize before was what is the importance of the interwoven relationship of the gentleman's sectarian and political views, his and others', with deeply held religious views and

beliefs, and how it all interrelated, and they used those beliefs in God and their beliefs in the righteousness of their cause to overcome incredibly overwhelming odds. That was a very important thing that I learned and something that I think carries forward and should carry forward always.

I also learned how important the weekend was in providing an opportunity, as I mentioned in church on the Sunday we were there, for reflection and repentance. While I was raised in a different part of the country and am of a different race and perhaps somewhat of a different cultural background and, quite frankly, was too young at the time, in spite of that, I regret sincerely that I did not have an opportunity to play a more active role in what was the defining moment of the 20th century. But they gave us the opportunity to feel what it was like as best I could.

I think the bottom line is, and one which I hope every single person who was with us got from this wonderful experience, was that through the reflection, through repentance, through all of that is the recognition, I think, that comes, and it is what we are all working for, and that is reconciliation. The gentleman from Georgia and so many others provided me the inspiration to work toward that goal. I could never thank him enough for giving me that opportunity.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Let me thank the gentlewoman for those kind and wonderful words. She added so much to the trip. We will always be grateful for her involvement.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT), the Democratic leader who made the trip to Alabama.

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia for his life, really, and his leadership and what he means to all of us. I want to thank him for holding this trip. I told him personally the other day how much I appreciated the work that he and his staff does to help the Faith and Politics Institute put on this weekend. This is the first time that I have had the chance to be with him. I have wanted to come and could not make it happen but was able to come this year.

I want to thank all the Members, the gentleman from New York (Mr. HUGHTON), the gentlewoman from Missouri (Mrs. EMERSON), the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. LAHOOD), the Members who are here from our side who participated in this event. It was, in a word, moving to all of us to be part of this event. It was, in my view, one of the most important things that I have been able to do in my entire life. Because until you go to Selma and meet with some of your colleagues and hear the history of what happened and how it happened and what it meant in their lives and to see them still alive today and still fighting for these issues was truly moving.

There is no substitute for it. There is no way to read about it. There is no

way to even see a television show about it and understand it the way you can when you are actually in the spot and meeting with these wonderful American citizens who improved our country so importantly. I felt like I was meeting with history. It would be kind of like meeting with patriots in Concord or Lexington or Gettysburg or some other place in our country where momentous events occurred that made our country what it is.

It is also an understanding that the right to vote is basic to our democracy and that we have to always fight, even in today's circumstance, for people's right to vote. It is obviously a different fight today, but it was certainly that compulsion to want freedom and democracy that led the gentleman from Georgia and his colleagues to commit the heroic acts that went on then.

And then, of course, to remember that 10 days after Bloody Sunday, President Lyndon Johnson came to this room and personally delivered his voting rights legislation and gave the most stirring address of his presidency. I doubt that would have happened, it certainly would not have happened in that time, if he had not done and his friends had not done what they did. President Johnson defined the national imperative to overcome the tyranny of discrimination and bigotry. President Johnson recognized, as President Lincoln had recognized a century before, that a nation divided could not stand. He got all of us to make a commitment to voting rights.

I would like to quote one of the things that he said in his speech. He said, "Many of the issues of civil rights are very complex and very difficult. But about this there can and should be no argument. Every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. There is no reason which can excuse the denial of that right. There is no duty which weighs more heavily on us than the duty we have to ensure that right."

It took a while longer, but he finally convinced the Congress to pass the Voting Rights Act. We stand today with the challenge before us again. We have to improve on our election process. We have been meeting in bipartisan ways to try to make that happen. I am convinced that if we have faith in one another and we work with one another, we can improve the election process in our country in the year 2001, in the year 2002.

We are not there yet, I guess is what I am saying today. What we saw a few weekends ago, what the gentleman did 36 years ago was the beginning of another effort in our history to ensure the basic fundamental right of our democracy. He made great progress, and he is our hero because he did that.

But we have a similar obligation now. In a different time with different issues, a different set of challenges, we have as much of an obligation as the gentleman from Georgia had 36 years ago to see that we ensure this right for every American today.

It was an honor to be with him. I do not know of a time that I have spent in my life that was more productive or useful than that weekend. I thank him for making it possible. I look forward to working with him and Members on both sides of the aisle in the days ahead to try to advance these issues and these challenges to a more successful conclusion.

We are on the road. We are not there yet. We are going to get there sometime soon.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. I thank the leader for those kind and extraordinary words.

Mr. Speaker, it is now my pleasure to yield time to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. LAHOOD), who has been very active in Faith and Politics and has made these trips to Alabama.

□ 1445

Mr. LAHOOD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I wanted to come to the floor during this Special Order time to also pay special tribute to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS). My wife and I have had the privilege of attending two trips to Selma; and even though we did not attend the one this year, we were there last year and the year before last and had the extraordinary opportunity to experience a sort of living history of what took place during that period of time.

I know it must have been a thrill to go back to Selma this year and to maybe hug or greet the new mayor of Selma. I know the gentleman has been going back there for many years, but to have somebody like the new mayor just elected in Selma must have been an extraordinary opportunity and thrill for the gentleman after so many years of fighting for voting rights.

I think part of what we learned on the trip is that voting is a precious right that we have in America, and it really comes home when you go to Selma and go to Montgomery and experience the opportunity to travel across the roads that the gentleman traveled and others traveled to gain that right for so many people. As we all lived out the election last November, it also I think gives us the idea that the right to vote is precious, and when people do not have that right and perhaps are denied that right, we can experience what the gentleman did back 35 or 36 years ago to try to win it for a whole group of people that did not have it.

I think it is a good message for all of us, to continue our efforts to make sure that when people go to the polls, the right is carried out in an accurate way and a way that reflects the will of the people.

So it has been a great experience and a good lesson for all of us, that there are many things that we do when we are elected to these jobs in terms of introducing bills and coming on the floor and debating, but the opportunity to step outside of that role and to experience what people like the gentleman

from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) have experienced and others have experienced I think is a good lesson for all of us in terms of what we can bring back to the House in terms of reforms that may be made as a result of that experience.

So I congratulate the gentleman. As one who has tried to practice bipartisanship and support bipartisanship, I think the trip to Selma and Montgomery is one of the extraordinary bipartisan efforts; and I congratulate the gentleman, and Faith and Politics, and Doug Tanner and the work that he does and his organization. Doug works mighty hard around here to try to bring people together, and I know that there are grand plans to do something extraordinary next year, and I hope that Members of the House will look on the opportunities we have had at Selma to build on that for other opportunities with Faith and Politics and with the gentleman.

Again, I thank the gentleman for giving all of us an opportunity to know him, know his experience, share his experience, and to really imbue in all of us the importance of how precious the right to vote really is for all of us.

I thank the gentleman for this Special Order and the chance to say a few words.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I would say to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. LAHOOD), my friend and brother, thank you for all your good work and for being so supportive of Faith and Politics and making those trips to Alabama.

Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield to the gentleman from California (Mrs. CAPPS).

Mrs. CAPPS. Mr. Speaker, I am very grateful to the honorable gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I brought my pilgrimage book with me. I was hoping there would be this opportunity to have a Special Order. In a way it is a little bit like our pilgrimage can continue and can come even to life here in this place where we do our business, because that is actually what it was. It was a pilgrimage down into that countryside, to Montgomery, to Birmingham and to Selma and then to cross that bridge, and to do so with the leadership of one who was there, an esteemed Member of Congress, a leader here now.

A few decades ago the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) was 20, 21 years old, just a young boy, when he took upon himself that historic role. I see the gentleman with a different light now.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. The gentleman is making me a little younger, but I did have all my hair then.

Mrs. CAPPS. The gentleman was very brave to do what he did then, and that kind of bravery is rare.

I do not go on pilgrimages every day, and I do not see that kind of bravery around me very often; but I see it here. To have the leadership of our colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. HOUGHTON), the Faith and Politics

Institute, the Reverend Doug Tanner and the leadership of this place, it is remarkable.

It is an honor to serve in the House of Representatives. It is an honor to represent my district, as each of us feel that so keenly, to come and do our constituents' business here, to enact legislation. But this place is so much more than that. This place breathes and lives the history of brave men and women who have made this country great, who have made this country, the United States of America, what it is today.

We are so fortunate that some of that history is still alive with us and our colleague here, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS), the wonderful men and women we were able to meet in Alabama as we visited the Civil Rights Institute, Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Civil Rights Memorial, First Baptist Church, Rosa Parks' visualization of her experience on that bus, Brown Chapel AME Church; and then, arm in arm, to walk across, after the church service, it is really impressive to me how much this living history that has given us the voting rights that we enjoy in this country now came out of places of worship in the South, and in the North as well, because that was the inspiration, that was the moral force that enabled this bravery to occur and this hard-fought freedom to be won. That is the inspiration that it was.

I was so pleased that our family could include many of our family members, and that my daughter Laura could join me, because it is very personal; and it is religious, it is moving, to be called upon to examine in ourselves where was I during this time in our country's history, and where am I now.

As our leader, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT), was stating, the challenges are not over; and in many respects the pilgrimage has not passed either. It is still going on, and we must reexamine.

My colleague talked about inequality in health care, a basic right that we want for all of our people around the world, and surely in this country; and the voting issue is still before us. Election reform is much needed now, and here we are in the House talking about this. I believe the leadership is called for from us, in a bipartisan way, to address this most fundamental right.

If people were killed, and it was a bloody Sunday indeed, that was the impetus for the Voting Rights Act of the sixties, then surely we cannot defame that spilled blood by resting on the laurels of that day; but we must reexamine the inequalities which exist today, whether it is in machines or whether it is practices; and we have a responsibility to make sure that when we see injustice, that we put a stop to it, that we ensure that every single citizen of this great land has every access to vote, to express that most fundamental right of democracy. After all,

people died for that. They died for that in our lifetime.

I believe now that we must, in this dawning of a new century, live up to their expectations of us and our leadership.

So, again, I was one of the fortunate people to take that pilgrimage; and if it ever occurs again and there is an opportunity, I hope that others will join with us as well. I commend the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) and the leadership that as a young person the gentleman showed so mightily with his friends and his fellow folks there who did a brave thing, and that we can have this opportunity through the Faith and Politics Institute and the corporate sponsors that make that happen for us as well. This is a big commitment on folks' part, and so I thank the gentleman for letting me take part in that.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend and colleague, the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. CAPPS), so much for going on the trip and participating as a wonderful person on that trip and participating in this Special Order.

Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER).

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, let me express my thanks and appreciation to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) for making this trip possible. This was indeed a very moving experience for me personally, as it was for all of us who participated in that unique weekend. It was a chance to, as people talked about, walk through history. It was an amazing walk through history.

I kept asking myself that weekend, the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. CAPPS) and I often were there together, what was I doing back in those days? I was an undergraduate at the University of Florida in those days, just as a young guy enjoying the fraternity life and not thinking about it. But you would read things in the paper about what took place at the 16th Street Baptist Church. We were there, with the girls, where the bombing took place.

We walked across the bridge in Selma. You start thinking how did our country allow this to happen, and why was I not more involved in trying to help end it, like the gentleman did? The gentleman was a leader.

You talk about the young JOHN LEWIS. It is kind of fun seeing the photographs from the early days. Which one is JOHN? Did he really have that much hair back in 1961, 1962, 1963? We saw his photographs in the museums. The gentleman is a hero. He helped lead that effort.

I appreciate that the gentleman brought people with us there. Bob Zelner flew in for it, and Bernard Lafayette, who is a delightful gentleman. He actually grew up in my area, the Tampa, Florida, area; and his father was able to be there. And being with, and I cannot remember the old elderly gentleman from the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Deacon Nesibitt was the deacon who brought Martin Luther King, Jr. to the church in Montgomery.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. In 1956. This is fascinating. This is the history. We have the deacon of the church who went to Atlanta and talked Martin Luther King out of going to Savannah and coming to Montgomery and making his mark in history too and helping lead that effort. That is the part of the history that you get to be part of.

A book I am reading right now, I do not know how much time we have, so I do not want to use up the time of other speakers, is "America Afire." It is a delightful book, but it is talking about the founding of our country. I was just reading about how in the late part of the 18th century when we were voting and drafting the Constitution, it was white men, Christian, basically, landowners that were involved in it. It is amazing that they wrote a document that could evolve.

That is the great thing about our country. You feel proud, as horrible as what the African American community went through for generations in this country, the fact is we have survived, and we are going to go forward.

This was an effort that I think is so inspirational for me. I appreciate the opportunity. At the conclusion, going to the Brown Chapel, I went to more churches on a weekend than I normally do. I go to church, but not as many as the gentleman took me to over the weekend. And the march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge was special.

I am going to encourage all my colleagues, especially on my side of the aisle, I am standing on your side of the aisle today, but this was certainly not a partisan event. I congratulate the gentleman for what he has done, leading in the non-violence effort. That was important, the gentleman's phase of it. Hearing Bernard talk about that too, how you learned to be non-violent. When people approached you with violence and you could tolerate that, I just do not know what I could do under those circumstances.

So I commend the gentleman, and really my admiration and respect is great for you, because now I learned more about it. I thank the gentleman for giving me that opportunity. I really sincerely appreciate it. I will work to get more of my colleagues 2 years from now to participate when we have another one of these.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman so much for participating as part of this trip to Alabama.

Mr. Speaker, I yield time to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Georgia, and I would like to say to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER), who made a symbolic gesture, which we appreciate, because the gentleman is right, this is not partisan, this is really a coming together,

and I want to thank the gentleman for his remarks and for his remarks about the experience.

I am a repeater, three-timer, and I appreciate very much the idea and the vision that came from Faith and Politics, but from the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. HOUGHTON), to be able to cause us Members of Congress who legislate to stop for a moment to reinvigorate ourselves and really take to hand the reality of what we do every day, and that is that we work with laws on behalf of the people of the United States, because they have the privilege of voting for us, and we have the privilege of being elected and the privilege of serving.

□ 1500

So this particular pilgrimage to Selma is so very special and, in particular, this year, because more than any other time in 2000, I think some of us felt that we were literally brought to our knees at a time that for many of our constituents was very troubling during the November election. There were a multitude of responses: anguish, anger, disappointment, despair. I do not know if we could have found our way if we had not had the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) to remind us in his eloquence, even during that time frame, to be grounded, to be strengthened by those who were strong enough in 1965 to persist for the right to vote.

Mr. Speaker, I know the story has been told many times, and I know there are others here, so I just want to quickly say, we all know that the gentleman tried on more than one occasion to gather himself and others to walk across the bridge and that it was not a time of lack of fear; and that when he walked, it was not that, oh, we know we are going to make it, he and Hosea Williams and the other throngs of individuals. It was not a frivolous walk.

The gentleman from Georgia worked for a long time to develop a sense of nonviolence, but as well the commitment to nonviolence. I think people need to understand that, that it was not a walk of lightness and that the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) had to study and to adopt and to commit to himself that he would be non-violent, and he walked across that bridge, the Edmund Pettus Bridge that will remain deep in our hearts, and it was a day of violence. It took courage to go, it took courage to stand, it took courage to pray, and as well, it took courage to be able to come back again.

Mr. Speaker, I say to the gentleman from Georgia, in the time that he has taken us there, along with the gentleman from New York (Mr. HOUGHTON), we have not just walked across a bridge, we have discovered each other and we have discovered a fulfillment of the fundamental right to vote under our Constitution and what it truly means to overcome.

I think with that, I would almost challenge each of us that we can do

that in this very House. We can really come together around issues that help those who cannot speak for themselves. I hope that this recounting of the Selma story, where Members on different sides of the aisle and different backgrounds, actually sat down and spoke to each other but, more importantly, I say to the gentleman, we heard each other, with testimonies and song, and to be able to touch and feel Bernard Lafayette, our eloquent speaker, to be able to be in the churches where Martin spoke, to eat some of the good cooking that was there during that time, to be hosted by the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. HILLIARD) and the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BACHUS); to be able to sing the songs, I have never felt a deeper feeling by singing those songs. There is a certain way to sing them, and certainly we had them sung the right way.

So I would simply close by saying to the gentleman that I have been a threepateer and I expect to go again, but I expect, hopefully, to, more importantly, as I see many of the youngsters who are here for their spring break, soaking up democracy and soaking up our process, I hope they have an opportunity to know that we do other things, commemorate and commend that march on Selma, that bloody Sunday that generated the Voter Rights Act of 1965. As we move toward electoral reform, let no one be ashamed of what happened as much as what does not happen, if we do not fix the system and make it right in tribute to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS), our hero, along with so many others, that we reinforce the right to vote and the value of democracy in this Nation.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE). I thank her so much for participating, and not only on the march, the journey of reconciliation, the dialogue, but for participating in this Special Order today. I thank the gentlewoman for her leadership.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield time to the gentlewoman from the State of California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the distinguished and courageous gentleman from Georgia for yielding and for organizing this Special Order, and for also leading one of the most memorable journeys of my lifetime.

Let me take a moment to convey my deepest gratitude to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) for his sacrifices, his leadership, and for his tolerance, which he has demonstrated throughout his life as he fought and as he continues to fight for freedom and for justice. I also want to thank the people of Alabama for their heroic and their noble struggles, for I know for a fact that because of their blood, sweat, and tears, I am here today serving as a Member of Congress.

Now, during our visit to Birmingham, Montgomery, and Selma, we

talked about where we were during those tumultuous times. Some felt guilty, but everyone felt gratitude. But I would dare to say that all of us felt galvanized to redouble our efforts for equality and justice and realize just how blessed we are to be Members of Congress, for we actually have a second time and a third time to make a difference in the lives of people in this millennium.

This pilgrimage was very personal for me, whether visiting the 16th Street Baptist Church where four young and beautiful African-American children died as a result of a ruthless bombing or touring the National Voting Rights Museum in Selma or marching across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma. I was reminded of my childhood in Texas where I was forced to drink out of the colored-only water fountain or not allowed to go to movie houses or my dad, dressed in his military uniform, with his family, being told that he could not be served at restaurants. Yes, all of these painful repressed memories surfaced, experiences which I seldom talk about. But for me, I say to the gentleman, this visit provided really some breakthroughs personally; and I thank him for that.

Now, as we toured Rosa Parks Museum and Library and during our visit to the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church where Dr. King served as pastor, and during our moments at the First Baptist Church and while worshipping at Brown Chapel AME Church, I reflected on the unfinished business of Dr. Martin Luther King and the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) and all of those who shed their blood for the right to vote. Of course, I was reminded of thousands of African Americans and others who were disenfranchised in the recent elections. During our visit to Alabama, several people told me, now I understand why you and other Members of the Congressional Black Caucus protested the ratification of the Electoral College vote and walked off the floor of Congress. Our pilgrimage to Alabama certainly provided additional inspiration to work on electoral reform so that never again will the lives and legacy of those known and unknown be denigrated by denying the people the right to vote.

Mr. Speaker, let me emphasize the importance of educating young people about the civil rights movement. Many young people of color, many African Americans really do believe that integration always was, that the right to vote always was. The history of the civil and human rights movement has all but been ignored in American history books. Many young people believe that the ability to sit anywhere on the bus or to eat at a lunch counter just always was. Many young people believe that riding in any car on a train instead of the colored-only car just always was.

Well, Mr. Speaker, the Faith and Politics mission to Alabama reminded us of times passed and that we owe a debt

of gratitude to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS), Dr. Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, and all of those heroes who made it possible for people like me to pick up the baton and fight to end institutional racism, unequal education, universal health care, to fight for that; to fight for affordable housing, for a clean environment, a livable wage, and to fight for people who have been left out of this economic prosperity.

In closing, let me just encourage each and every Member of Congress to participate in this magnificent pilgrimage. It is really a privilege and an honor to be able to meet with men and women and break bread with them, those men and women who were on the front lines, taking bold risks to make America a better place. It was because of them that democracy was actually forced to confront and address its contradictions.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia. I want to thank all of those with the Faith and Politics Institute for really putting this together. I hope that everyone in this body and all of our young people can benefit from the great work that the gentleman is doing, because we certainly have benefited from the struggles which took place during that time.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Congresswoman BARBARA LEE, I want to thank you for going on the trip and for participating in this Special Order.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield time to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. ETHERIDGE), our colleague and friend.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KERNS). The chair will remind all Members to address one another by State delegation rather than by first names.

Mr. ETHERIDGE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I thank the gentleman from Georgia, or really, from Alabama. It was great to be in his native home State and for the opportunity for me and my son, who is a school teacher, to go and visit. Let me tell the gentleman what came as the result of it.

My son taught third grade and is now working with children who really have deficiencies in reading and math, who are trying to get to grade level. As the gentleman knows, he took a lot of video footage while he was there of the gentleman and Bernard Lafayette and Fred Shuttlesworth and others and DICK GEPHARDT, our leader. But what he has done now that he has gotten back, he has taken that footage and is tying it to North Carolina during that very same period, using it for staff development for teachers as well as young people.

Mr. Speaker, let me thank the gentleman from Georgia for letting me walk through history with heroes of history, for helping stimulate and revive my thinking about Brown Chapel, the Pettus Bridge, for the things that happened that really changed this Nation for the better. To all of my col-

leagues who have not been, I would say to them, they need to go to understand. My colleagues really need to go to understand. We can read the history books, we can even see the videos, but until you walk through history and you walk through the museums and the parks and you see how children were abused, children who were innocent, denied the opportunity for an education, how children were attacked by dogs and water hoses and all of those other things that today we shudder to even think happen, but they were commonplace.

As we walk through history, we appreciate the right to vote, and for those who have always had it, they do not understand how important and precious it really is. How precious is human decency and basic common sense and housing, as we have talked about. Let me thank the gentleman again and Faith and Politics for making it available. I planned to go, as the gentleman well knows, a couple of times, and other things happened. I am glad I went, I am glad this became a bipartisan venture.

I have been to Birmingham before. I have been to Montgomery on business. But if someone has not been on this trip, a walk through history, one really does not understand how important it is for America. I guess I was heartened, I would say to my friend, by the strength of human will. No one can know unless they go or no one can truly understand the total commitment of a whole community from the smallest child to the oldest person, until you get to Montgomery, and you understand they were willing to walk for you. You do not understand until you walk through the park in Birmingham and you see what children went through and adults and how people were willing to give up their lives.

Yes, we have challenges today. We need to stand on the shoulders of people like the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS), Martin Luther King, and others who have laid a foundation, but the challenges are still here for those of us in this body. Not just access to education, but equal opportunity to education for every child, the chance for a child to get a college education when they have the ability, but not the money; health care opportunities for our seniors and others, and yes, the right to vote and the obligation and right to have that vote counted. In America in the 21st century, there is no excuse to repeat the problems of history in the past.

Mr. Speaker, we have a long, unfinished agenda, but to my friend from Georgia, let me thank him for making this available for our colleagues, and I would encourage others of my colleagues to go. Not only will they benefit, but their constituents will benefit immensely and America will be a better place for it.

Again, I thank the gentleman again for his courage of nonviolence. After having walked through the footprints

of history, I have questioned myself on many days: could I have stood knowing the abuse that I was about to take. I do not know the answer to that.

□ 1515

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. JEFFERSON), my colleague and my friend.

Mr. JEFFERSON. Mr. Speaker, I want to begin by just acknowledging the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) and the gentleman's place in history. Sometimes we are here working with you every day, and we do not appreciate how much you mean to all of us and to our country.

Mr. Speaker, I suppose today that there are a couple of people in this country who are living now who played a more significant role perhaps than the gentleman did in the civil rights movement, but only maybe one or two, maybe not that many.

It is just that small a group that made this huge difference for all of us, and it is important to acknowledge that and to thank the gentleman and to tell all the Members who serve with us every day that we serve with a very special Member, with a very special man who, not only in this country but around the world, who is known for what he has done to make human rights real for people and to inspire others around the world to fight for human rights.

I thank the gentleman for being our colleague and our friend and for permitting us to be with the gentleman on this pilgrimage.

Let me say, when the gentleman was starting out, I was a little younger than the gentleman. I was probably about 11 years old back then, living in a place called Lake Providence, Louisiana, in the northeastern part of the State in the Mississippi Delta, though. I know that the gentleman knows how tough it was back then.

The things the gentleman recounts in his book, *Walking With the Wind*, are things that I went through as a young boy as well.

I remember when my mother and others in our family were trying hard to get the right to vote and to pass a literacy test. When my mother finally got this done in 1926, she was only one of five people in our parish to have the right to vote. I remember her trying to teach other people in our little living room there how to recite the preamble to the Constitution, how to recite the Presidents in order from 1 to 20 or so, and how to compute their ages, the year, the month and the day.

They struggled with these things, as would have the whites in that area back then, but they did not have to take it. They had just as little schooling as the black folks had, but did not have to take the test.

I remember when in 1966 the Federal registrars came to town after the passage of the Voting Rights Act.

In 1966, there was a line formed around the little courthouse a lot like



you might have seen in the pictures in South Africa, a long line of folks in our little town. And the stories told by my mother who was up there watching this line and had a fellow named Vaughn, Henry Vaughn, I remember his name, who came to that line and said to my mother and her friends and to Reverend Scott, who was then our local civil rights leader, Reverend Scott, why are all your folks lined up like this? There is not a one of them who is fit to hold an office. Who you all going to put in? Reverend Scott said, I do not know who we are going to put in, but there are some folks we want to take out.

There is a power in the vote that went to those folks that never had it before. Mr. Vaughn approached them because they would have the power to vote. It is a power that none of us ought to take for granted, that none of us ought to diminish in the way we treat it, that all of us ought to embrace at this point in our lives and remember those shoulders on which we stood back in those days.

There were lessons to be learned as we went through this pilgrimage with the gentleman. We were reminded of all the times that I went through in my life with my mother and her friends and my family and all those families like her. Because, as the gentleman points out in his book, it was not just the big people at the top. It was the foot soldiers of the movement that made the movement, people like my mother and others and the ladies we met and the gentleman we met down there with the gentleman in Alabama. It was those folks who made the difference.

There is a book, I say to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS), that says But For Birmingham, and if the gentleman had not taken the ride in 1961 and come through Birmingham and had it happen there, if the gentleman had not started that movement back then with others, the gentleman's colleagues, young people, it shows what young people can do with their lives if they commit themselves.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KERNS). The time of the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) has expired.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to yield to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) an additional 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Any additional Members may seek an additional 5-minute Special Order by unanimous consent.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 5 minutes.

There was no objection.

### THIRTY-SIX YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF MARCH ACROSS EDMUND PETTUS BRIDGE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gen-

tleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. JEFFERSON).

Mr. JEFFERSON. Mr. Speaker, I will speak very briefly now to try and end this, but there is so much to say.

Mr. Speaker, I want to say to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) at the very end, we came back here from the gentleman's trip to hear remarks that Senator BYRD had made and indiscreet remarks that he had made on a television program, and all of us were in an uproar about it, but I saw it in a different paradigm, because of my trip with the gentleman, honest to goodness.

I thought about what the gentleman said when the gentleman talked about nonviolence being more than a tactic but a way of life, and the fact that the part of the movement was not just to win the struggle but to redeem those who were on the other side of it, those who were the enemies of the right to vote, the enemies of freedom.

I felt that I should approach that in a different spirit, and it was all because of the gentleman's teaching in that short time that we had there about the love and the community, about the value of nonviolence and about how we ought to internalize how we dealt with other people. I called to talk to him about what he had said in a way very different from the way I would have had I not gone with the gentleman. There is some strength, tremendous strength, in the nonviolence movement that comes, as the gentleman said, from the inside out.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for teaching me that, and I thank the gentleman for serving with me as a colleague. I thank the gentleman for allowing me to come on the trip. It is a life-changing experience, and I thank the gentleman for it.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS).

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. JEFFERSON), my friend and my colleague, for those kind and extraordinary words. I think we all can come together and help build up a loving community and really help build the truly interracial democracy in America.

We are really one family. We are one house, the American house, the American family or the world house or the world family.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I want to just say a few words here.

Mr. Speaker, first, I want to say that I am grateful to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS), my colleague, and to the Faith and Politics Institute for giving me and my wife, Lisa, the opportunity to not only learn more about the great struggle for civil rights in this country but to be inspired to do more right now to make this country an even better country, to have this ex-

perience, to be there with the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) and Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, and Bernard Lafayette and Bob Zelnor and Betty Fikes, all giants in the movement, was a real privilege.

Let me add that I have never heard a voice sing more beautifully than Betty Fikes.

We have had the opportunity to walk through history and to retrace the steps of Martin Luther King, of Rosa Parks, of the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) and Fred Shuttlesworth, but we also had the opportunity to reflect on our current challenges in this country.

I think we all agree that we still have a long way to go before we achieve the dream that Martin Luther King spoke so passionately about. As Members of Congress, I think we need to realize that we need to act. We need to do more to fight racism and bigotry and prejudice in this country. We need to ensure voting rights in this country, and we need to do that through more than just rhetoric.

We need to pass legislation for real election reform here in this country. We need to fight to make sure that every child has the opportunity for a first-rate education. We need to make sure that everybody in this country gets health care. We need to make sure that there is funding existing in the Department of Justice to enforce our civil rights laws.

We have a long way to go, and I want to thank my colleague from Georgia for giving my wife, Lisa, and I the great privilege to not only travel with the gentleman but to learn and to be inspired. So I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS).

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, let me just thank the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), my friend, my colleague, my brother, and thank the gentleman and his wife for making the trip. It is my hope and my prayer that we will continue, all of us, to work together to make real the very essence of our democracy, the idea of one person, one vote, not only that people must have a right to vote but also have their vote counted.

### THIRTY-SIX YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF MARCH ACROSS EDMUND PETTUS BRIDGE

Ms. CARSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentlewoman from Indiana (Ms. CARSON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

There was no objection.

Ms. CARSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I am very humbled by this opportunity to join with my colleagues who had the invaluable experience of journeying to Montgomery in terms of a reenactment of the Montgomery boycott that was led by the gentleman from