

having an impact on drug abuse. Yet the department of alcohol and mental health in Texas for awhile was considering shutting them down because they do not have degrees. They are not licensed drug counselors.

Do you know what? The magic of this is they were not doing drug counseling. They were changing people's lives. When people's lives changed, they got rid of drugs.

We need to figure out how we balance the rights of individuals not to fund churches on the other side and at the same time get money into the hands of programs that are actually working.

In my home district, for example, Rev. Ternae Jordan's son was at a music lesson at a local YMCA. He was sitting on the couch out by the door and was shot in the back of the head by two kids who were shooting outside. The whole city was traumatized by the event. The son recovered, but it led to Reverend Jordan starting a program called Stop the Madness, trying to crack down and encourage neighborhood groups to work on the drug program.

Mr. Speaker, recently I was privileged to attend the seventh anniversary celebration at the Greater Progressive Baptist Church in Fort Wayne, IN honoring Rev. Ternae Jordan. Pastor Jordan has been a leader in Fort Wayne in many ways, not the least being through his antidrug organization, Stop the Madness. I particularly enjoyed this eloquent tribute by Cheryl Story, which I now include in the RECORD.

NOW, LET'S TALK ABOUT THE PASTOR
(By Cheryl Story)

As a Pastor, Rev. Jordan, along with Angela, must not only have Faith, (belief without proof, but they must have Hope: Desire joined with expectation, the opposite of doubt with an anticipated promise of expected benefits and blessings.)

Now Rev. Jordan's substance material is ordained by God. Therefore, regardless of the magnitude of the metamorphosis of his physiological structure, that is whether he gets old, his hair turn gray, if his teeth fall out, whether he gets ugly or remains handsome, Ternae Sr.'s substance will not change. It does not matter how much he accomplishes and achieves in this life or how many mistakes he makes, how much good he does or how many lies you tell on him, his substance remains the same for he will always be a Preacher and a Pastor.

The Pastor is on duty 24 hrs. Day & Night. He polices the Community, he provides assistance/comfort to those in need. He must be an Educational Instructor, Therapist/Counselor, Philosopher/Psychiatrist, Mediator, some folk's 1st Attorney, a Marriage Officiator, a Funeral Eulogist, a Sick Room Specialist and a Dying Hour Confidant.

The Pastor must be a Persuaded Preacher, for he is a Salvation Salesman, a Paradise Pusher, a Jesus Junkie, a gansta for God, a Jehovah Witness, your best friend and Satan's worse enemy. For Faith can and will move Mountains.

What is it that turns an ordinary man into an Addictive Apostle who is obviously strung out on a Jesus, who hung out on a Hill, who sends us a comforter, who calls himself The Holy Ghost, that runs with a Spirit that spoke Himself into being GOD, who ordained

this man before he entered his mother's womb? I tell ya it was "Faith!" For March of 1989, Rev. & Angela took leave of their home, accepted the Greater Progressive Baptist Family, stepped out on Faith and told their God, "Send me, I'll go," and left their Comfort Zone behind them.

"THE EVIDENCE OF THINGS NOT SEEN"

Evidence is the Proof of a Pastor's Faith. Let me give you a little documentation and you can determine the truth. When Pastor arrived, if you joined one of the four Auxiliaries you were guaranteed to automatically become an officer. Now we grown spiritually from skeletal Auxiliaries to full scale Ministries. We've got an up-front disciplined Deacon Brd., a unified Trustee Brd., morning & night Bible Study & Prayer Meetings. I remember when our one choir consisted of the Nelson & Trice families with 5 or 6 others mixed in, now God has blessed us to have a full choirstand of children's choir, a dynamic young adult choir, a 30 & over Generation choir a full Mass Choir. We got Pam, 2 Dres, Tony, 2 Pianists, Gor'don and Sheila all in the same House. I'm talking about Faith & Evidence now.

The Lord has blessed us with CWF, a Brotherhood Men's Support Group and Promisekeepers. We had an old organ and ragged mikes, now we got high tech equipment and state of the art sound room. Sometimes we couldn't even make payroll or pay our bills and God has given us financial increase thru tithing members. Seven years ago, if you came to Church at 12:30 p.m. you could pick & choose your own "Praying ground" now it's standing room only by 11:00 a.m. We got Birthing of a Vision and Stop the Madness now has nationwide video presentations.

We've got an intergrated Congregation and we participated in inter-racial Church Fellowships. Pastor Jordan is a Jefferson Community Service Award winner, the NAACP's Golden Anniversary Man of the Year and everybody else's Man of the Year. Certainly God has ordered the Steps of Rev. Ternae Tsgarias Jordan and We've Come This Far by Faith!

Also in addition to the Stop the Madness program in Fort Wayne, I just visited a couple of weeks ago with Rev. Jesse White and his daughter's wonderful computer program. Rather than just talk about the problems, Rev. John Perkins from Pasadena, CA, said too many people get their satisfaction from feeling good about talking about the problems rather than doing something about the problems.

Reverend White has a computer program where people come back, get the training and then either get a job or move up in their jobs because they have the skills with which to work in the job market.

It is one thing to whine about stuff; it is another thing to do it. People like their church and their program need to be encouraged, as another pastor in Fort Wayne, who is a friend of mine, Rev. Otha Aden has a similar program in the southeast side of Fort Wayne working with kids in the after school southside opportunities program where he, too, has working with local businesses, has computers there and is trying to promote among the young people in that hard hit area the importance of getting the training so that they can be important factors in the growth of Fort Wayne and in their neighborhoods and their families.

Another friend of mine, Shirley Woods, has started a center right in the middle of an area. There are five different crack houses in the immediate vicinity of where she started this neighborhood center for Saturdays and afternoons after school and in the summer, and it is not just an activities center for the kids. She also has some educational training and family training programs with the families and trying to work with the virtues and the things that families need to rehabilitate their families.

There are just a few. Another program in Fort Wayne at the Cooper Teen Center, they have been out here a couple times to visit with me. Andre Patterson and Carl Johnson have a program, Simba, of black pride and self-esteem with these kids and giving them training skills.

There is hope. I have been into Newark, South Bronx, I have been in the center of, just after the riots in LA, into San Antonio, inner city Chicago, some of the toughest housing projects, as well as in a rural area in Appalachia for multiple days, that everywhere you go, even where it seems most dismal, somebody is having an impact.

There are these little flower gardens in the middle of the toughest area where people are having an impact. What we need to do in America is figure out how to encourage those little gardens, how to give them the funds and encourage people to give them the funds so that they grow.

□ 2000

Rather than stomping them out through massive government from imposing to America that the solution to America's problems is the Federal Government, or any government really, that it can be a supplement, it can be a time to be there when you are in great need, it can give a stimulus and some training. But it is not the ultimate answer to our problems.

That is the vision that we Republicans are trying to communicate, that the answers to America lie in people's heart, they lie in the families, they lie in the communities, they lie in the local governments, and only then to Washington, and hopefully we can accomplish that, and we will continue to try to communicate that message, and I thank the people in northeast Indiana for giving me the chance and for having so many of us here who share these views, and hopefully for my daughter who just graduated and for my sons who are still coming up, that they can look at America with hope and with opportunity rather than the type of America that we can see on MTV and the type of pessimism I fear we are going to have if we fall back into the trap of the deficit spending in the collapse of the families and morality.

CHURCH BURNINGS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. FIELDS] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, Members of the House, tonight I am joined by my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. JACKSON], who will also talk about an issue that we both have a great deal of compassion about as well as other Members of this Congress who will join us later to talk about an issue that we are somewhat complexed about because of the amount of church burnings across America, particularly in the southern part of our country. So tonight, Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, we would like to take the remainder of this hour to talk about the church burnings across the southern part of the country.

Mr. Speaker, over 63 churches over the past 5 years were burned. All of these were African-American churches; 20 of those cases have been solved at this point. And before I go any further, I would like to commend the Justice Department, who has been working extraordinarily hard in trying to bring a resolution to the many recent church burnings across the country, and in particular I want to commend Deval Patrick, who is the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights. That department has been working profusely night and day to try to ascertain as much information as possible as relates to these burnings, and I would like to commend him and his staff for all the work that they are doing, and I would like to also commend him for the support that he has given to legislation to make penalties much more tougher and bring people to justice much quicker. And he will be on the Hill tomorrow, as I appreciate it, trying to convince the Committee on the Judiciary to pass legislation in that regard.

I would also like to commend Jim Johnson, who is with the Department of the Treasury, who is the Assistant Secretary for Enforcement. They are working night and day to try to get as much information as possible as relates to the church burnings, and he has worked relentlessly in trying to obtain as much information as possible; and, of course, the personnel over at the entire division, Janet Reno, who on yesterday and on today met with many of the pastors of the churches that were burned from across the South, and I appreciate her compassion and the diligence she has shown in trying to bring people who are the perpetrators of these crimes to justice.

The President should be commended as well for his commitment to expending as much resources as possible through this administration to ascertain any information that is possible to bring these senseless burnings to an end.

Mr. Speaker and Members, I would like to share with the Members of the House very briefly the most recent churches that were burned across the country. I mentioned that there was 63 in the past 5 years, 20 of those cases unresolved, and I think as of last night 21 because a fire was, as I appreciate it, a

church was set afire on last night in the State of Texas.

In the State of Alabama, Mr. Speaker, there are a total of 5 churches that were burned. On December 22, 1995, Mount Zion Baptist Church, which is an African-American church, was burned in that particular State. On January 11, 1996, Little Mount Zion Baptist Church in Green County was set afire. On that same day Mount Zoar Baptist church in Green County was set afire. In both of these cases or both of these churches, the ATF agents have already ruled that arson was the cause of these fires. On February 28, 1996, New Liberty Baptist Church in Tyler was set afire, and on March 25, 1996, Missionary Baptist Church in Selma. A total of five churches in the State of Alabama have been burned since December 22, 1995, to this present day.

In the State of Georgia there was one case of arson. On March 27, 1996, Gay's Hill Baptist Church in Millen was burned.

And in Louisiana, my State and my own district, we have had over five church burnings. One was Saint Charles Baptist Church, which was the fifth church that was burned, and that was burned on April 11, 1996, which is the most recent burning in the State of Louisiana. On February 1, 1996, Cyprus Grove Baptist Church in East Baton Rouge Parish was set afire, and Saint Paul Free Baptist Church in East Baton Rouge Parish and Sweet Home Baptist Church in Baker, which is adjacent to East Baton Rouge Parish, and St. Thomas Chapel Benevolent Society in East Baton Rouge Parish. All four of these churches, Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, were set afire the same night, and on April 11, 1996, as I stated earlier, Saint Charles Baptist church was set afire as well.

In the State of Mississippi we have identified two to three cases of arson. On March 5, 1996, St. Paul Church was burned, and on March 30, 1996, El Bethal Church was burned.

And in North Carolina there were four incidents. One that comes to mind the quickest was the 93-year-old wooden sanctuary that was once used by the congregation of Matthews-Murkland, which was a Presbyterian church, and that was in Charlotte, North Carolina, and that church was burned on June 7, which was the most recent burning in 1996.

And in South Carolina there were five churches. Mount Zion AME Church was burned, and on August 15, 1995, St. John Baptist Church; June 22, 1995, Macedonia Baptist Church; and April 13, 1996, Rosemary Baptist Church. Finally, on April 26, 1996, another Baptist church was burned in the State of South Carolina, and the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. CLYBURN], who had worked profusely on this and also in the CBC to inform Members of these church burnings, has been working very hard with ATF and with the FBI and the Justice Department to try to get as much information as possible,

and perhaps he will join us in this colloquy later tonight.

The State of Tennessee had a total of six burnings. January 13, 1995, Johnson Grove Baptist Church in Denmark and Macedonia Baptist Church in Crockett County; they both burned the same night, on the 13th of January. On January 31, 1995, Mount Calvary Baptist Church was burned, and on December 30, 1995, Selma Baptist Church in Fruitland was burned, and on January 8, 1996, Inner City Church in Knoxville was burned to the ground, and on May 14, 1996, Mount Pleasant Baptist Church, which is being investigated at this point, is still under investigation, and they have not yet ruled this church to be a church that was burned by arson.

And last, the State of Texas, on June 6, 1996, New Lighthouse of Prayer in Greenville.

And a Church of Living God was burned in Virginia on February 21, 1996; Glorious Church of God and Christ in Richmond was burned.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. JACKSON], we have talked about what could we do as Members of Congress to try to assist in stopping this avalanche of church burnings across the southern part of our country, and we were happy to learn that the ATF decided to publicize a 1-800 number, so we urge Members of this Congress to please inform their constituencies of the 1-800 number that their constituents can take advantage of if they know of any information whatsoever about any of these church burnings, and I am told that toll free number is 800-ATF-FIRE, which is a 24-hour a day, 7-day-a-week number where any citizen in this country who has any information whatsoever about church burnings in America can, in fact, call this number, and agents will respond.

We feel that this country should have zero tolerance for anyone who would have the audacity and the gall to burn anything, but particularly, particularly, a church. For a person to light a match to a place of worship in this country shows no respect, first of all, to himself, to the individual who chooses to do it, and certainly does not show any respect to human life. And we are committed to work with the Justice Department, the ATF, and the FBI, and all of the investigative agencies. As Members of Congress, we are committed to supporting this effort so that we can bring it to some conclusion.

And this is a bipartisan effort, both Democrats and Republicans. We all agree that there should not, none of us, have any tolerance for individuals who would burn a place of worship. We started this coalition with the blue dog Democrats, as a matter of fact, about 3 months ago when these church burnings first started to set some type of pattern across the southern part of our country, and then that coalition expanded, of course, to the entire Congress.

So I am thankful to all of the Members who have been participating in briefings on church burnings, and I am very thankful to the Justice Department and the administration for their zero-tolerance attitude for this type of behavior and action across the country.

At this time I am going to yield to my colleague from Illinois, Mr. JACKSON.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, let me thank the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. FIELDS] for allowing me the opportunity to participate this evening in this special order. I certainly want to join my colleagues along with the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. FIELDS] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE] on the other side of the aisle, and the gentlewoman from North Carolina [Mrs. CLAYTON], the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LEWIS], members of the Congressional Black Caucus, members of the progressive caucus in this Congress, in condemning those who are burning churches, defacing synagogues in our Nation, and certainly congratulate those who are seeking to bring the perpetrators to justice.

Attorney General Janet Reno has been working diligently along with Deval Patrick, along with the members of the FBI and the ATF, to bring these perpetrators to justice. It is my understanding, after having talked with Mr. Patrick, that this is one of the largest civil rights investigations that has ever taken place in our Nation's history.

I am hoping that the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana, after I read a brief history of church burnings in our Nation, put them in some particular context, will certainly join me in a colloquy about church burnings and what it is that we can do to bring an end to this climate.

There are those who have said in the civil rights community that this is not only an indication of the climate and the times that we find ourselves in, but that there is indeed a conspiracy, if not a conspiracy of individuals who have met on this subject, certainly a conspiracy of culture.

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If there can be said to be a bright side about these incidents, it is that blacks and whites, Christians, Jews, Protestants, and Catholics, the Rainbow Coalition and the Christian Coalition have united against these acts and they have come together calling for more Federal resources to go into the investigative efforts to bring the perpetrators to justice.

Mr. Speaker, some in the civil rights community have referred to this form of church-burning as cultural conspiracy, a cultural conspiracy that tolerates, if you will, a kind of racism. The fires have drawn the attention of rights' groups because of the historical legacy of black churches being repeatedly burned during the 1950's and the

1960's. While others have indicated that while those in white sheets have historically been burning churches, we are now living in a climate where those in blue suits are legislating against the civil rights of many Americans, and also those in black robes are indeed passing down judicial decrees that are severely restricting the principles of equal protection under the law.

When we look at what has taken place in this Nation since 1990, 57 houses of worship have been destroyed as a result of fire and vandalism in 15 States. Only 13 cases have been successfully prosecuted and closed. A total of 30 incidents have been reported thus far in 1996 alone. Since 1986, there have been reports of suspicious fires almost every year. Most blazes occurred in rural, isolated areas where water had to be transported to the site by volunteer companies.

In eight of the cases, where arrests have been made, perpetrators have been white. One was even a fireman. Seventeen fires were set during black history month or other important civil rights anniversaries, such as Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination; the march across the Edmond Pettis Bridge in Selma, AL in the month of March; or near the time the Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday is celebrated.

The States that have been hardest hit are Tennessee with eight churches, Louisiana with five churches, Alabama with five churches, and in Louisiana, four of the five churches were torched on February 1, 1996, in East Baton Rouge Parish. I believe the gentleman from Louisiana represents this parish.

The interesting thing about February 1, 1996 is that it is the anniversary of the Greensboro sit-in's, where students from North Carolina A&T State University—my alma mater in 1960—fought for public accommodations. Of the Louisiana churches—Cyprus Grove Baptist Church, St. Paul's Free Baptist Church, Sweet Home Baptist Church, Thomas Chapel Benevolent society—all four were located within a 6-mile radius of each other. The St. Charles Baptist Church, the fifth church, was burned on April 11, 1996 in Paincourtville, Louisiana and citizens, again, who are concerned should know that that number is 888-ATF-FIRE. If there is any information that you can provide and that Members of Congress can provide through their networks to alert the proper authorities about these church burnings, they certainly should do that.

I want to put this in a particular historical context, which I think is certainly appropriate for these times. I wanted to do a little research before commenting further on the climate within which churches have historically burned in this Nation. Before I go any further, I certainly want to commend the gentlewoman from North Carolina, Mrs. EVA CLAYTON, for the legislation that she is sponsoring, along with other Members of Congress who are sponsoring legislation to chal-

lenge perpetrators of church-burnings and synagogue defacings in our Nation.

I think what is probably most instrumental when we look at church-burnings in our Nation is that while we are living in a climate and in an environment where there are those who would say that race is still not a factor in American life, while we are hearing more decrees from the court that are certainly suggesting that the court should be going in a direction of color-blindness.

There is one thing that is clear about American history, and that is that race is really not a side issue. It is not an addendum to American history. It is central to the entire history of our Nation from a constitutional perspective: three-fifths human voting status, article 1, section 2 of the constitution; the "such persons" clause, article 1, section 9; the persons held to service or labor clause, article 4, section 2, paragraph 3; article 5, prohibiting any amendment of the slave trade and capitalization tax clauses before the year 1808.

It was William Lloyd Garrison and his liberator who condemned the Constitution at that time as a covenant with death and in agreement with hell. It is only because of constitutional amendments, amendments that ended slavery, that guaranteed the right to vote, that subsequently established the principles of equal protection under the law for all Americans, that the Constitution has indeed endured.

Look at our Nation's Capitol. Even the location of our Nation's Capital, it was determined, should be the by-product of a compromise made at the time the Congress was in Philadelphia. The Congress of the United States is presently located between Maryland and Virginia, the compromise between a free State, Maryland, and that of slave State, Virginia. Look at the number of States that were entered into the Union on the issue of race. Slave and free States were admitted together to keep balance in this institution between those who were interested in abolishing the institution of slavery and those who wanted to keep it.

I raise these particular concerns because when we look at the Tilden-Hayes Compromise of 1877, when a Democratic President was subsequently elected, and by and large a conservative court ran the Supreme Court of the United States, there was an assumption about the progress that many minorities in our Nation began making after 1863. Twenty-two African-Americans served in this institution as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation. Beyond that, 131 historically black colleges were also founded.

But once the Tilden-Hayes compromise took place, when Democrats and Republicans, two parties with one assumption at that time—to stop the progress that African-Americans and other minorities were making in our Nation so quickly—they withdrew troops from the South that is, they

withdrew Federal protection from the South, and as a result, the Klan, the Ku Klux Klan, those Knights of the Ku Klux Klan became more evident. Beyond that, churches began to burn at unparalleled rates.

So in 1996, when we look at the parallels between what took place in 1896 with *Plessy versus Ferguson* and decisions that are coming out of our Court in 1996, we are certainly looking at a climate where we are withdrawing some of the principles that indeed fought historically against these acts, acts against church burning, acts against racial hatred in the South.

So I would certainly put in that context a challenge to both Democrats and Republicans on both sides of the aisle as we try and find creative solutions to resolving this particular crisis. We must, when they talk about cultural conspiracy, and I have heard several civil rights leaders refer to this as a cultural conspiracy.

What do they mean when they say cultural conspiracy? I am the gentleman from the south side of Chicago. I am a big Chicago Bulls fan. Everyone in the Congress certainly knows that. I do believe that Michael Jordan and Scotty Pippin of the Chicago Bulls will win a championship and bring it home to Chicago.

When Michael Jordan shoots a 3-point shot, I say to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. FIELDS], he manages to shoot that shot from the 3-point line, and wherever he is, Jesse, Junior, in Chicago jumps up excited because Michael Jordan just made a basket. But guess what? Michael Jordan fans in Los Angeles also jump up and shout. Michael Jordan fans in Dallas and Michael Jordan fans in Florida, Michael Jordan fans all across our country and indeed Michael Jordan fans around our world, they jump up, a kind of conspiracy, if you will, for Michael Jordan, because he represents the common denominator through which all of us relate, many of us relate to the Chicago Bulls.

When we talk about cultural conspiracies with respect to church burnings, when politicians fan race hatred, fan the fears of racial animosity within our Nation at the top, they create a kind of cultural conspiracy. In 1964, in reaction to *Brown versus The Board of Education*, Goldwater ran his campaign talking about States' rights. It was a way of saying that States had a way under the equal protection clause of the Constitution of the United States.

In 1968, in response to the 1967 and 1968 riots, Nixon ran his campaign on law and order. In 1972 Wallace ran his campaign in reaction to integration on busing. In 1976, even Carter, a Democrat, ran his campaign and announced his candidacy from Georgia, gave a speech in Indiana, talking about ethnic purity; a Democrat. In 1980 Reagan talked about welfare queens, and in 1988 it was Bush who used Willy Horton, and even our own President, in 1992, who used Sister Soljah in his bid

to become the President of the United States.

In 1996 what are the issues that are quickly approaching the election season? Affirmative action, a big issue in California, the CCRI, California Civil Rights Initiative; welfare reform. We have taken care of many of the substantive issues, but what is left are those issues that exacerbate those racial fears and racial tension. My appeal in this climate to both parties to help avert this whole notion of a cultural conspiracy would be that we rise above racial politics in 1996 and do what is in the best interests of the American people.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I think I hear what the gentleman is saying. The gentleman is saying, as I appreciate it, that we as public officials who are looked upon on a day-to-day basis for leadership, be it in our own districts or be it throughout the country, we have to be, first of all, more tolerant of each other, and we must also realize that we have to lead by example and try to talk about concentrating more on those things that bring us together than to put so much emphasis on those things that may divide us.

I think the gentleman is correct. Many times, all too often people in public life, people who run for office use issues as a wedge rather than a magnet to bring people together, but a wedge to divide. I do not know if this is what we get, the church-burning is a result of what we get as a result of dividing and not healing and bringing people together. I do not know if that is the reason or not.

But I do think the gentleman certainly makes a very compelling argument in that respect. It goes to show you that people do in fact, if that is one of the by-products of division in this Congress, division in government, if one of the by-products is somebody going to go put a match to a church, then we have to be very careful in terms of how we lead and govern.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. If the gentleman will continue to yield, Mr. Speaker, can we indeed separate church-burnings from the blowing up of a Federal building in Oklahoma, anti-Federal Government; the Government is too large, the Government is the source of our problem? Can we indeed separate church-burnings from the Freemen's movement and militias on the rise across our Nation, those who are declaring that their individual plots of land are not part of the United States?

I am suggesting that there is a cultural conspiracy that is much broader than just the churches. We are living in a very dangerous climate where we are not only burning churches but we are also burning opportunity, and while we are burning opportunities not only for African-Americans and Latino-Americans, we are also burning opportunities in large numbers for poor white Americans, and many of those poor white

Americans, along with African-Americans, Latinos, and others, are indeed reacting to this climate.

One of the things we must do is rise above it. They take their cues from us. If they see us on this floor race-baiting and using cold words and cold language to accomplish short-term political ends, if they see us doing it at the national Presidential level, if they see us doing it in the U.S. Senate, the by-product is certainly intolerance that takes place within our communities, which no freestanding and no uplifting human being should absolutely tolerate.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. I thank the gentleman, Mr. Speaker. That leads me to the point of legislation. The gentleman spoke of the legislation that was introduced by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mrs. CLAYTON] and also legislation that was introduced by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CONYERS] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE] as a matter of fact. I am a coauthor of those pieces of legislation, and will be fighting profusely to pass those pieces on this floor, and to even make them stronger, because in listening to the President's address on Saturday, I do agree with the President. This legislation not only needs to be supported by Members of Congress but it also needs to be strengthened. I am going to be working with members of this body to strengthen this legislation.

I agree with you, we need more than legislation, because we have heard time and time again, one cannot legislate morality. We need more than tougher laws on the books. We need more than a good speech from an individual or a group of individuals. We need positive action. I think that just seeing Democrats and Republicans come together on legislation to prevent further harm to churches or to try to show some attention, bring some attention on a very serious problem is a good indication that we can in fact work together.

But all too often we do it later, rather than sooner, and I think you are right, we have too much race-baiting, for lack of a better word, in this country. It is not only in the Congress, it is in State legislatures. Now there is affirmative action, a thing that was created by people, legislators who thought and who felt a genuine need in their heart and mind and in their soul to bring people together and to give individuals who have been discriminated against for years and years an opportunity, no a guarantee but a mere opportunity to be treated fair.

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That thing we call affirmative action is now a racial buzz word, and people use it to divide people instead of bringing people together, and I think that is unfortunate. But the gentleman is right, we have to lead by example. If we want racial harmony in our society

and in our country, then the best example is the one that we make ourselves, and it is not only on this floor but throughout our daily lives.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. One of the things I did when I ran for Congress in the Second Congressional District of Illinois is I indicated I would rather lose my race right rather than win it wrong, that I did not want to come to Congress at anyone else's expense.

In the Second Congressional District I ran against some very formidable opponents, but one of the things I did not want to do was destroy their reputations or their character just so that JESSE Jr. could serve in this body. I knew I was young enough, had the energy enough to run every time until I won, with the ability to build the consensus that was necessary to provide the kind of hope for the people of my district.

I say that to put it in any context. When we hear Presidential candidates who run for political office and on the one hand they equate the song "We Shall Overcome" with whistling "Dixie," there is no difference, a Presidential candidate said, between "We Shall Overcome" and whistling "Dixie," they are both freedom movements.

Well, if whistling "Dixie," protecting the Confederacy, is part of a freedom movement and "We Shall Overcome" can be equated, it certainly suggests that either we are all missing the boat or that something is taking place within our Nation that has not been healed even since the Civil War. So I would certainly challenge those Presidential candidates to keep the Presidential campaign focused on issues of substance to people as it affects their daily lives.

The gentleman mentioned affirmative action. I heard some of our colleagues earlier on the other side of the aisle talking about affirmative action. He is right. In 1996 affirmative action has become a buzz word.

But the reality is affirmative action is really an outgrowth of the 1954 Brown versus Board of Education decision. Affirmative action is a conservative remedy to offset historical action, historical negative action against groups of people in our society that have been historically denied.

For example, I did a television show last weekend with one of the distinguished gentlemen from the other side of the aisle, and we talked about affirmative action. We talked about affirmative action as equal opportunity, that is, providing opportunity for those who have been historically locked out in our society, and I might add that the primary beneficiaries of affirmative action in our Nation have been white women, not African-Americans. While there are those in our country who would paint affirmative action as the program that has provided unusual, unfair advantage to African-Americans, the primary beneficiaries of affirmative action in the State of Illinois

and in States around our Nation have been businesses owned by white women.

But why is affirmative action so important? Yes, white women have been discriminated against, African-Americans have been discriminated against, and there is a legacy of ongoing discrimination that still takes place within our Nation.

The example that I use so regularly across our country is this. When we look to find qualified basketball players to play at any Big 10 or Division I basketball school in our country, we go all over the country. We have boosters who write the coach and say, "Coach, listen, there is a 7-foot-4 basketball player here in our local township who can play basketball. Why don't you give them an opportunity, give them a tryout, send them a letter or try and get them to sign a letter of intent?"

So we go all over the country, primarily because we have an institution in place called boosters to provide information for coaches, and that is why we find so many prominent African-Americans playing basketball in Division I schools.

The problem is this: When it comes around to finding qualified African-Americans who can teach or qualified women who can teach, qualified African-American female, Latino and Asian-American administrators at these schools, suddenly the same aggressive recruitment mechanism that went into finding qualified ball players is not applied when it comes to finding qualified teachers. They always say, "Well, we looked in the local pool, the local municipality and we couldn't find African-Americans or women or Latinos or Asian Americans who were qualified."

What affirmative action simply suggests as it relates to that kind of opportunity is that those institutions must be as aggressive in trying to find qualified black Ph.D.'s and female Ph.D.'s and Latino Ph.D.'s just as they went and found qualified African-American ball players who play ball in parks across our country and in our high schools.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. I agree with the gentleman. I think one of the problems we have with affirmative action is a perception problem. People try to view affirmative action as two parallel lines, if you will, where we take somebody who is not qualified and we elevate them to the level of somebody who is. But in all actuality, that is not affirmative action.

Affirmative action should be viewed instead as a circle, where every person in the circle, they are all qualified to do the job, to perform the obligation of the contract, but there is one problem. Though there are women in the circle, they never get chosen. Very few of them get an opportunity to fly a plane, though they are qualified pilots. Though there are a lot of African-Americans in the circle who can perform the obligation of the contract,

they never get an opportunity to even bid.

So affirmative action is not two parallel lines where we take somebody who is not qualified and elevate them to the level of somebody who is. It is instead a circle where everybody within the circle, one of the prerequisites that one must have in order to get into the circle are qualifications. A person has to be qualified to get into the circle.

The only problem is, but for affirmative action, many qualified people within that circle would never get an opportunity to compete. People do not get jobs because of affirmative action. Women do not get jobs because of affirmative action, blacks, Hispanics, Latinos. They get jobs because they are qualified. They only get an opportunity to compete.

I want to also mention a meeting that I had today. We started the special order off talking about the church burning and now the byproducts of it. I met with the ministers from my district. About four of them were in my office today, after meeting with the Justice Department, and it is amazing, I guess it is not really amazing but it is encouraging, which is a better word, to see these ministers who have had their churches burned to the ground, not lose faith.

One of the ministers when asked by, I guess, the Justice Department what penalty he thinks should be imposed, he said, "Well, 15 years of going to Bible school, or 10 years of going to Bible study and working with the choir and the church." These are individuals who have lost their buildings, not their churches, because it takes more than a torch to burn a congregation. That was only a building.

To know that those congregations all across the southern part of our country are still meeting, meeting in homes, meeting in parking lots, even meeting at other churches and those ministers still leading that flock, it brings a breath of fresh air. So for individuals who think they can kill the spirit by burning the church, they are going to have another think coming, because it really does not even weaken it. I have even been in my own State where it has made some of these churches even stronger.

I would like to thank those individuals. I do not know about in other areas of the State but the local community. When we went through this calamity in Louisiana of the initial church burning, four in on night, to see the business community and to see the community at large come together to try to pool resource to help support those congregations is absolutely extraordinary.

It just goes to show the good that we have in so many people. If we can just advocate that good, not only in times of disaster as the gentleman stated, but advocate that good will that we all have within ourselves as often as possible, then hopefully those kind of hate

crimes will go away and be a thing of the past.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Let me say if there is any bright side to this very unfortunate series of events that have been taking place in our Nation, it is that African-Americans and Jewish-Americans and I have seen Catholic Americans along with Protestant Americans come together, the Rainbow Coalition coming together philosophically with the Christian Coalition to condemn these acts. This is something that historically I would think, considering the partisan nature of politics in our country, would not necessarily be the case, but they have moved beyond their partisan differences, because any group of individual who would attack a church is certainly beneath the dignity of what we refer to and call ourselves Americans. And so those who are doing it should stop and those who have information about those who are doing it should call 888-ATF-FIRE and certainly call the ATF and let them know that they have some information about these unfortunate turn of events in our country.

I thought it was important to put these church burnings in a historical context, because all too often the history of racism and sexism and classism and church burnings and climate setting in our Nation and the role that we play as elected officials in fanning those fires, that is, helping those fires get worse. We are not just burning churches, we are also burning opportunity in our Nation. Burning opportunity forces reaction in our Nation in terms of those who are getting an advantage through affirmative action, through other programs that were designed to help the poor regardless of their race, sex, color or class, in this particular climate we see that there is an emergence, if you will, of more church burnings and this kind of racial hatred.

I want to go back just quickly to affirmative action because we are talking about not just burning churches but burning opportunity in our Nation. To hire someone because they are unqualified is absolutely illegal. That is illegal in our Nation. Affirmative action does not mandate that one hire someone because they are unqualified. I think the analogy that the gentleman from Louisiana raises about an airline pilot is certainly correct. You do not hire an African American to fly a plane or hire a woman or a Latin or an Asian American to fly a plane simply because of their color. Who would want to fly in a plane in this country if you hired someone who did not know how to fly a plane? That is ridiculous. But it does mean that if African Americans and if women historically have not flown planes in our Nation, have not been given an equal opportunity of flying a plane, then the airline industries across our Nation must go out of their way and do something that they have historically not done, go out of their way to find qualified African-American

men from Tuskegee, Tuskegee pilots, find qualified women, black, white, brown, Asian, who can fly planes and give them an opportunity.

I cannot help but remember and think about the significance of the late Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown's most recent trip to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the former war-torn Yugoslavia. Ron Brown was a big supporter of affirmative action. I certainly hope that his support of affirmative action and equal opportunity does not get lost in his legacy. But for Ron Brown's very unfortunate and untimely demise along with many of our mutual friends who were on that plane, the only thing we probably would have known about that trip from the media accounts was the fact that they were giving hamburgers to soldiers in the former Yugoslavia. But when the plane crashed, we also discovered something else. We found out who else was on the plane, business people, predominantly white businessmen, CEO's of major corporations across our country, who were going to Yugoslavia to rebuild the former war-torn republic, really to receive a grant from the Federal Government that we had provided in this institution for any U.S. company that wanted to go there and rebuild it. They were using a military plane, they were using military personnel, and the Secretary of Commerce was escorting those businesspeople, predominantly white, male-owned companies on a trip for opportunity.

Why was Ron Brown such a big supporter of affirmative action? Because he wanted those business people on those trips that only he knew as Secretary of Commerce that he was really taking to come back to the United States and do business with African-Americans and women and Asians and Native Americans and those who for whatever reason could not be participants on those international trips. Ron Brown knew that the U.S. Government was providing opportunity for those business people in foreign markets and they also had some obligation as a matter of law, not as a matter of good will or good feeling or how we think about people but as a matter of law to come back to this Nation and do business with African-Americans and with women and with Asians who could not make that trip. Ron Brown was about expanding opportunity, and affirmative action was a factor in his program.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. I thank the gentleman for those comments. In closing, I can only say that we have a long way to go and we can make it there if we do it together and we can get there a lot quicker. There is an old saying that you can get it a place a lot quicker if everybody pulls in the same direction. The more we pull in the same direction, the sooner we will get to that destination, that promised land, so to speak, that Dr. King talked about where we all could work together and more forward. Hopefully one day we will not have these senseless burn-

ings like we have today, senseless bombings like we have had in the past, but people will grow to be tolerant of each other and respect each other and learn how to live with each other.

I would only say in closing to those churches and those ministers and those congregations, I am just pleased that Attorney General Janet Reno and the President; Deval Patrick, the Assistant Attorney General; the ATF and all the enforcement mechanisms that we have at our disposal here in this government are all working together in concert with each other to try to change or to try to at least bring these individuals, the perpetrators of these heinous crimes to justice so that they can be duly prosecuted under the law.

□ 2045

That is their function. We can do something probably even more profound than that. Not only can we pass legislation, and we will, but we can lead by example and try to bring out the best in people.

There is no rhyme nor reason whatsoever for an individual to put a torch to a church, a place of worship in this country. That is a sad day in our society when we have individuals setting fires at places of worship, and we would hope that it would cease and would cease right away.

And for those individuals in our respective districts who know any information whatsoever, it is incumbent upon us to publicize this 888-ATF-FIRE number. That is our responsibility, I would say to the gentleman from Illinois. It is our responsibility to go back to our respective districts in these several States and try to public that 888—

Mr. JACKON of Illinois. ATF-FIRE.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. ATF-FIRE number, and encourage any individuals with any information whatsoever to call that number and give it to the proper authorities so that we can at least bring those individuals to justice.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time to the gentleman.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I certainly want to thank the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana for his very kind and very gentle remarks. I would certainly hope those of us in this body, really on both sides of the aisle and certainly those of us who occupy the Supreme Court of the United States and the White House, that we would be particularly sensitive that it is but by the grace of God that the churches that have been burnt, that there have not been full congregations or any congregations in those churches at those times.

But let us also be cognizant of the role that we play with our debates on the floor of this House, with the way in which we conduct ourselves in our Democrat versus Republican politics back home, with the implementation of strategies that have not brought out the very best in people but have, indeed, exacerbated fears and brought out the very worst in people.

I certainly want to commend the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana for the way in which he has conducted himself publicly and the role he has tried to play it bringing African-Americans, white Americans, Asian Americans, native Americans and all of the different of Americans under one big tent called America.

With that, Mr. Speaker, we yield back the balance of our time.

Mr. HILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, a southern nightmare has returned to the once quiet and tranquil rural counties of America's southland which has many of our citizens concerned.

A wave of church arsons is sweeping across the South, taking with it many rural, mostly black churches, as well as the confidence and security that many of these communities once felt.

Mr. Speaker, if this were 1956, I would blame it on the States's-Rights activists, but this isn't 1956, this is 1996, and I thought Bull Conner was dead.

Just like a bad dream which comes in the middle of the night, so also, come these arsons, enveloped in darkness and all too reminiscent of the Bad Old Days when the night-riders of the Ku Klux Klan practiced their evil under the cover of darkness and with the assistance of the torch.

The number of incidents, as of May 21, 1996, given in testimony before the Judiciary Committee, was 57 across the United States.

Now, the number of church arsons has risen to 58.

The number has risen to 58 because this last Sunday, another fire tragically burned the Rising Star Baptist Church, in Greensboro, AL, to the ground, and leaving an entire congregation without a house of worship.

The fire is still under investigation. Tragically, under the cover of darkness, a beautiful quiet community in west Alabama's agricultural heartland has again experienced another church arson. This makes the ninth arson of a black church in Alabama.

In light of these events, the names of these Alabama churches now evoke a rollcall of despair, a string of broken dreams, and a hallmark of heartache. Allow me to cite the names of the Alabama churches which have burned: Mount Zion Baptist Church; Mount Zoar Baptist Church; Little Zion Baptist Church; New Liberty Baptist Church; Jerusalem Baptist Church; Bucks Chapel Church; Oak Grove Missionary Baptist Church; Pine Top Baptist Church; and now Rising Star Baptist Church.

Mr. Speaker, I can not say definitely that these fires are the direct result of a resurgence of racism, but they are the deliberate result of hatred, ignorance, and lawlessness.

Although these fires have burned down many rural churches in Alabama and across the United States, these fires have not burned out my optimism for the progress which Alabama and the South have made in my lifetime, in the area of race relations.

I know, it is a far from a perfect situation which exists today in Alabama, or in America, but if we realize this fact, and continue to progress and grow, we will reach Dr. King's promised land. And just like Dr. King, "I may not be with you, when you get there," but if this day comes after my work on earth is done, I assure you that I will be there in spirit.

In closing, allow me to say that crosses may not be burning in Alabama tonight, but our

churches are in flames and these criminals must be brought to justice.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. SCHRIF (at the request of Mr. ARMEY), for today and Tuesday, June 11, on account of official business.

Mr. ROHRBACHER (at the request of Mr. ARMEY), for today, on account of delayed transportation.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT), for today and Tuesday, June 11, on account of personal reasons.

Mr. UNDERWOOD (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT), for today and the balance of the week, on account of official business.

Mrs. LINCOLN at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT), for today and the balance of the week, on account of medical reasons.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. PALLONE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mrs. CLAYTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mrs. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MONTGOMERY, for 5 minutes, today

Mrs. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. JONES) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. BURR, for 5 minutes, on June 11.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana, for 5 minutes each day, today and on June 11, 12, 13, and 14.

Mr. RIGGS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DUNCAN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan, for 5 minutes each day, on June 11, 12, and 13.

Mr. BUYER, for 5 minutes each day, on June 11, 12, and 13.

Mr. MICA, for 5 minutes each day, today and on June 11, 12, and 13.

Mr. CHAMBLISS, for 5 minutes each day, on June 11 and 12.

(The following Member (at his own request) and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. HALL of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. PALLONE) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mrs. MALONEY.

Mr. DELLUMS.

Mr. POSHARD.

Mr. FAZIO of California.

Mr. WARD.

Mr. LANTOS.

Mr. MONTGOMERY.

Mr. CONYERS.

Mr. BERMAN.

Mr. TORRICELLI.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida.

Mr. ACKERMAN.

Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey.

Mr. DEUTSCH.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. JONES) and to include extraneous matter:)

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.

Mr. BOEHNER.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BENTSEN.

Mr. FARR of California.

Mr. PARKER.

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 1634. An act to amend the resolution establishing the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission to extend the service of certain members; to the Committee on Resources.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 8 o'clock and 49 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, June 11, 1996, at 9 a.m.

NOTICE OF PROPOSED RULE- MAKING EXTENSION OF PERIOD FOR COMMENT

U.S. CONGRESS,
OFFICE OF COMPLIANCE,
Washington, DC, June 7, 1996.

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH,
Speaker of the House, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to Section 304(b) of the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. §1384(b)), I am transmitting on behalf of the Board of Directors the enclosed notice for publication in the Congressional Record.

The Congressional Accountability Act specifies that the enclosed notice be published on the first day on which both Houses are in session following this transmittal.

Sincerely,

GLEN D. NAGER,
Chair of the Board.

JUNE 7, 1996.

OFFICE OF COMPLIANCE

NOTICE OF PROPOSED RULEMAKING—EXTENSION
OF PERIOD FOR COMMENT

A Notice of Proposed Rulemaking [NPR] for the proposed regulations implementing Section 220(e) of the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995, was published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD dated May 23, 1996. This