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THE OTHER HALF OF THE JOB

(By Michael McFaul)

The United States is at war. President Bush therefore has correctly asked for Congress to approve additional resources to fight this war. The new sums requested—\$48 billion for next year alone—are appropriately large. Bush and his administration have astutely defined this new campaign as a battle for civilization itself, and have wisely cautioned that the battle lines will be multifaceted and untraditional.

So why are the new supplemental funds earmarked to fight this new war largely conventional and single-faceted—i.e., money for the armed forces? Without question, the Department of Defense needs and deserves new resources to conduct the next phase of the war on terrorism. The Department of Defense may even need \$48 billion for next year.

What is disturbing about President Bush's new budget, though, is how little creative attention or new resources have been devoted to the other means for winning the war on terrorism. The Bush budget is building greater American capacity to destroy bad states, but it adds hardly any new capacity to construct new good states.

We should have learned the importance of following state destruction with state construction, since the 20th century offers up both positive and negative lessons. Many have commented that our current war is new and unprecedented, but it is not. Throughout the 20th century, the central purpose of American power was to defend against and, when possible, destroy tyranny.

American presidents have been at their best when they have embraced the mission of defending liberty at home and spreading liberty abroad. This was the task during World War II. This was the objective (or should have been the mission) during the Cold War. It must be our mission again.

The process of defeating the enemies of liberty is twofold: Crush their regimes that harbor them and then build new democratic, pro-Western regimes in the vacuum.

In the first half of the last century, imperial Japan and fascist Germany constituted the greatest threats to American national security. The destruction of these dictatorships, followed by the imposition of democratic regimes in Germany and Japan, helped make these two countries American allies.

In the second half of the last century, Soviet communism and its supporters represented the greatest threat to American national security. The collapse of Communist autocracies in Europe and then the Soviet Union greatly improved American national security. The emergency of democracies in east Central Europe a decade ago and the fall of dictators in southeast Europe more recently have radically improved the European security climate, and therefore U.S. national security interests. Democratic consolidation in Russia, still an unfinished project, is the best antidote to a return of U.S.-Russian rivalry.

The Cold War, however, also offers sad lessons of what can happen when the United States carries out state destruction of anti-Western, autocratic regimes without following through with state construction of pro-Western, democratic regimes. President Reagan rightly understood that the United States had an interest in overthrowing Communist regimes around the world. The Reagan doctrine channeled major resources to this aim and achieved some successes, including most notably in Afghanistan. State construction there, however, did not follow state destruction. The consequences were tragic for American national security.

So why is the Bush administration not devoting greater capacity for state construc-

tion in parallel to increasing resources for state destruction? Bush's pledge of \$297 million for Afghanistan for next year is commendable, but this one-time earmark does not constitute a serious, comprehensive strategy for state construction in Afghanistan or the rest of the despotic world that currently threatens the United States.

On the contrary, in the same year that the Department of Defense is receiving an extra \$48 billion, many U.S. aid agencies will suffer budget cuts. Moreover, the experience of the past decade of assistance in the post-Communist world shows that aid works best in democratic regimes. Yet budgets for democracy assistance in South Asia and the Middle East are still minuscule. Strikingly, the theme of democracy promotion was absent in President Bush's otherwise brilliant State of the Union speech.

It is absolutely vital that the new regime in Afghanistan succeed. Afghanistan is our new West Germany. The new regime there must stand as a positive example to the rest of the region of how rejection of tyranny and alliance with the West can translate into democratic governance and economic growth. And the United States must demonstrate to the rest of the Muslim world that we take state construction—democratic construction—as seriously as we do state destruction. Beyond Afghanistan, the Bush administration must develop additional, non-military tools for fighting the new war. To succeed, the United States will need its full arsenal of political, diplomatic, economic and military weapons. Bush's statements suggest that he understands this imperative. Bush's budget, however, suggests a divide between rhetoric and policy.

MINNESOTA CELEBRATES BLACK HISTORY MONTH

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. President, February is a very special month for people in Minnesota and throughout our country. It is "Black History Month," when all of us recognize the many outstanding achievements of African-Americans and their important contributions to our nation. We also honor the African-American men and women who achieved these successes despite obstacles which would have defeated lesser people.

In 1926, Carter Woodson, considered by many to be the "Father of Black History," created Negro History Week. It evolved into Black History Week in the early 1970s. In 1976, February was chosen to be Black History Month, because it included the birthdays of Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln, both of whom made heroic contributions to the lives of African-Americans in this country.

So throughout this month, let us celebrate the accomplishments of so many African-American heroes. They dared to take risks to ensure a better way of life for all people, and the results of their courageous acts have been felt around the world.

Though we have come a long way in our battle for equal rights for all Americans, there is still much to be done. We must be bolder in our efforts to ensure that Americans of every race have every opportunity to share in and contribute to our economic prosperity. That means quality education and

health care and adequate housing for all Americans. It means a good job with living wages, so that everyone can earn the American dream. And it means that our tax and budget policies must spread their benefits across all social and economic lines.

We must intensify our push toward a justice system that is color blind in enacting and enforcing our laws. Hate crimes, prejudice, racial profiling, and discrimination must be eliminated now and forever.

We must continue to honor the people who have shaped our society and also recognize the work of today's leaders who endeavor to continue that crusade for equality. Minnesota takes great pride in the African-Americans who have made our State and our country a better place. Their achievements abound throughout public service, the arts, sports, and academia.

Sharon Sayles-Belton has just completed two terms as the Mayor of Minneapolis. Throughout her eight years, she provided extraordinary leadership. Her many accomplishments have left Minneapolis a better City than when she took office, and they will be her lasting legacies for many years to come.

Sharon exemplifies the highest caliber of dedicated public service, which has been a great Minnesota tradition. As a very successful and visible African-American woman, she served as a role model for many girls and young women in the City. And her compassion for others, her steadfast resolve, and her effective leadership are models for all of us.

Mahmoud El Kati, professor of African-American Studies at Macalester College in St. Paul, teaches courses such as "The Black Experience Since World War II" and "Sports and the African-American Community." He is a frequent contributor to the opinion pages of both Twin Cities newspapers as well as the local Black press, and he speaks candidly about African-American society today. Most recently, El Kati has campaigned to name a street in St. Paul after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Evelyn Fairbanks, a St. Paul native who died last year, was a Renaissance woman. She became the first Black employee at St. Paul's Hamline University, as a cashier. She wrote a memoir, "The Days of Rondo," which portrays her experiences growing up in the Rondo community, the largest Black neighborhood in St. Paul, in the 1930s and '40s. While still employed in various jobs such as factory worker, maid, and director of a neighborhood arts center, Fairbanks earned her undergraduate degree from the University of Minnesota at the age of 40. Later, her memoir was adapted for the stage, as the play *Everlasting Arms*. In 1995, Hamline University awarded this accomplished woman an honorary doctorate degree.

The mission of Minnesota's Penumbra Theatre is "to bring forth professional productions that are artistically

excellent, thought provoking, relevant, entertaining and presented from an African-American perspective." That is how Lou Bellamy, Penumbra's founder and artistic director, runs this nationally recognized theatre. Under Bellamy's leadership, the Penumbra has received numerous honors, including the Jujamcyn Theaters Award for the development of artistic talent.

As the Dean of the University of Minnesota General College, David Taylor does what he loves, assisting educationally disadvantaged students. He is also a scholar of African-American Studies whose greatest influences have been his mother and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Taylor, who grew up in the Summit-University neighborhood of St. Paul, is often called upon to provide an historical perspective on Minnesota's African-American community.

These are just a few of the Minnesotans, past and present, who exemplify the struggle for attainment of human dignity, justice, and self-determination. As we celebrate Black History Month, we can look to them as models of leadership, making Minnesota and this country all that it should be for all our citizens.

VERMONTERS TAKE FIRST GOLD AT 2002 WINTER OLYMPICS

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, my colleagues sometimes may wonder whether we Vermonters will ever run out of examples to illustrate the pride we take in our beautiful State and its people. Not today, we won't.

Today I rise to describe two of Vermont's finest athletes representing all Americans at the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City.

Vermont's cold winters and plentiful snow breed true winter athletes. We need not look any further than this year's Olympic roster to see this. At least 21 of America's competitors can claim ties to Vermont. Some of them have lived in the Green Mountain State for their entire lives, while others have come to our mountains to attend one of our schools or universities.

During the last two days, two of these Vermonters swept the Olympic snowboarding halfpipe competitions, winning America's first two gold medals of the 2002 Winter Olympics. Vermont is famous for its firsts. Many of snowboarding's newly formed roots reach deep into the Green Mountains of our State. It is fitting that two Vermont snowboarders have shown the world how it is done.

On Sunday, February 10th, 18-year-old Kelly Clark of West Dover, VT, became the first American to win a gold medal in the 2002 Winter Olympics, scoring a 47.9 out of 50 points in the women's halfpipe competition. Then on Monday, Ross Powers, 23, of South Londonderry, Vermont, took gold in the men's halfpipe competition, winning America's second gold medal of this year's Winter Games.

Since the fourth grade, Kelly Clark has been riding the slopes of Vermont. Her parents own a small restaurant

near the beautiful resort of Mount Snow. It was on our Green Mountains that Kelly exerted herself beyond belief, pushing the limit, jumping higher and attempting new moves. She succeeded because she refused to let danger, fear, and exhaustion keep her down.

Kelly is no stranger to winning. Only two short months ago she won the gold medal at the Winter X-Games in Aspen, CO. On Sunday, not only did she win the gold medal, but she managed to do it under great pressure. As the last competitor of the event, she only had one last chance to show the world what she could do, and she rose to the challenge.

The day after Kelly introduced herself to the world, Ross Powers won his second Olympic medal adding to a collection of medals he began during the 1998 Nagano Games when snowboarding made its Olympic debut. All the more remarkable is the fact that Ross led America in a medal sweep of a winter event for the first time in nearly half a century. He impressed the judges and spectators by shooting off the snow 15 feet into the air, landing flawlessly and performing trick after trick.

His family and friends back at Vermont's Bromley Mountain and Stratton Mountain resorts watched Ross, as a child snowboard prodigy, work hard and push himself from the time he first strapped a snowboard to his feet at age five. Three years later he began competing.

Recognizing the hard work, determination and financial backing it takes to become a world-class athlete, Ross formed the Ross Powers Foundation. This non-profit program gives talented and hard-working children the financial support they need to follow their winter sports dreams.

I am sure many more of my fellow Vermonters will find their way onto our sports pages before the Olympics leave Salt Lake City. I know that the country shares our pride in the accomplishments of these courageous Olympic athletes. We Vermonters join all Americans in thanking Kelly and Ross, and all Olympic athletes, for their hard work and devotion to competition and to their country.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

RECOGNIZING ROY LEWIS

• Mr. BUNNING. Mr. President, I rise today in order to respectfully recognize the selfless actions of Roy Lewis, a long-time resident of Ashland, KY.

For the last 10 years, Mr. Lewis, 91 years-young, has been the man who every Monday evening hands out tickets at the Community Kitchen in Ashland, KY. Mr. Lewis has been a dedicated and loyal member of the First Baptist Church in Ashland since 1936 and fulfills his ticket duties at the Kitchen only after honoring his commitment as a member of the church teller committee, which counts and prepares the church's Sunday offering to be deposited in the bank. He also

regularly teaches Sunday School and serves as the church clerk.

I ask my fellow Members of the Senate to furthermore join me in congratulating Mr. Lewis for being named Deacon Emeritus and Trustee Emeritus last year, and for his 53 years of diligent and undaunted service to the church and the community.

Instead of enjoying his retirement from Ashland Oil by playing golf or traveling, Roy Lewis has chosen to give back to the community and people he has so dearly loved for 91 years. I praise Mr. Lewis for his willingness to put other's needs ahead of his own and thank him for having such a strong character and heart.●

IN RECOGNITION OF THE 90TH ANNIVERSARY OF HADASSAH

• Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask that the Senate join me today in congratulating Hadassah upon its 90th anniversary. Originally founded in 1912 by Henrietta Szold as a woman's study circle, Hadassah has grown into an organization with over 300,000 members involved with 1,500 chapters across the country. Today, Hadassah is not only the largest woman's group in the country, but also the largest Jewish membership organization in the United States.

Since its inception, Hadassah has been an advocate on behalf of women, Israel and the Jewish diaspora. However, Hadassah has done more than advocate on behalf of these issues, it has taken concrete steps to help people throughout the world. In particular, Hadassah is to be lauded for its provision of world class health care to the people of the Middle East, irrespective of race, religion or nationality. Every year, more than 600,000 patients are treated at the centers operated by the Hadassah Medical Organization, HMO, which includes two hospitals, 90 outpatient clinics, and numerous community health centers. Under the auspices of the HMO, Haddassah also provides medical training during international health crises, including the recent events in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda.

Though Hadassah's medical efforts are primarily in the Middle East, the organization also has other important initiatives. One of the most notable is a nationwide breast cancer detection and awareness campaign conducted by the Women's Health Department. This campaign includes the Check it Out high school program which strives to educate teens about the dangers of cancer and how to screen oneself for early signs. In addition, Hadassah produces quality educational programs that help Jewish families learn about and celebrate their Jewish culture and heritage.

Hadassah is also affiliated with numerous other programs which provide such services as technical and vocational training and environmental