

Finally, the fact that the Administration would devastate their own ability to carry out our Nation's foreign policy towards China with some degree of respect and moral authority is staggering.

The administration had better recognize the signal that was sent to them by the House with the passage of the amendments today. The relationship with China is too important to be foolishly squandered. It is time for the administration to immediately provide the Congress with all information related to these events.

While we have a responsibility, Mr. Speaker, to continue to try to foster a sound relationship with China, we must ensure that the administration holds national security as the bedrock upon which our foreign relations stand.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR TERRY SANFORD

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HEFNER) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and to provide extraneous material on the subject of my special order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KINGSTON). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, as the dean of the North Carolina Delegation, I would take this time to pay tribute to what I consider one of the greatest politicians and public servants that has ever served this country, former Governor Terry Sanford; Duke President Terry Sanford; and as of late, the Senator Terry Sanford.

At this time, some of my colleagues from North Carolina have remarks that they would like to make, and I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE).

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for organizing this special order and for giving us the opportunity tonight to pay tribute to an extraordinary citizen and a visionary leader, Terry Sanford, a son of North Carolina of whom we are exceedingly proud.

Terry Sanford died on April 18. When we look back on the broad sweep of his life, in addition to being governor and senator, he was an FBI agent at one time; a World War II paratrooper; a state legislator; a lawyer; an author; a university president. We see a life committed to the greatest movements and deeply involved in the greatest accomplishments in this American century.

Terry Sanford was a mentor and an inspiration to many of my generation who came of age politically during his

governorship in the early 1960s. He was the first political figure with whom I seriously identified. He became governor at a time of extraordinary challenge as the movement for racial justice swept across the South. The South, in fact, was a racial powder keg, with the sit-in movement, the Freedom Riders, a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, mob violence, and federal troops occupying college campuses.

Governor Sanford rejected the politics of demagoguery and defiance and thus set a standard for the New South on the most important and explosive issue of the day.

While massive resistance was embraced by some, during his 1961 inaugural address, Terry Sanford called for a "new day" in which "no group of our citizens can be denied the right to participate in the opportunities of first-class citizenship."

It made a world of difference to me and my generation to have Terry Sanford as a counter-example to the Wallaces and Faubuses and Barnetts, as an example of decency and dignity and a willingness to change.

Governor Sanford also in the space of a short, single term made major contributions to the improvement of public education in North Carolina, to the development of North Carolina's community college system, and to the growth of Research Triangle Park. A Harvard study designated him as one of the Nation's top 10 governors in this century.

Most importantly, Terry Sanford taught my generation what democratic politics at its best could be. He was a model of energetic and innovative leadership, full of ideas, refusing to be bound by the shackles of the past, possessing a vision of future possibility that inspired and empowered others.

When I returned to North Carolina in 1973 to teach at Duke University, it was again under Terry Sanford's inspiration as we launched what is now called the Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy. President Sanford's idea was to bring disparate disciplines together, from economics to political science to history, to the arts, to ethics, to bring these disciplines together to enrich one another and to address the major challenges facing our society. As a young faculty member, I could not have asked for a more worthwhile mission or a more congenial atmosphere than what he fostered at Duke University.

Under President Sanford's leadership, the world-renowned Duke Medical Center doubled its capacity, the Fuqua School of Business was constructed, the University's endowment tripled. In short, under President Sanford, Duke reached its current status as a national leader in education, while also strengthening its ties to North Carolina and its contribution to our region of the country.

Along the way, Terry Sanford chaired a major national Democratic Party commission, he wrote a book,

and organized a national forum on our flawed system of presidential nomination, and he ran for President himself, standing up to George Wallace in the 1972 primaries.

□ 1915

Finally, Terry Sanford served North Carolina and the Nation as a United States Senator. He was a reluctant candidate in 1986, but he saw the need, and he responded to the call. I will forever treasure the memory of running on the ticket with him in my first campaign and serving with him here. He was the best at delivering a political stump speech that I have ever seen, speaking without notes in perfect one-sentence paragraphs, each one of them a perfectly crafted applause line. He was very, very good.

Senator Sanford's diverse policy interests were expressed in his service on the Committee on the Budget, Committee on Banking, and the Committee on Foreign Relations, and in initiatives that ranged from promotion of a stable peace in Central America to the cause of truth-in-budgeting. As always, he combined a gift for national policy innovation with faithful stewardship of North Carolina's needs and interests.

Terry Sanford had multiple careers, any one of which would be a credit to most people. I do not expect we will see another Terry Sanford in our lifetimes. But we can pick up parts of his legacy, and we can move that legacy forward.

We can all draw strength and wisdom from our memories of the example that he set, the courage that he displayed, the diligence and patience he showed in mentoring the younger generation, the good humor that infused everything that he did, the confidence he had in the capacities of ordinary men and women and in the ultimate judgment of history, even when he was undergoing temporary disappointments or setbacks. We will remember the confidence he had in us, willing to believe the best about each of us and thus enabling us to be our best.

Terry Sanford empowered and enabled many, many people. The ultimate impact of his influence and his inspiration will be limited only by the energy and creativity and the passion for realizing social justice that each of us can muster.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD the tributes to former Governor and Senator Sanford from the magnificent memorial service at the Duke Chapel: the remembrances by Governor James B. Hunt, President Nan Keohone of Duke University, former North Carolina House Speaker Dan Blue, Duke Endowment Chairwoman Mary Semans, Judge Dickson Phillips, and former Sanford Institute Director Joel Fleishman.

In addition, I include in the RECORD the eulogy from that service by Provost Emeritus Tom Langford of Duke University. I would also like to include a tribute by Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation Director Tom Lambeth, delivered on another occasion, and then two

columns by national journalists who knew Terry Sanford well and admired him greatly, Albert Hunt of the *Wall Street Journal* and David Gergen of *U.S. News and World Report*.

#### REMEMBRANCE AT THE TERRY SANFORD FUNERAL

(By North Carolina Governor Jim Hunt)

In the words of a great Methodist hymn: "Oh, for a thousand tongues to sing our Great Redeemer's praise."

Indeed, 1,000 tongues are here today to praise our Redeemer and one of His most magnificent gifts to the people of our state and our nation. I know that I speak for many of you when I say very simply: Terry Sanford was my hero. He was my hero because of what he did, but also because of the way he did it. His approach, his style, his ideas. He was constantly looking for ways to improve things. Calling people together to study issues, to prepare proposals for action. In fact, I suspect by now he has almost certainly had his orientation session with the Lord. And it was NOT a one-way conversation. I expect he has given the Lord a few good ideas for improving Heaven. Some of which should be done in the next 30 days. And almost certainly, if he has found any poverty, any discrimination, any poor schools, any worthy arts ideas there are projects underway, even now.

At a time when we struggle about whether government should act, let us remember the words of this uncommon man, Terry Sanford, who could think great thoughts and make them a reality. In one of his books, Terry wrote:

"Indeed, if government is not for the express purpose of lifting the level of civilization by broadening the opportunities in life for its people, what IS its purpose?"

And he added: "Government is not something passive, not our kind of government. It has built into it the spirit of outreach, the concern for every individual. Look at the verbs in the Preamble to the Constitution—establish, insure, provide, promote, secure. All these connote action, and all suggest that we must constantly be striving to improve the opportunities of our people."

And ACT Terry Sanford did. Strive to improve opportunities for our people he did.

Imagine what North Carolina would be like if we had not had Terry Sanford striving for us all these many years.

Imagine what North Carolina would have been like in the 1960s if we had not had a governor who believed in bringing people of all races together. If we'd had a governor, like other states, who appealed to the worst rather than the best in us. Imagine no Terry Sanford.

Imagine what North Carolina would be like without the Research Triangle Park. Imagine no Terry Sanford.

Imagine what North Carolina would be like without the community college system or the School of the Arts. Imagine no Terry Sanford.

Imagine what North Carolina would be like had he not set national excellence as the goal for this great university—and all of our other universities. Imagine no Terry Sanford.

Imagine what North Carolina public schools would be like if a great governor had not had the courage to pass a tax for school improvements—an act of courage that cost his own political ambitions deeply. Imagine no Terry Sanford.

It is truly unimaginable. You cannot imagine North Carolina without Terry Sanford.

Forty years ago, no one could have imagined what North Carolina would become.

No one, that is, but Terry Sanford.

He once wrote: "The governor, by his very office, embodies his state. He stands alone at his inauguration as the spokesman for all the people. His presence at the peak of the system is unique, for he must represent the slum and the suburb, his concerns must span rural poverty and urban blight. The responsibility for initiative in statewide programs falls upon the governor. He must energize his administration, search out the experts, formulate the programs, mobilize the support and carry new ideas into action."

Terry, you set the goals and our sights very high. So high that we often wonder if we can meet your standard. But your good works, your words and your spirit tell us every day, in every way, that the goal can be ours. That the struggle is worth it.

When we leave today, we will leave the body of our hero in this chapel. We will leave it here because no other structure is sufficiently magnificent to serve as the final resting place for a life as magnificent as his.

But while we leave his body here to rest, the evidence of his good works is and will be around us everywhere—in the institutions he led, in the innovations he championed, in the individuals he touched and, most of all, in the spirit of everyone here today and everyone in this state. And so it will be for every generation to come.

For all that North Carolina has become and will be, Terry, we thank you.

God bless this place. God bless this family. And thank God for the magnificent blessing of giving North Carolina Terry Sanford.

#### TERRY SANFORD REMEMBRANCE

(By Nannerl O. Keohane, President of Duke University)

Of the many eloquent tributes that have been paid to Terry Sanford this week, the one in our student newspaper on Monday would have been especially dear to him. It was written by Devin Gordon, the editor of the *Chronicle*, and it begins as follows: "Surely there is a place in heaven for Terry Sanford. For eight decades, Duke's patron saint found his way into the soul of this university and into the hearts of North Carolinians. The highlights of his storied career read like the resume of a dozen men combined: four decorations as a paratrooper during World War II, two years as a state senator, four years as N.C. governor, 15 years as university president, two runs for the United States presidency and six years as a United States Senator. On Saturday morning at 11:30 a.m., however, he finally stopped to rest."

Terry Sanford took office at Duke in 1970, at a time when one might have thought that only a madman would take a university presidency. It was the very height of the protest against the war on campuses everywhere; presidents were being thrown out of the office right and left, and those who kept their jobs were harried and beleaguered. In those tumultuous times leadership was scorned and often ineffective. But Terry took the job with zest, and from the very first, performed it with panache, sincerity, serenity and purpose.

We've relished the story of how he met with protesting students during the first few weeks and, when they told him that they planned to occupy our administration building, he said, "Great, take me with you. I've been trying to occupy it for weeks." But it's less well known that after delivering that memorable quip, Terry neither departed nor called in reinforcements. He took a chair and sat down on the stage behind the student leaders. This quiet but brilliant gesture immediately established his authority, demonstrated that he intended to be part of the solution, and forced the student leaders to

redirect their attention, both literally and metaphorically, to the president as well as to the audience in front.

Even more remarkable, Terry aspired then not just to keep Duke University roughly on course, not just to create space for dialogue, not just to keep the peace. He took the presidency of a fine university with a distinguished history in its state and its region, and determined to make it one of the nation's truly great institutions. And he succeeded, beyond what any observer could have predicted or foreseen.

Now Terry would be the first to say that he did not do that all by himself. Many others, many gathered here today, were important in this endeavor, but his leadership was crucial.

Terry had extraordinary political skills—political in the best sense of the word—which he used in the state, in the university, in the senate: the power to persuade, the ability to bring people together to accomplish shared goals, an uncanny sense of strategy, and patience coupled with determination and leavened by humor.

At a time when politics is held in less than good repute by many in our country, it is worth celebrating a man for whom politics was a true vocation, who excelled at it. There's an essay by that name, "Politics as a Vocation," which was written in the dark aftermath of World War I in Germany by Max Weber, who was himself a statesman and a teacher. And he said: "Politics is a strong and slow boring of hard boards. It takes both passion and perspective. Certainly all historical experience confirms the truth that man would not have attained the possible unless time and again he had reached out for the impossible. But to do that a man must be a leader, and not only a leader but a hero as well, in a very sober sense of the word."

Terry Sanford was, in truth, a leader-hero. That word re-echos around this Chapel today. As one of his successors in this office, I have learned more than I could possibly describe from Terry's example and from his wise counsel. From the very first time we met for breakfast soon after I came to Duke, when he looked me over with that piercing but kindly glint in his eye and gave me some extraordinarily sage my perspectives on my new university and my new state, to the last time I saw him, just a few weeks ago when I went to his house to ask his advice about the great bonfire controversy that raged at Duke this spring, he was an unfailing source of staunch support, friendly advice, and regular inspiration.

As President, "Uncle Terry" was especially close to the students. He felt, and he said, that the students were the whole point of the institution. At breakfasts, at parties at his house, just by walking around the campus, he drew his strength as president from the exuberance and the freshness of the undergraduates. He did so remembering the importance in his own life of a great leader of his alma mater in his student days—Frank Porter Graham. One of Terry's legendary moments, Herculean in its implications, came when he swayed the Cameron Crazies, at a time when their cheers had become especially obscene and ruthless. He wrote to them as Uncle Terry, and appealed to them to be more clever and less gross, to be "devastating but decent." And they responded, with greetings of exaggerated courtesy to our friends from Chapel Hill, with loyal halos, and with respectful jibes at the referees saying, "we beg to differ."

He believed in giving students a great deal of power within the university. He put them, for example, on Trustee committees, and he asked of them in turn a high degree of responsibility; and they responded affectionately and admiringly. The list of Terry's accomplishments as president of Duke is long

and very impressive—the buildings he built, the programs he instituted, the Fuqua School of Business, the Institute of the Arts, the Talent Identification Program, the Mary Lou Williams Center, the Institute of Policy Sciences, which now bears his name, and many more. But he was especially proud of the Bryan Center, the student center, which he called the “living room of the university.” He wanted all students at Duke to have a good experience, to make friends, to enjoy their time. When two of his administrative colleagues came to tell him that Duke could not afford to build the student center, and that it was time to tell the board this news, Sanford said: “then you’ll also have to explain to them why I’m no longer president.” Needless to say, a way was found to build it.

Terry Sanford also cared deeply about employees. He wrote a policy statement shortly before he left office in which he emphasized that “Every person who works at Duke is vitally important to Duke. We are all Duke University people. Our employees’ welfare and creative contributions are intertwined with Duke’s excellence and success. Working at Duke, in whatever capacity, must be a satisfying way of life. We are each an individual part of one of the great institutions of America.”

Leaders who care deeply about individual human beings sometimes find it hard to focus on institution-building, and leaders who have built institutions have sometimes worked in abstractions and knew little of the people who were part of those institutions. But Terry was amazingly able to bring those two aspects of leadership together. He understood that institutions are made up of individual human beings. They are not bloodless abstractions. He also understood that individual human beings need good institutions in which to live and to work and to flourish. He cared about the state of North Carolina, the government of his country, the United States Senate, the School of the Arts, the School of Science and Math, and Duke University. We are all better, and stronger, and more optimistic about the future, because of the lasting legacies of Terry Sanford’s life and leadership.

#### REMEMBRANCE AT THE FUNERAL OF TERRY SANFORD

(By Daniel P. Blue, Trustee of Duke University and Former Speaker of the N.C. House of Representatives)

To the wonderful Sanford family and the extended Sanford family, I come to remember and commemorate the single most important North Carolinian in my lifetime and perhaps the single most important North Carolinian of this century.

When I was 24 years old with a wife and young son and two weeks experience practicing law, Terry Sanford came to visit me in my office. He walked in, closed the door, sat down. He could tell I was nervous. After all, who wouldn’t be if you had a former governor, the president of the university from which you had just gotten your law degree and the single partner in a law firm that had just blazed a new path in this state by being among the first to hire an African-American lawyer, come in the office.

Well, after giving me a little fatherly advice on the practice of law, Terry told me, he said, “I came over here to check on you, see how you’re doing. These fellows will treat you all right. If they don’t, let me know. And let me know if there is ever anything I can do for you.” It was his law firm of course—Sanford, Cannon, Adams and McCullough, at the time. And I later learned that Terry had placed a call to the senior partners in that firm and told them that he had observed this

Duke law student and he wanted them to interview me, which was tantamount to telling them “come hire me.” So, after we had talked a while, Terry also did the greatest tribute, I guess, to a young lawyer. He assigned me to one of the major cases in the firm, directly answerable to him and two of the other main partners in the firm.

Later, as time went on, not only with me but other people in the firm, Terry consistently urged us to be politically active and he urged me to run for the North Carolina House of Representatives, and I did. Later on, as a U.S. senator, Terry learned that I was interested in being speaker of the House of Representatives and he called and he said, “You know, people will call you and they’ll tell you why you can’t do it for various reasons. Some of them will be obvious to you. Some won’t. You ought to listen, be courteous to them, acknowledge their interest and concern, then go on about tying down those who are going to support you and do it.” And you know, with his help.

The fact that I stand before you today, as a farm boy from Robeson County, one who embodies all of those things that Terry Sanford did and meant for North Carolina, and as I stand to help remember one who is considered one of the 10 greatest governors in America during this century, it’s a clear measure of how far we have come and how far Terry Sanford has led us. You know, the amazing, almost mystical thing about Terry Sanford, as one of his former law partners told me, was his ability, the rare knack, to get ordinary people to do unordinary and extraordinary things.

We reflect a little bit, those of us who grew up in North Carolina in the Sixties, on a different climate, but we also wonder whether our brethren in North Carolina were much different than our brethren throughout the region during those turbulent times, or were we blessed in the Sixties with the kind of the leader who did not reflect a lot of the sentimentalities and the sensibilities of the people as much as he shaped them and elevated those sensibilities?

Thirty-five years ago, in neighboring states in the South, Ross Barnett in Mississippi closed gates, shut doors to prevent James Meredith from entering the University of Mississippi. At about the same time Gov. Faubus from Arkansas closed gates, shut doors, to keep students from integrating the public schools in Little Rock. At about the same time, Gov. Wallace from Alabama stood in the schoolhouse door to block entrance, to close the gates. In Virginia, schools closed, people were denied, gates came down.

And at about the same time, Gov. Terry Sanford in North Carolina boldly generated the resources to improve public education for my generation, helped establish our statewide system of community colleges for my generation, created the North Carolina School of the Arts, created the Governor’s School in Winston Salem, created the Learning Institute of North Carolina, increased teacher pay, started the North Carolina Fund, and established the Good Neighbor Council to discuss racial issues in the state during those tense times.

He had a vision to see across the landscape of hopelessness, hate, distrust and despair: to look through the hills, that existed at the time, or racism, of economic deprivation and all of those things that he clearly could see across, and see a gate of opportunity for all North Carolinians, for all Southerners, for all Americans.

In fairness, I will say this, one quarter of a century later, Gov. Wallace repented and we know, those of us who are believers, that the Lord has said there will be more rejoicing in heaven over one sinner who repents than

over 99 righteous person who do not need to repent. But with due respect to heavenly custom, Lord, I would say that down here in North Carolina there is more rejoicing over one righteous person, a righteous man, who need not repent for any position that he took in times of trial or in rough decision.

If I have known any man who has made a difference in my life and in the lives of so many North Carolinians, who believed in people and who was impervious to the pressure of other people’s prejudice, it was Terry Sanford. I’m speaking as just one of the people who own him a tremendous debt of freedom and gratitude. I told my children as they asked me many years ago when they were looking at Duke, that Terry Sanford was reason enough to look because he was a man who was at least two generations ahead of his contemporaries. The older I get, my friends, the more I know I need to revise that. Terry Sanford was a man who was at least three generations ahead in his vision of my generation.

So, let me say, if you will permit me to use this opportunity, offered by the power of this pulpit and the honor of this occasion, to discharge a personal duty to Terry Sanford, to do for him in his afterlife what he did for us as lawyers who had the privilege of practicing with him, what he did for us as North Carolinians and as Americans—offer a short, persuasive recommendation for admission. And I would start it by saying, Dear Lord, open your gate wide for Terry Sanford. He opened gates for me. Dear Lord, open your gate wide for Terry Sanford, he opened gates for all of us here on earth. Oh Lord, open wide your gate for Terry Sanford, he never closed a gate on anyone. He never kept the gate closed on anyone. God bless him.

#### REMEMBRANCE AT THE FUNERAL OF TERRY SANFORD

(By Mary Duke Biddle Trent Semans, Chair of The Duke Endowment)

A man from Durham County called me and asked, “Do you think we could come to Terry Sanford’s services. He was my friend.” I’m sure he’s here today because all of us know that we are all his friends. That man knew that all of Terry’s friends were real, they were forever and they were sincere.

And as a citizen of Durham, I have to express gratitude for what he meant to this community. This became his home. He recognized Durham’s egalitarianism, and he enhanced its peoples reaching out for each other. As a result of his historic achievements, Terry Sanford changed the face of North Carolina. For those of us who worked with him through the years, Terry Sanford was our hero. We referred to ourselves as being part of the family. He made us feel that we were on his magic carpet and that he expected us to do things we never dreamed we were capable of.

The image of North Carolina as that special state, which stands out in the South as its most progressive and inventive, was created by Terry Sanford. He had golden aspirations for it and he made them come true. He was convinced that there was no fence which could be built that North Carolina could not reach and climb. So he established the goals and led the state to its place of honor.

Just think of some of the institutions—some which have been mentioned already, but I have to say again—we watched him build: Governor’s School for academic achievers; the North Carolina Fund, one of the nation’s first poverty programs; the community college system; a public policy institute at this university; the establishment of the American Dance Festival that he brought to this state; and of all audacious achievements, the North Carolina School of

the Arts, a conservatory for talented professional aspiring young people unique in the South, and in many ways unique in the nation, which is already graduating Oscar nominees and winners.

As president here, Terry Sanford threw open the windows of Duke University—open to the state, the nation and the world. He reminded this institution of its great North Carolina history as Trinity College and brought its alumni back into the fold. He sensed the founders' dreams and carried them out. He emphasized Mr. Duke's vision. Known by many students as "Uncle Terry," he listened to students and challenged them with new opportunities. When he was here at Duke as president, Terry Sanford said, very wisely, "there is never an end to building an institution."

He never stopped building and he never stopped dreaming and even in the last few months, he was planning an institute for the arts in the Triangle. Looking back, we realize that almost every one of his great achievements was concerned with youth, as well as with the disabled, minorities, the under served and under privileged—not only helping them in groups, but caring about them and reaching out to them as individuals. He cherished the teachings of his parents and he lived a life based on his Sunday school lessons. There was a particular sweetness about his love of the Methodist Church and of this state and always there was Margaret Rose by his side. Thank Good for Margaret Rose.

As we face the days ahead with a lost feeling, we know that in addition to being an icon, he was a comfort. Just knowing he was nearby gave us a sense of security. Steven Sender wrote that the truly great are those who in their lives fought for life and who wore, at their hearts, the fire's center. Terry's fire will never go out, but we must vow to carry on his fight to make the world better for everyone—for all the people. We must never let him down. So call out the trumpets and celebrate the life of this great man who was our great friend.

#### TERRY SANFORD REMEMBRANCE

(By Judge J. Dickson Phillips, Jr., Senior Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit)

Margaret Rose, Terry, Betsee, Helen, Mary Glenn, friends all. I last saw him in the hospital just before he left and he wanted to go home. He greeted me then, both feebly and with effort, as he had a thousand times during our intertwined lives—the raised hand and twinkly smile, the same song, Dixon. From there my memories of him run back at least 65 years, give or take a few either way, the boyhood days in Laurinburg. Our mothers were both Virginia-born school teachers. They had been lured to Laurinburg, so one of our Virginians once suggested, for the dual purpose of bringing some Virginian intelligence and learning to the N.C. backwoods, and perhaps, God willing, improving the Scotland County gene pool. Both of them, faithful to their missions, married good young men of the town, raised their families there and lived long lives as friends until Miss Betsy died at 99, a few years before my mother died last year at 98.

Both of them almost to the long end of their widowhoods in the houses in which Terry and I were raised lived before going separately off to college and away in the mid-30's. So, I look back and down the long road of his life and accomplishments as recounted by Jim and Mary and Dan, some portions of which it was my good fortune to share—in the close knit airborne units of World War II and law practice, and political battles. In moments too few, in retrospect, of

simple fun and foolishness. I look back to the beginnings long ago.

In looking back it all seems very simple to me. Why he was what he was, and did what he did and persevered to the end. He did it because he took an oath when he was 12 years old and kept it. It started out, "On my honor I will do my best to do my duty to God and my country," and then included such things as help people at all times. It's hard to believe, but he believed it. He was the eternal Boy Scout, it is just that simple. He was a true believer, not a heavy breathing true believer but a true believer in the Frank Graham mold—that it's better to light a candle than to curse the darkness—That you should not take counsel of your fears, that the fundamental requirement is to do justice, to love mercy and remember that you are mere mortal in the eternal presence, that on the earth's last day if you should happen to be there, the thing to do would be to plant a tree or write a book or start building something worthwhile.

Of course, he was more complicated than that. Of course, he didn't always succeed. Of course, he was capable of occasional miscalculations and errors of judgment in public and private affairs. Of course, he was prey for the usual human failures. But on the essentials, for the long run, in good times and bad, he kept the oath about as well as can be kept by one in the heavy engagements of an active, unclioistered life. The simple compass held him true on course until the end. That is why in the world he liked to quote about his great personal and political friend, Kerr Scott, "He plowed to the end of the road, his furrow was deep." Airborne all the way.

#### EXCERPTS FROM THE TERRY SANFORD REMEMBRANCE

(By Joel L. Fleishman, Professor of Law and Public Policy at Duke)

Terry Sanford was a great-spirited, great-souled man, a man of passion, a man with a conscience that had real bite, a man of loyalty. But most of all, Terry Sanford was a creative genius, but a thoroughly practical one, who transformed everything he touched into something finer, better, worthier and more useful to the world. If I had to call him by any single phrase, it would be "the great transformer."

At a time when most Southern governors were engaged in shameless, vicious race-baiting, Terry Sanford staked his political career on achieving equality of opportunity without regard to race, and thereby transformed, really transformed, public discourse in North Carolina.

The great transformer, what was his secret? What were the qualities of mind and character that enabled him to achieve those feats? First off, he genuinely cared about people. Secondly, he never let things get to him. Over 47 years, I never saw him get angry but once. That was when a state trooper on duty at the Governor's Mansion inadvertently let it be known to a reporter that, get this, alcohol was being served upstairs at the mansion, and Terry was furious that his mother might discover that he took an occasional drink.

He stuck to his word. Unlike so many persons who occupy political roles, Terry Sanford did not change his mind or his tune depending on what those with whom he was talking wanted to hear or according to the views of those with whom he had talked most recently. If he made a decision and committed himself to you, you could count on the fact that he would stick to it and not be persuaded out of it.

How could he do that? Because he had real values, bedrock values; he believed in things. He acted on those beliefs. And he served

those values with the most amazing energy I've ever encountered in anyone. He was literally indefatigable. It was not only boundless, but it was never-ending, showing itself even as he fought the last battle of his life against cancer.

One is forced to ask, why? Why did Terry Sanford pour so much of himself into his quest for a better society, in his efforts for others? One time, Terry and Bert Bennett, who's sitting here on the front row, were out on the road campaigning with Margaret Rose, and they were all being subjected to the same old, cold green peas and chicken and equally tasty rhetoric from some of the local politicians. Margaret Rose was complaining to Bert that Terry was gone from home all the time, little Terry and Betsee were moaning about missing their father. Bert slipped a note to Terry which said, Why do you continue to stay in this business anyway? Terry fired back a note with the following words: to keep the SOB's out!

It was the ideals which drove him. I know of no public figure who has demonstrated such consistent fidelity in his ideals over a lifetime than Terry Sanford did. Most of us change as we grow older, get a little more radical sometimes, more often we get a little more conservative. But his devotion to his ideals didn't waver one whit over those 47 years.

In another extraordinary respect, Terry was unique among all those of my acquaintance. He had an unquenchable thirst for ideas from everyone, which led him to seek out persons of all stations and conditions of life with whom to consult. Indeed, his life was a never-ending pursuit of the best ideas from as wide a circle as possible about how to solve the problems of concern to him or indeed them. He was resolutely determined to resist becoming the captive of his longtime friends, his campaign workers, his kitchen cabinet. It goes without saying that he was always loyal to them and they had access to him, but that inner circle was perpetually refreshed over the years by hundreds of others whom he sought out and drew in on a continuing basis. He had the most remarkable thirst for new ideas of any man of action I've ever known, and that had to be the key to many of those innovations for which he is so justly credited.

#### EULOGY DELIVERED AT THE FUNERAL OF TERRY SANFORD

(By the Rev. Thomas Langford, Provost Emeritus at Duke University and Former Dean of Duke Divinity School)

Everyone here possesses his or her own memories of Terry Sanford; each of us has our own sense of friendship and achievement; each has a story to tell. And we were reminded of this as we heard these moving and delightful stories of those who knew him well.

Terry stood at the intersection of the local community and an expanding world. He always began at home—a dutiful son, a family man, a proud Methodist, and a committed North Carolinian. His loyalty was intense and generous.

He asked that his commitment to the Methodist Church be especially mentioned. He was, he said, an active Methodist (this description, of course, is redundant. Anything Terry did, he did actively). He reminded us that from his local church he had also participated in the regional and national life of his denomination, and that he thought that was significant.

Our commitments express who we are, and so with Terry. From roots deep driven, new growth came forth, limbs extended and spread. Not leaves alone, but fruit was borne and passed life to others. We respected Terry Sanford.

Here, O Lord, is one of your special treasures whom we return for your safe keeping.

Terry's achievements have been immense. You've heard them recounted: a loyal son of the state, a loyal son of his own university, and a loyal president of Duke, a loyal citizen of the nation, and a loyal friend.

In his retirement, he kept doing what he had always done, and conceived an institute for the arts, which would bring to this state activities that were nationally important in both dance and drama.

In all the things that we have heard, Terry Sanford added quality to our lives. We followed him with gladness.

Here, O Lord, is one of our special treasures whom we now return to thee for your safe keeping.

Terry possessed confidence, and he recognized the competence of others. His own reach was extended through others exercising their abilities.

How many of us owe some aspect of our life or hope or ambition to Terry's encouragement? He was always with people. He enjoyed people, he enjoyed the relationships, he enjoyed organizing people around a purpose. He was a people person. And we enjoyed his company.

Here, O Lord, is one of your special treasures whom we now return for your safe keeping.

To recall Terry is to recall Margaret Rose, Terry, Jr., Betsee, their family. You really cannot think of one without the other. Margaret Rose. What words are adequate? Helpmate, faithful, patient, supportive, creator of relationships, sharer of hopes, constructive critic, companion. All of these and more.

But the family was not small. It has extended and been extending so that many of you think of yourselves as part of the extended family. All of us share this loss. We were drawn into his companionship.

Here, O Lord, is one of your special treasures whom we now return to your special keeping.

Grace, at times, comes in human form. Remember God's own best gift was in human form. Terry has walked among us, and we have relearned that human life can express love and loyalty, justice and hope; that humanity can possess passion and compassion, friendship and challenge, and, now, death and resurrection.

We are thankful for Terry Sanford. We remember him with gratitude, with admiration, and with joy.

Here, O Lord, is one of your special treasures whom we now return for your safe keeping.

TRIBUTE TO TERRY SANFORD DELIVERED AT THE N.C. DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S JEFFERSON-JACKSON DINNER, APRIL 25, 1998, BY THOMAS LAMBETH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, Z. SMITH REYNOLDS FOUNDATION

Let me begin by saying that while this is a time of sadness, Terry would not want that sense to prevail tonight. He would have found joy in the presence of all of you, old friends and new friends, and special satisfaction in the presence of the great lady who is our speaker [former Governor Ann Richards of Texas] and whose politics were his politics and he would have sat here with admiration and pride for our governor whose political roots were his roots.

We have been reminded often in recent days of the sense of humor which was always with him. Those of us who visited with him in recent weeks know that it was there as long as consciousness remained. When asked once why he stayed in politics given all of its travails, he said "I stay in to keep the SOB's out." He would want us reminded of that high calling once again.

The essence of Terry Sanford's leadership is found in one compelling strength of his character as a leader: he paid to us his fellow citizens the ultimate compliment—he asked us for our best.

He asked that because he believed we are capable of giving our best and because he knew that North Carolina was worthy of no less.

This is an event tonight which pays tribute to him in a special moment against a long tradition of paying tribute to two great leaders of the Democratic Party. Terry would agree with Jefferson that the "whole art of government is being honest; simply strive to do your duty and know that history will give you credit where you fail;" and his career reflects that great strength which North Carolina's own Gerald Johnson found in Andrew Jackson—"he knew the people's problems and he made them his own." Terry's own Democratic roots went back to childhood. He remembered well walking in a torchlight parade in Laurinburg when he was eleven, holding high a banner which said "Me and Ma Is For Al Smith."

Yet, to fully understand his political commitment as to fully understand the man, one has to see him as what he was first and foremost: a North Carolinian. He would be comfortable with the words of Jefferson and Jackson but you know him best in the words of Aycock and Vance. He believed with Aycock that the role of the Tar Heel leader was "to speak the rightful word and do the generous act" and his politics of a lifetime demonstrated his conviction that Vance was right when he said that North Carolinians are "a people of sober second thought."

His ambitions for North Carolina were in the minds of some outrageous but in the mirror of history courageous and sound. He knew a secret about this place that Aycock knew and Vance knew: that there is an audacious bent to our character that drives us to achieve greatness against all the odds. So there they are: a School of the Arts, a Governors School, a statewide Community College System, an Institute of Policy Studies, a Museum of Art, a state symphony, a Council on the Status of Women and private and public colleges and universities that are secure among the best in the nation—there they are for everyone, for every child, for every mind and for every heart.

He said to us that we will create here a tradition that says we can set our goals by how bold we are in our dreaming and how strong we are in our doing and excellence is the aim of all our endeavors.

If at times North Carolina was not with him, he was always with North Carolina and, in the spirit of Aycock and Vance and his own mentor Frank Graham, he never doubted that in the course of time he and North Carolina would be together. It was not so much an act of faith as a statement of the depth of his understanding of his fellow Tar Heels—an understanding grounded in more than half a century of going to them where they were.

All of Terry's statewide campaigns—as several drivers here tonight remember well—had to involve a 100 county tour. He lived most of his adult life in urban centers and he was excited by them but he was formed by a small town and in a time when very wise men and women could explain North Carolina as a collection of media markets, he never forgot that it was also Burgaw and Burnsville, Mann's Harbor and Mooresville, Southport and Sparta. His politics were people. "But What About the People" was not only the title of a book he wrote, it was the theme of his public service and it was always important to him to be with people in those places where they live—where the richness that is North Carolina abides.

It is rare to find a public figure with such a lifetime of achievement, FBI agent, combat paratrooper, state senator, governor, University President and US Senator. To all those he brought not just a rich and creative intellect but a mighty heart and the kind of courage of which greatness is born.

And always there was the belief in his fellow citizens. Nothing is more characteristic of that belief that his choice of the title to give the network created by him to deal with the challenges of desegregation in the 1960s—he called them good neighbor councils. If people could just see issues of race as a matter of living together as neighbors even that challenging a time could be made good.

Terry Sanford helped to give us our sense of our own greatness. What he led us to believe about him is not really so important. What is important is what he led us to believe about ourselves.

So if we are truly to pay tribute to him tonight we will help others, especially young people, to understand that politics can be a noble ambition, that the people's business is a blessed career and that it has never been the politics in people that was wrong, only sometimes the people in politics. He would want young people to believe that service to their fellow citizens demands courage and intelligence and faith in each other and that such service is worth a lifetime of devotion.

His own life of public service is a powerful answer to those who doubt the capacity of free men and women to undertake difficult tasks, to preserve their freedom, to find harmony and respect amid diversity.

To those whose pursuit of selfish ends left poverty and despair in their wake as they argued about limited resources he said, but what about the people.

To those who ignore or squander the talents of that majority of our population which is female, he said but what about the women?

To those who stumbled at the price tag of progress, he said but what about our children?

To those who cast fear in front of reconciliation, he said but what about our dreams?

And if he were here to speak to us tonight, as we mourn his loss and share the bitter-sweet memories of our time with him, he would say . . . but what about tomorrow?

Terry was a fascinating combination of scholar, practical politician, combat paratrooper, and Boy Scout. All of that is captured for me in the memory of that day thirty eight years ago when he filed for Governor. He was armed with all the practical tools of a good candidate: county organizations, major endorsements, and an understanding of how far he could go without leaving the people behind him. Yet he made certain that his young aide knew as he went out that morning that in his pocket to pay his filing fee was a check written by his crippled and dying friend O. Max Gardner, Jr., . . . on his finger was a paratrooper ring . . . and up under his lapel was a Frank Graham for Senate button.

But what about tomorrow? In the days and years to come men and women, young and not so young, will answer that question in their own ways in countless endeavors strengthened by his memory and enriched by his inspiration for service and if you look closely you will see, under their lapels, another button.

It will say Terry Sanford, still at work.  
God bless Terry Sanford. God bless North Carolina.

[From The Wall Street Journal Thurs, Apr. 23, 1998]

TERRY SANFORD MADE A REAL DIFFERENCE  
(By Albert R. Hunt)

Last weekend, the phone call came from Duke University—my wife is an alumna and

trustee—to say that Terry Sanford had died. It brought back many powerful recollections and thoughts about politics and government.

Back in the early 1960s, when I was a young college student at Wake Forest, there used to be raging debates over whether the “Negro” had basic rights. Terry Sanford gave an address calling for equal opportunities and an end to segregation in public accommodations. This was a Southern governor speaking, before Selma. Lyndon Johnson and the great national debates over public accommodations and voting rights had broken the ground for him.

Terry Sanford then became one of my heroes. When he died last Saturday at the age of 80, he still was.

A few years ago a Harvard survey named him one of the 10 top governors of the 20th century. As president, he turned Duke into one of America’s greatest universities. “Terry Sanford was a creative genius,” his dear friend Joel Fleishman said in an eulogy yesterday, “who transformed everything he touched into something finer, worthier and more useful to the world.”

He deeply believed in the power of government, properly channeled, to do good. Politicians interested in leadership should study the life of Terry Sanford.

Shaped by the Great Depression, this native North Carolinian was awarded a bronze star as a paratrooper in World War II, fighting in the Battle of the Bulge. Bill Friday, a Sanford friend and occasional rival as the president of the University of North Carolina, remembers those postwar times at Carolina Law School: “When our generation came back from World War II, there was a noticeable sense of commitment that we were going to change things and make things better for North Carolina. Terry was our leader.”

Inspired by Frank Graham, the legendary president of the University of North Carolina, Terry Sanford and his allies became the apostles for change. In 1960, after endorsing John F. Kennedy, a Catholic, for the Democratic presidential nomination and battling segregationists in the Tar Heel State, he was elected governor. The battle cry throughout most of the South those days was states’ rights, a code phrase for racism. Terry Sanford instead preached and passionately practiced states’ responsibilities.

On race, he never bowed to the racial demagoguery. He hired blacks, pushed for more job opportunities, launched a model anti-poverty program, and integrated the state parks with his secretary of commerce, Skipper Bowles, father of the current White House chief of staff, Erskine Bowles. North Carolina avoided much of the racial animosity that afflicted neighboring states.

It would be a generation before he could win a statewide race again, but he left a much deeper legacy. “Southern politician (like Terry Sanford and former Florida governor Leroy Collins) paid a great price for their courage,” remembers Eugene Patterson, a former newspaper editor and Duke professor. “But I don’t know what the South would be today without them.” Remember, this was a decade before New South governors like Jimmy Carter and two decades before Bill Clinton’s governorship.

Rather than closing schools or standing in schoolhouse doors, he became the nation’s “education governor,” creatively working with foundations and the private sector to bridge gaps and build an asset base for the future. He started a school for the arts and the Governor’s School for gifted students. He significantly improved higher education and, perhaps most importantly, built a community college system; there were only five community colleges when he took office, but he led a more than tenfold expansion.

This has been indispensable to the prosperous North Carolina of today, from the fabled Research Triangle to the megalopolis of Charlotte, one of the nation’s financial centers. “Without the community college and his other educational reforms we wouldn’t have had the people with the skills to attract these businesses to North Carolina,” notes the younger Mr. Bowles. “He really led our state into the 20th century.”

He remained an activist when he took over the presidency of Duke in 1969 during the turmoil of the antiwar years on campus. When students threatened to take over the administration building, President Sanford replied: “Go ahead. I’ve been trying to occupy it for a month.”

Back then Duke was one of the best Southern universities. When Terry Sanford departed as president 16 years later, it was well on its way to becoming one of the half dozen top-ranked schools in America. “Terry believed that Duke should have ‘outrageous ambitions,’” noted its current leader, Nannerl Keohane—and then he achieved them.

Among his many accomplishments—expanding the world-class medical school, starting a top-flight business school, more than doubling undergraduate applications and attracting a higher-quality and more diverse student body—Terry Sanford again was a racial trailblazer, hiring African-American faculty members. Vernon Jordan recalls that the first commencement speech he gave at a non-black Southern institution was in 1973 at Duke, at Terry Sanford’s behest. The day he became president, a quota on Jewish admissions was terminated.

During that period, Terry Sanford made two ill-fated and mercifully short attempts at running for president. If only he had known how to win, he would have been a great president. In 1986, he was elected to the U.S. Senate, but he was defeated six years later.

In his last years, he remained a powerful proponent of the importance of government in improving people’s lives. Many of the innovative state governors over the past 30 years drew from the Terry Sanford experience. On the federal level, government bashing is a favorite pastime, but Terry Sanford surely would remind us to think about Head Start, or the Internet, or cutting the poverty rate among the elderly by two-thirds over the past three decades, or the world’s greatest military or the best national parks or the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, or the 20 American Nobel prize winners in the past three years who were funded by the National Science Foundation. That’s government.

Those are lessons that young scholars at Duke’s Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy will learn for years. When thousands said goodbye yesterday, there was a powerful symbolic aspect, appreciated by those who know of the intense academic, social and athletic rivalry between the University of North Carolina and Duke, only 11 miles apart. Terry Sanford became the first son of Chapel Hill to be buried in the Duke chapel.

#### ‘A CONSCIENCE WITH BITE’—

TERRY SANFORD SHOWED THAT ONE FEARLESS LEADER CAN MAKE MILLIONS BRAVE

(By David Gergen)

When doctors at Duke University discovered in December of last year that Terry Sanford had inoperable cancer, they told him he had 90 to 120 days to live. “I’m not giving up,” he replied, “because I learned how to live with much worse odds during the war. Now, I don’t want you to give up, either.”

Ever gallant, ever hopeful, the former governor and university president entered his

last struggle. On April 18, he finally lost, but as thousands of mourners gathered at the Duke chapel last week, they remembered with joy the many other battles he had taken up and won on their behalf. They knew his journey had a significance far beyond his own beloved state: He taught us once again—at a time we need reminding—how much a single, fearless leader can do to release the energies of a democratic people.

Over coffee at his home shortly before he died, Sanford returned time and again to his youth and war experience. He talked of his roots in a rural town and his continuing pride in having become an Eagle Scout. “That probably saved my life in the war,” he said. “Boys who had been scouts or had been in the CCC [the Civilian Conservation Corps of Franklin Roosevelt] knew how to look after themselves in the woods.”

Learning courage. As with many of this century’s leaders—Harry Truman was one, George Bush another—Sanford discovered his own personal bravery in combat. He had to talk his way into uniform (“they rejected me the first time because of flat feet”) and wound up a paratrooper. He jumped into France just after D-Day, survived that horrendous winter of 1944-45, fought in the Battle of the Bulge, and came home a decorated hero.

“We become brave by doing brave acts,” Aristotle wrote, and so it was with Sanford. Elected governor of North Carolina in 1960 and limited by law to a single term of four years, he was so effective that later on, a Harvard survey recognized him as one of the 10 best American governors of the century. Long before other governors, especially in the South, he invigorated public schools, built community colleges, attracted research investments, and created centers of artistic excellence. But above all, he stood up courageously for civil rights.

In Mississippi, Gov. Ross Barnett shut out blacks; in Arkansas, Gov. Orval Faubus; in Alabama, Gov. George Wallace. Only in North Carolina and Georgia did governors insist that blacks had rights, too. With the Klan on the move, Sanford created Good Neighbor Councils across the state, asking prominent blacks and whites to work together in pursuit of better schools and jobs. His popularity was damaged, but he defused the crisis and helped liberate the state from the shackles of racism.

Sanford himself was the first to credit valorous black leaders like Martin Luther King Jr., John Lewis, and Rosa Parks for the civil rights revolution. Yet progress would have been even bloodier and more painful had it not been for a few white leaders who also put themselves at risk by embracing the cause.

Terry Sanford didn’t live by the polls, as nearly every “leader” in Washington now so slavishly does; he lived by his own sense of right and wrong, learned back in a little town. And he stuck to it, regardless of personal risk. In his funeral service last week, where his long years as president of Duke and as a U.S. senator were also celebrated, his friend Joel Fleishman said he had “a conscience with bite.” Exactly.

Sanford, like Lyndon Johnson, believed that racism was not only dividing blacks from whites but also dividing the South from the rest of the nation. By freeing people from its scourge, everyone in the region would have a better chance to grow. Indeed, that captured much of his political philosophy: A leader’s role is to raise people’s aspirations for what they can become and to release their energies so they will try to get there.

When Sanford became governor, as Fleishman pointed out, his state was 49th among the 50 states in per capita income; today it is 32nd and rising. More than that—as so many natives will attest—hate is giving way to decency, pessimism to hope. A

single leader, brave and idealistic, liberated the best in his people.

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON).

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me and also thank him for his leadership in arranging for this special order honoring a great American.

Kahlil Gibran asked this question: Are you a politician who says to himself I will use my country for my own benefit, or are you a devoted patriot who whispers in the ear of his inner self, I love to serve my country as a faithful servant?

With regard to Terry Sanford, his accomplishments speak for themselves. He served North Carolina and the Nation at large in a variety of roles: FBI agent, Army paratrooper, Democratic Party Convention delegate, governor, Duke University president, presidential candidate, and U.S. Senator with distinction and honor. He sincerely loved to serve his country.

This truly faithful servant weathered some of the most turbulent storms of the century, his moral accomplish never wavering. Terry Sanford faced crisis and adversity head-on, never afraid of doing what was right and just, even though those actions had high personal as well as political costs.

Terry Sanford was gifted with a unique combination of virtues: caring, courage, and vision. He cared deeply about all of North Carolina's citizens and was courageous enough to buck tradition and ignore conventional wisdom in order to seek out what he knew was best for the Old North State, North Carolina.

Terry Sanford was progressive before it was popular to be progressive, especially in the South. North Carolina was at a crossroad, with monumental opportunity for progress or peril.

Terry Sanford had a vision, one which he made a reality during his tenure of Governor from 1961 to 1965. This vision is clearly articulated in his Inaugural Address. He said "Today, we stand at the head of the South, but that is not enough. I want North Carolina to move into the mainstream of America and to strive to become the leading State of the Nation. I call on all citizens to join with me in the audacious adventure of making North Carolina all it can and ought to be."

Keeping true to this vision, he fought poverty, illiteracy, and segregation in creative and innovative ways.

Terry Sanford created a statewide anti-poverty initiative known as a the Carolina Fund, which President Lyndon Baines Johnson used as a model for his War on Poverty.

He took a great risk and pushed through a political unpopular, but very necessary, very practical legislation through the North Carolina State General Assembly expanding the 3-cent sales tax to include food in the name of education.

He conceived and implemented the first statewide system of community

colleges, as well as establishing the North Carolina School for the Arts, the first residential, State-supported college devoted solely to fine arts.

He established the Good Neighbors Council, later known as the Human Relations Council, to provide a public forum for racial issues during a time of significant unrest.

His vision extended to projects like the Research Triangle Park, which is now one of the premier high-tech areas in the country. He worked diligently to attract companies to that area with IBM being the first to establish there.

He was ever the eternal optimist, seeing only the best in North Carolina and seeing the best in all human beings. He continued to push the State to new heights and challenge the individuals to be all that they could be and should be.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy remarked "A man does what he must, in spite of personal consequences, in spite of obstacles and dangers and pressures."

Terry Sanford did what he had to do as a Bronze-Star winning member of the 82nd Airborne, as Governor, as Duke University president, as a U.S. Senator. No matter what he did, he did his duty. He always fought to do that which is right. And he always fought the good fight.

Confucius said, "He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn towards it. Terry Sanford was Polaris, the bright North Star, shining in the darkness of the sky, like a beacon. He blazed trails, on which many of us now follow, his unwavering virtue as a testament of his caring for people and his commitment to his State.

All of us who knew Terry Sanford thought of him as our friend as well as our mentor. Therefore, it is our challenge to keep his vision alive as we, indeed, respond to new opportunities and revisit old opportunities and challenges. Let us celebrate his life and his accomplishments through our present and future actions, to be as Terry Sanford was, to fight the good fight.

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Cumberland County, North Carolina (Mr. MCINTYRE).

Mr. MCINTYRE. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to represent Cumberland and Robinson and seven other counties that are in our home area, particularly because, as I thank my distinguished dean of our delegation, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HEFNER), and distinguished colleague, and join these other distinguished colleagues from the Tarheel State, because Terry Sanford did spend much of his time in our congressional district that I represent currently, in Fayetteville and Fort Bragg, and grew up in the town not far west of my hometown of Lumberton in the neighboring district of the gentleman from Laurinburg, North Carolina (Mr. HEFNER).

When we think about Terry Sanford, we think about the influence, I would

dare say, from another angle of an educator, knowing that his influence was, indeed, infinite; that a great educator knows how to pass on his ideals from generation to generation; that he can improve and uplift the lives of scores of other folks long after the original teacher has moved on or passed on. Terry Sanford was the consummate educator and, fortunately, for us, his influence is, indeed, infinite.

A few weeks ago, when I joined my distinguished colleagues, not only from North Carolina, but other colleagues who serve in government and education and civic activities and church activities and in the military and from so many other spheres of influence back home in North Carolina and also here in Washington, we had 2,000 people gathered in Duke Chapel to honor a man whose power and influence was not only while he was sitting in the offices that he held, and we have heard the laundry list of those great offices tonight, but also by his influence personally.

When we think about those who were touched by him, we cannot help but think about the students at his beloved Duke University, where he was affectionately known as Uncle Terry. As an educator, they love nothing more than to see his boundless energy and exuberance that comes with youth.

He was blessed throughout his life to influence folks of all ages but especially the young in my generation, to empower scores and scores of young people, to be involved, yes, in politics, but beyond politics, to be involved in their communities, to be involved in serving their State and their country and whatever their calling might be.

When Terry Sanford entered into the North Carolina Governor's mansion in 1961, North Carolina ranked next to last in national per-capita income and was mired in the social and racial morass that plagued all other southern States. At a time when other governors across the South resigned themselves to the moment and were closing the door to all but a selected few in society, Terry Sanford opened the door.

He saw through the fog of hatred and repression and put North Carolina on a course where it is today, a leading center for technology development in the South, and now a State that ranks among the top 30 in the Nation for per-capita income.

The resources that he helped generate to improve public education were for all North Carolina students and established a statewide system of community colleges so that every student in the North Carolina public schools would have that opportunity to attend an institution of higher learning.

I dare say that the HOPE Scholarship passed by this body just last year in North Carolina would have not been anywhere nearly as meaningful if it were not for the fact that this crowning jewel in Terry Sanford's tenure as Governor came to being during his watch, our great community college system.



Indeed, Sanford's commitment to education led to his moniker as the original education Governor. It also led to the creation of the North Carolina School of the Arts, the Governor's School in Winston-Salem, the Learning Institute of North Carolina, the North Carolina Fund, and also higher teacher salaries for men and women who play such an integral role in the lives of our children. When we think about the opportunity for education, for economic development, we think about Terry Sanford.

Terry Sanford loved challenges. He loved also to issue them because he was a master at challenging people in a manner that would ultimately result from those around him realizing greatness themselves or at least recognizing that the things that they sought to achieve were, indeed, obtainable.

Terry Sanford taught us that democracy is not a spectator sport. He spoke often of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, two documents that serve as both the cornerstone and foundation of our Nation and government. These two documents are filled with words such as ensure, promote, establish, provide, and secure, words that, as Terry Sanford himself pointed out in his own writings, and I quote, connote action and all suggest, he said, that we must constantly be striving to improve the opportunities of all people.

□ 1930

Terry Sanford set a high bar in that effort. While some politicians see political office as an end to a means, the fulfillment of a desire for their own fame or power, Terry Sanford viewed it purely as a means to an end. He viewed public office for what it should be, as the most effective means to fix what was wrong, to serve the public, to improve the lives of citizens of North Carolina and the South, and, indeed, the United States. His unfaltering belief in people, his rock-solid fidelity to his ideals and values, his boundless energy in fighting for those ideals and values, proved to be the right mix for nearly half a century of public service that has left so many positive marks on our State and, indeed, our Nation.

Yes, Terry Sanford set a high bar, but he never did appreciate easy challenges, and nothing would please him more than for us to pick up that challenge and to aim for that bar, no matter how high it may be set, so that we ourselves can attain those things which seem unattainable, for it is in that quest that we will undoubtedly recognize achievements that we may have thought were impossible; it is in that quest that we will provide a better life and improved opportunities for the people we represent; and it is in that quest that we will ensure that the legacy of a man instrumental in the history and future, not only of our great State of North Carolina, but, indeed, of our great Nation, lives on forever, just as the teachings of a true educator should.

I thank the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HEFNER) for yielding to me.

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT).

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding time and for taking out the time to honor our friend and colleague Terry Sanford.

Before I do that, I want to pay special tribute to the dean of our delegation, who, much to the consternation of all of our Members, has decided that he is stepping down after this term in Congress. We are going to miss him immensely for the wonderful contributions that he has made to the State of North Carolina and to our country.

But, of course, tonight is not about the dean of the delegation. We are going to take out a special order for him and roast him when the appropriate time comes.

I want to spend a few minutes this evening talking about my friend, Governor-Senator-President Terry Sanford. It is really hard to know where to focus your attention when you talk about Terry Sanford because there are so many wonderful contributions that he made to the State of North Carolina and to our country.

You could take any one of these contributions and devote long, long periods of time, much more time than we have this evening, to talk about them, whether you were talking about his role as a war hero; or his role as the champion of public education, who initiated numerous programs to support public education in North Carolina and was instrumental in having the budget for education, public education, grow in North Carolina by leaps and bounds during his tenure as Governor; as the person who originated the idea of community colleges in North Carolina and nurtured them; or as the person who established the Nation's first Governor's School, to provide free educational and enrichment to gifted and talented high school juniors and seniors, which 100 other programs now exist in 28 States copying that program; or as a champion and great supporter of the arts and arts education, and the person who conceived the idea and nurtured the idea of a North Carolina School of the Arts which has turned out so many wonderful artistic people, professionals, outstanding artists, performing artists and dancers and the whole range of artists in our Nation; or as the Governor who was ranked as the 20th Century's Most Creative Governor by Harvard University; or as president of Duke University; or as a member of the United States Senate.

You could select any one of those things and talk for hours on end about the contributions that Terry Sanford made to North Carolina. But, having put those things in the record and heard my colleagues talk about some of them, I want to focus on one thing

that I think for me personally is the mark of this man.

Imagine yourself in the early 1960s in the South, governors standing in the doors of schools to keep black students from integrating those schools; governors saying we are not going to allow our higher educational institutions to accept black students; demonstrations taking place throughout North Carolina and throughout the South for the opportunity for black people to sit at lunch counters and sit in restaurants and eat; and all throughout the South, governors were taking the position that "We are going to take the course of maximum resistance."

But in North Carolina, Governor Terry Sanford was serving from the years 1961 to 1965, and Governor Terry Sanford stood up as one of the only southern governors at that time and said, "Black people are Americans, and they deserve rights that are guaranteed to American citizens under our Constitution." He took a leadership role on that front, and North Carolina is a different State today, the perception and reality of North Carolina are different today as a result of that stand.

During his term as Governor of the State, he appointed more minorities to government posts in his administration than any of his predecessors had ever done before.

There was a time in 1963 that I enrolled at the University of North Carolina. It seems so long ago when I showed up on that campus, and I had three white roommates assigned to room with me in a four person room. And by the end of the day, every single one of them had moved. That is the atmosphere that we were operating in in North Carolina and in the South at that time.

Terry Sanford stood up and said, "We will abide by the law. Minorities are citizens. They deserve the protections of the law. They deserve the protections of the Constitution," and North Carolina is a different place as a result of that.

So among all of these things that I could focus on about Terry Sanford, for me as a member of the minority race in North Carolina, for others who are minorities in North Carolina, for others who like to brag about the progressive image that North Carolina has, for others who understand that all of us are created equal, Terry Sanford is our hero. Terry Sanford stood up when other people were sitting down on the job.

For that reason, I want to thank my colleague, the senior member of our delegation, for giving us the opportunity to say these few words about our deceased friend, Terry Sanford. I hope that we will remember those impassioned positions that Terry Sanford took, and remember that not long before he died, in an interview he said, "We almost have the same problems we had then. Race is far from solved, despite what people say. Children are



still neglected. The working man is somewhat improved, but he still puts in more than he gets out."

That is what Terry Sanford stood for, making sure that working people, minorities and every single citizen in North Carolina got what he deserved, and the benefits of being an American citizen and a North Carolinian.

I yield back to my good friend, the dean of our delegation.

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the former Superintendent of Education in North Carolina, now the Congressman from North Carolina (BOB ETHERIDGE).

Mr. ETHERIDGE. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the dean of our delegation. As my colleague from the 12th District said, we are going to miss you greatly, but we will talk about you later.

I am honored this evening to have a few moments to speak about my good friend and a friend of many, Terry Sanford.

The first time I remember hearing Terry Sanford speak was at my commencement exercise as I graduated from college. I had heard of Terry Sanford, the man of vision, but he had a special way of letting you feel special, and challenging individuals to really get involved in their State and their Nation.

But tonight I would say that Terry Sanford was not simply a great and admired politician. He was one of the most accomplished Americans of the 20th century. I remember listening to his eulogies at the funeral several weeks ago, and I could not help but think that those eulogies coming about an individual who served four years as Governor, not four terms, four years, serving one term in the United States Senate, serving as a college president, could have been for five or six people for the things that he had accomplished, because Terry Sanford served his State and his Nation with enthusiasm, with bravery, and with distinction in so many ways.

He fought for his country as a paratrooper in World War II and was decorated any number of times, and he was proud all of his life of the time he served his Nation in Normandy and all across Europe. He served as an agent with distinction in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. During those times he could have been exempted from serving in the military, but he did not. He wanted to serve.

As you have heard this evening, he served as a statesman in the North Carolina General Assembly, and there he laid the foundations of many of the things he would do later as Governor and as Senator to improve our State.

As Governor of North Carolina for only four short years, he laid out a record of improving public education that is unparalleled anywhere in this country. He expanded educational opportunities, as you have just heard, for all North Carolinians, no matter what a person's race, creed or economic op-

portunities might happen to have been. Maybe that came because Terry Sanford's mother was a teacher, and she encouraged him and she really instilled in him the great need for public education, for which he gave her much credit throughout his life.

Terry Sanford was a guiding force in building one of the finest community college systems, in my opinion, in this country, and you have heard about that this evening.

I think Terry Sanford deserves a great deal of credit for creating the first State-sponsored residential training school for the performing arts in the United States, at a time when no one would have thought it would have been created in the South. The North Carolina School of the Arts, which can now say they have in their list of graduates individuals who have received the Oscar in acting, who have received many Emmys, and they came through the School of the Arts created during his administration.

Governor Sanford had a distinct and heavy responsibility, and was one of the people who helped create the Research Triangle Park that is one of the leading parks in this country, that employs thousands of people in North Carolina every day.

□ 1945

He created the Governor's School, as my colleagues have heard, that I had the real privilege as superintendent to oversee during my term there, and it provided opportunity for over 400 bright and creative young people every year at two sites to get an educational opportunity, and it has been modeled across the country. He created the Education Commission of the States that now helps educators, governors and chief State school officers work together to improve education in this country, a legacy that is so important.

Governor Sanford, as my colleagues have heard, was one of the southern governors of his day, I would have to say, that was rated as one of the top 10 governors in America by Harvard. But as the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT) said, one of his great legacies was that he was one of the, maybe the only, there may have been others, but the only southern governor who was the first to stand up and look in the ugly face of racism and say, no more, and it will not happen on my watch in my State. And he deserves a great deal of credit for that.

Mr. Chairman, as President of Duke University for 15 years, he transformed a regionally known, small southern university into a world leader in medicine, law, religious studies, education, and the arts. Today, Durham, North Carolina is known as the City of Medicine, and they are known for that in my opinion because Terry Sanford provided that engine in Duke University in that great medical school.

As a United States Senator from 1986 to 1992, Terry Sanford fought tirelessly and selflessly to improve the lives of

his fellow citizens through fighting to improve again public education, promoting racial healing, and fighting to eradicate poverty as he had at the local level.

After he left the Senate, he did not go home and start collecting his coupons or rest on his laurels, he started two law firms. My goodness, that would be a lifetime for anyone. He did it in the short years after leaving the Senate. He lectured on public policy issues at Duke University in the public policy institute building that currently bears his name. And most recently, he led a \$100 million fund-raising campaign to create a world class performing arts center, an institute in North Carolina.

Terry Sanford exemplified the best qualities mankind has to offer, and we owe a debt of gratitude for his undying service to his native State and to his fellow Americans. Terry Sanford provided a guiding light for a whole generation of educators, public servants, and other State and national leaders. He was and will remain a beacon for all good things about humanity and about being an American. God bless Terry Sanford, his family, his State, his Nation, and all of those who, like me and my colleagues on this floor tonight, who have stood on his broad shoulders.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from the eighth district, the dean of our delegation, for organizing this hour. I thank him for this opportunity to say a good word about our good friend, Terry Sanford.

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, as dean of the North Carolina delegation, I would like to say a few words on behalf of a man whose friendship and professional generosity has meant a great deal to me.

Terry Sanford was at different points in his life a practicing attorney, State Senator, governor of North Carolina, President of a major university, a United States Senator, a civic leader, novelist, father and husband, and a true entertainer. In fact, one could live one's whole life without meeting a man that had his range of talent.

But then, Terry was no ordinary man, he was really a bit of a legend; and there were a lot of stories that circulated about Terry Sanford and some of them were funny and some of them were sad, but there was one story that was told to me about when Terry was campaigning for governor. He went up into the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina, and there was a bunch of mountain folks sitting around an old country store and he went in and he introduced himself, and this one fellow said Terry, he said, I would like to know how you feel about some subject, and Terry said, why, you know how I feel about that. I have told the people across this State, I bet I have told them 100 times how I feel about that. And the guy said, well, we just wanted to hear you say it.

Neither one of them actually knew what the question was, but Terry Sanford had the capacity to laugh at himself and to be serious and get the job done, doing things what he called the North Carolina way. He once asked the people in our State to join him in an audacious adventure of making North Carolina all it can and ought to be, and then, true to his word, he spent the next 40 years showing us how. I want to emphasize that last statement: Showing us how. Because the ability to lead by doing was not only the mark of this man's career, it was the bedrock of his character.

When he was governor of North Carolina in the 1960s, Terry played a risky card by taking the race issue head-on, as my colleague so mentioned. It did not matter to him whether it was popular or not and he did not look at all the polls and the focus groups and what have you, he just felt a moral responsibility to it. Where a lot of men go soft, he drew a line in the sand. He took the issue of racism above politics, even though the politics of a lot of southern governors at that time was fear, and he challenged us not to just know better, but to stand up and do better, and that challenge did not end with just race.

He once said that North Carolina could only be as great as the poorest among us. He believed he did not have to have power or money to get an education, and he pushed for increased funding of public schools. In fact, he funded the State's first community college system. This was a saying that stuck with me: Develop the mind, he said. Develop the mind, and the job will follow.

At that time the North Carolina Constitution barred the governor from succeeding himself, so Terry left to take a job running Duke University, and for 10 years he used his touch to make the school famous across the world. He started a school of public policy and doubled the size of the medical program, and at a time when a lot of presidents of colleges were under attack and did not have the respect, but the students loved him, they loved Terry Sanford. And at his urging, even the student section at Duke University, which was famous for its colorful language, they even toned it down a notch because Terry was such an influence, and they could be heard shouting, we beg to differ, we beg to differ when the referees made a decision that they did not agree with.

In 1987 he was elected to the United States Senate, and I remember it very well. We stood at the mill gates and we went all across my district and we met with a lot of people and there was a commercial that came out, and this lady, and of course Terry was then 70 years old, and this lady came on and she was berating Terry Sanford, "Terrible Terry Sanford," for raising the food tax. And he kind of turned it around and made a joke out of it and he referred to it as that commercial

with that whiney old woman on it. And he did not mean any disrespect, but he wanted to point out how ridiculous it was for all of the things that was accomplished in his administration, and he got the name, right or wrongfully, I think wrongfully, of "Terrible Terry," and it went with him to his grave.

In 1993 he went back to private life and took his work ethic with him. He wrote books on policy, started a novel, opened a second law firm, as my colleague alluded to, served on a dozen corporate boards, and became director of the Outward Bound program, as well as a participant. In fact, at 63 years old, he broke a bone in his back during a hiking trip in Oregon when he jumped off a 40-foot cliff into the river, which he admitted that was bad judgment at the time.

When the doctors told him that he had cancer and gave him 2 months to live, he told his family, do not worry, I will beat it. If anybody could have beaten it, it would be Terry. We have a motto in North Carolina that is on the State seal. It is a simple one, but I like it best because it cuts right to the point, and it means, "to be rather than to seem."

Terry Sanford followed that motto for his State, he followed it for his country, for his friends and his family, and he made it a goal the rest of us could not only shoot for, but believe was possible. For that, Terry, for your guidance, for never turning back, and for asking us to be brave, we are eternally in your debt. I think I speak for every person in the State when I say that as much as your achievements have changed our lives, we will remember them forever in our heart.

There is a great old verse from a gospel song that I think just fits Terry Sanford and it goes something like this:

I'll meet you in the morning with a how-do-you-do, and we'll sit down by the river, and with rapture our acquaintance renew. And you're going to know me in the morning by the smile that I wear, when I meet you in the morning in that city that is built four square.

Enjoy your rest, Terry. You will be dearly missed, and you have been a great influence on so many people in this great country, and your being on this Earth for these years, you have truly, truly made a difference.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for calling this special order about a very special person, Terry Sanford. I am very moved to hear the words of my colleague, and as our other colleagues from North Carolina as they extend condolences and pay tribute to Terry Sanford.

The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HEFNER) is right. Terry Sanford was a very, very special, unique person. We were blessed, those of us who had the privilege to know him and the people of North Carolina were indeed blessed to have him as their governor

and their United States Senator. As we all know, he loved North Carolina, and he loved the people that he served there. He loved them so much he wanted the best for them, and that meant an end to racism and support for education for all children. Of course, that was his political lifelong endeavor.

Terry Sanford, one of the reports of his passing said that he died as he had lived, surrounded by new projects to be involved in, but we all know that he had died as he had lived also being surrounded by his magnificent family and so many friends, and my condolences on behalf of my constituents to Margaret Rose and to Terry's wonderful family, his children and his grandchildren on his passing.

□ 2000

He has made a significant difference in the lives of people across the country, not only in North Carolina, because he served as a model, a real model as a southern Governor. He transformed the southern governorship. He, more than anybody, brought the South into a modern era in terms of education and fighting to end racism.

I first got to know Terry well, although I admired him from afar, when we were both running for chair of the Democratic National Committee. Neither of us won. I ended up throwing my support behind Terry, and still neither of us won, but he ended up being a United States Senator and I ended up being a Congresswoman from California, so we do not think we did too poorly, as it all turned out. But I was very, very proud of our friendship, and was the beneficiary of much of his political wisdom and advice in the course of that race, and subsequent to that.

Of course, after that he went back to become the head of Duke University, of which he was very proud. He said, "Of all of the things that I have done, the fulfillment of my professional life was Duke. I went there with a concept and I think with a mandate. I went out to make it a nationally recognized school," and of course, he did. The institute there, the Sanford Institute, is named for him, the Institute of Policy Science, Political Science Affairs, as the gentleman mentioned.

Terry first started getting involved in politics when he was 11 years old. His first taste of it came when he was marching in a torchlight parade for presidential candidate Al Smith in 1928 in Laurinburg, North Carolina. He carried a sign that read, "Me and Ma is for Al." So he had it in his system, that fever in the blood, early on about it being very appealing, and also wanting to be a public servant.

Ironically, when I said that we became friends running for chair of the National Committee against each other, but became very fast friends after that, ironically, Hubert Humphrey had offered Terry the job of Democratic National Chairman in 1969, but Terry turned it down at that point. It was probably not to be.

At any event, he had bigger things in mind, and that was really the education of the children of North Carolina at every level, including higher education, and in the Senate, to be a fighter, and he was a peacemaker, bringing peace in Central America; again, fighting for education for all of America's children, and an end to racism.

We could probably all go on for a long time talking about him, because he was a very special person. In the course of our lives in politics we work with many people whom we respect and we admire, but we all have to admit, as wonderful as we think each other is, that there are some people who are very special, and Terry was one of those. One of the sad things, I think, is that he never became President of the United States. I always thought he would be such a great President.

Instead, he brought his leadership, his scholarship, his dignity, his grace, his kindness, his love for people to the wonderful challenges that he had, which were not inconsiderable: Governor of the State, a United States Senator, and as he said, a president of Duke being his crowning glory.

In some of the obituaries, his family has to take great pride and satisfaction in the obituaries that were written about him. But throughout his life I think he was held in such high esteem and respect that everybody knew when you worked with Terry Sanford you were working with somebody that was a true leader.

It has been said that Terry Sanford set forth a standard for leadership as a Governor, university president, and United States Senator that few could equal. He leaves a progressive legacy to North Carolina, one of courage and one of hope.

He demonstrated his courage by being one of the first Southerners to endorse John F. Kennedy for President, one of the first Senators to endorse a Catholic for President; and we all know the hope and courage many times over, but that is just one example. His legacy will long be felt among the young people of North Carolina, and for future generations to come. I consider it a privilege to have known him.

Again, I express the condolences of my constituents, because in California he is well known and well respected. I extend their condolences, as well as those of my own family, to the Sanford family, and thank the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HEFNER) for allowing me to be part of this special order for our special friend, Terry Sanford.

Mr. HEFNER. I thank the gentleman from California, Mr. Speaker. I would also like to thank all the people that participated tonight in these remarks about Terry Sanford, and for those that will enter remarks for the RECORD, it will be open for 5 days.

Truly, this has been a time when people thought back to the things that Terry Sanford stood for, and we will always remember that Terry Sanford was

a real remarkable man, and he will be a legend, as he should be, in North Carolina and in America.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H. J. RES. 119, PROPOSING AMENDMENT TO CONSTITUTION TO LIMIT CAMPAIGN SPENDING, AND H.R. 2183, BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN INTEGRITY ACT OF 1997

Mr. SOLOMON (during special order of the gentleman from Colorado, Mr. BOB SCHAFER) submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 105-545) on the resolution (H. Res. 442) providing for consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 119) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to limit campaign spending, and for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2183) to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to reform the financing of campaigns for elections for Federal office, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, on April 18, 1998 Senator Terry Sanford died at the age of eighty after a long battle with cancer.

He was a Governor, a Senator, a two-time Presidential candidate, a lawyer, an author and a president of Duke University.

Growing up in the segregated south, the town of Laurinburg, North Carolina, young Terry learned the value of hard work and money from the abject poverty his family lived in after his father's hardware store went bankrupt.

After a stint as a paratrooper in Europe during World War II, Terry Sanford returned to his native North Carolina to attend the University of North Carolina law school and to become the progressive voice of the Democratic Party in North Carolina.

In 1960, Terry Sanford ran for Governor of North Carolina and faced a spirited campaign against an avowed segregationist.

He was forced into a run-off but won with 56% of the vote and went on to become Governor of the State of North Carolina.

Terry Sanford assumed the governorship at a very turbulent time in the history of North Carolina and the South.

The historic sit-in at the lunch counter at Woolworth's began just weeks after he assumed his office.

While some southern Governors were calling for resistance to this nascent civil rights movement and defended segregation, Terry Sanford called for moderation.

In his 1961 inaugural address, Terry Sanford called for a "new day" in which "no group of our citizens can be denied the right to participate in the opportunities of first-class citizenship."

Along with civil rights and integration, Terry Sanford also stood for education since his earliest days.

He created the community college system in North Carolina and the North Carolina School for the Arts in Winston-Salem and the Governor's School, a summer program for the most talented students in the State. He was recognized in a 1981 Harvard University study which ranked him as one of the Nation's top 10 Governors of the 20th Century.

Constitutionally prohibited from seeking a second term, Terry Sanford looked for a new challenge. He started a law firm and turned down quite a few excellent opportunities such as becoming United States Ambassador to France, before he assumed the presidency of Duke University in 1970.

At Duke University Terry Sanford doubled the Duke Medical Center's capacity making it a nationally recognized medical center and school and created the J.B. Fuqua School of Business.

Continuing his dedication to Democratic politics, in 1972 Terry Sanford campaigned in the Democratic Presidential primary.

Although he withdrew from the primary, Terry Sanford's ideas and ideals made an impact both in 1972 and during his second campaign for the nomination in 1976.

In 1973, Terry Sanford was elected chairman of the 100 member Democratic Party Charter Commission which rewrote the party's Presidential nominating rules.

He remained active in politics both in North Carolina and nationally.

In 1985, Terry Sanford retired from the presidency of Duke University.

In 1986, Terry Sanford ran for the United States Senate and defeated Republican Jim Broyhill.

During his term in the Senate, Terry Sanford was remembered as a thoughtful legislator who took an interest in international affairs and education.

He was a strong supporter of personal freedom and peace.

In 1992, Terry Sanford lost his re-election for a second term to a former Democratic ally of his, now a Republican.

One can only imagine what Terry Sanford would have accomplished in the United States Senate if he had been elected to a second term.

After his loss, Terry returned to North Carolina, advising political candidates and spending time with his family.

Mr. Speaker, Terry Sanford was a remarkable American.

One who understood the challenges of his time and rose to the occasion. While all too often public servants run from the pressing issues of the day, trying to avoid difficult decisions and choices, Terry Sanford did not.

His heroic stand against the status quo throughout his entire life, and his belief that he could make North Carolina and the United States a better place is what we stand here today to remember.

Mr. BURR of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, tonight we have gathered to thank God for the life, the influence, the attitude, the service and the blessed spirit of Terry Sanford.

He served as FBI Special Agent, Paratrooper, Governor, Senator, University President, Husband, Father and Grandfather in his life of service to his family, community, state and country. Terry Sanford left a great legacy of good work.

Terry Sanford was a man dedicated to making the world a better place for those who were in need. He understood that by bringing people together much could be accomplished. Whether it was visionary goals for education or the advancement of the arts, I think it was his love of his country, his state and his family that drove him to succeed with every initiative he tackled. Terry Sanford was a very special person, willing and determined to do whatever he could to positively affect the lives of others.