

"However, let me say, my point really comes down to where people have argued, and I was not here, like the gentleman, I was not here last year, I was in the private sector.

Mr. HAYWORTH. You were in the real world?

Mr. BENTSEN. As opposed to the unreal world, yes, whatever we determine that is. But I was watching what was going on up here. Last year we were saying that we didn't want block grants. Last year we were saying we didn't want midnight basketball.

Now we turn around and we do this. Mr. Speaker, I have a disagreement with that structure of the block grants. I have people who come back, some people from your party, who come around and say "Well, Mr. BENTSEN supports midnight basketball." That is not exactly accurate, because the bill as it is drafted would allow it.

I disagreed with that, so I bring that up as a matter of debate, that some of us do believe if we are going to fund things for police and that is what we want to do, that is an issue of debate, but I would say some in your party, political operatives, et cetera, would come back and accuse people such as myself, to say that I am for something when in fact I am making the point that I'm not.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I appreciate the gentleman from Texas and his point of view, and in fact welcome him to this special order, as we did the gentleman from Wisconsin preceding him.

If the intent is to decry the theatrics and the hyperbole of politics, let me assure the gentleman from Texas that certainly those of us involved in the campaign in 1994 were subjected to the same unfair scare tactics, and I guess it is a simple situation that what is good for the goose is good for the gander, but I think it is only a small part of the larger questions that delivered the mandate on November 8. I welcome the gentleman from Texas, who was elected November 8 as well.

But what we see nationwide is a concept of accountability and responsibility, while at the same time we move to ensure constitutional rights and establish this new dialog with the American public.

Mr. KINGSTON. If the gentleman will continue to yield, I think it is important to remember that this bill takes the power away from Washington bureaucrats, and it puts it back in the hands of the Houston police department and the folks in Atlanta and Savannah and Brunswick and Statesboro and Waycross that I represent, where I

were committed, or people in the sheltered Washington, DC world.

I know the gentleman will agree with us, that the decisions are better made locally.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I think we are all in agreement that it is marvelous to have this time together, even under the guise of a special order, to actually engage in this meaningful, I believe, debate, because I believe this Nation is better for it.

To be certain, we may be of two minds, we may be of 435 minds in this august Chamber, as to how to redress the problems of our society, but it is helpful to have a chance to represent our districts.

□ 2010

Mr. KINGSTON. There is another important subject that is in the contract, and that is term limits. I know the State of Texas, the legislature only meets every other year, and that generally you are in the real world as a result of that. In the State of Georgia, we meet 40 days a year, but the representatives on the State level and the county commission and so forth are generally not full-time. They are involved in making an honest living in the real world, and one of the things that we need in Congress is more people like you who have been in the real world, more people who have a frame of reference of business, of education, of being a police officer, and so forth. We need to have that element to get away from the professional politicians.

One of the things the Contract With America calls for is an involvement on term limits.

Mr. BENTSEN. If the gentleman will yield.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I will be happy to yield. I know our time is almost up. I know you are here to be part of a special order, in keeping with the spirit of this open time, if you just have a question.

Mr. BENTSEN. I thank the gentleman for yielding and his courtesy.

One quick question: Does the contract, or would you support retroactive term limits? Because as newer Members, I think that without retroactivity, and the city of Houston has retroactive term limits, by the way, because the voters passed that, without that that puts the newer Members at an uneven keel compared to the Members who have been here for a while.

Mr. HAYWORTH. That is a very interesting question. During the course of this debate as we continue along, certainly that amendment may come

and make the difference at that time, he said, "Son, I didn't do a very good job of raising you." Of course, he had been here again for 26 years, but I am a strong proponent of term limits, and I hope that both sides, as you feel strongly about term limits apparently, that we will gather the 290 votes that we need to pass this part of the Contract With America, because the American people throughout every poll that I have seen for the last year and a half, and I used to be in the North Carolina General Assembly; I served for 10 years; the people of America want the right to see term limits come to the Congress of the United States.

I hope that both sides in a bipartisan way will come together and work together to get the 290 votes, because we apparently right now, the gentleman from Arizona, it is my understanding we are anywhere from 30 to 40 short.

## BLACK HISTORY MONTH

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PAYNE] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, thank you very much for giving us this opportunity to speak this evening. I would like to thank my colleagues who are here for taking time in their busy schedule to join us, join us in this special order.

First of all, let me acknowledge the true sponsor of the special orders during Black History Month, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. STOKES], from Cleveland. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. STOKES] for a number of years has taken time out in special orders, and although he is currently in committee where he is conducting some very important business, he will be here at the first opportunity that he gets.

As you know, the Stokes family really rewrote history in the middle 1960's when Carl Stokes became the first African-American to become elected to a major city, and it sort of set the trend and the tone through the 1960's, and up to the current time where we have close to 9,000 African-American elected officials. But it was Carl Stokes, led by LOUIS STOKES, who was able to finally break through and to be a real hero. He is currently serving as United States Ambassador, and we are very pleased at his great achievement, a judge recently also.

to pause and remember the dreams and visions of these three men as well as thousands of other African-Americans, men and women, who championed the cause for freedom through vigilance and aggressive action.

I would like to take a few minutes to honor an individual out of these three that I will talk about for a few moments. Frederick Douglass is one of the three that we are reflecting on and others in our history, but Frederick Douglass was an accomplished author, he was a journalist, he was a statesman, he was an orator, he was a publisher, he was a Presidential adviser, he was fluent in many languages, he was an abolitionist, he was an activist for women's rights, he was an internationally celebrated leader.

Born into slavery, he was self-educated. Frederick Douglass was being taught by his slaveowner's wife, Mrs. Old, who had a young son and taught both Frederick Douglass and the young son to read at the same time. When the slavemaster heard what was occurring, he demanded that his wife stop teaching Frederick Douglass how to read and said that a slave is no good if he is educated.

Frederick Douglass though, being creative as an 8- or 9-year-old, found several neighborhood young boys who could read. They were not African-American youngsters. They were poor youngsters, but he was able to strike a deal with them that he would give them food that he would slip out of the house if they would teach him how to read. So Frederick Douglass continued to learn how to read and really moved into being one of the most outstanding men this Nation has ever had.

Abraham Lincoln, a contemporary of Douglass, once referred to him as the most meritorious man of the 19th century. Frederick Douglass became a spokesman for the abolitionist movement. He also, in 1848, decided that he would attend the Seneca, NY, conference on women where he was one that pushed women's rights, one of the first men in the Nation to speak out for women's rights. He was in full support of the Declaration of Rights and Sentiments which demanded equal suffrage for women.

In 1848, he became the editor and publisher of the North Star, which was a newspaper that was the truth squad of the Nation, and he went out defending the rights of women, defending the rights of the abolitionists who had a forum and a platform.

As I sort of conclude on Frederick Douglass, he directed his talents to the abolitionist movement. It was Fred-

War.

At that time slaves were supporting the Confederacy. They were doing work that made the Confederacy strong, and what happened was that when the Emancipation Proclamation occurred, not only did Frederick Douglass encourage Lincoln to do that, but he encouraged Lincoln to allow freed slaves to fight in the Civil War, and two of Douglass' sons, Louis and Charles, were among the first to enlist in the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers. I think that was something that we saw in the movie "Glory."

It was Frederick Douglass who told Lincoln and urged him to use these freed slaves, because these slaves then fought for their freedom. There were over 180,000 African-Americans who fought in the Civil War, and at that time, the Civil War was at a stalemate, and it was the infusion of the African-Americans into the Civil War that tipped, totally tipped, the scale towards the North, and in the Navy there were 30 percent of the persons in the Navy at that time in the Civil War that were African-Americans.

And so we saw that Frederick Douglass was a real hero. He became a U.S. marshal in 1872. He became the Registrar of Deeds and Mortgages for the District of Columbia in 1881, and the Counsel General to Haiti in 1889.

He also said that he was not going to abide by a white-only covenant in housing, and he purchased a home in Cedar Hill here in Anacostia.

□ 2020

He was a person who had the first Colored Person's Day, which was held at the 1883 World Columbian Exposition. The World Columbian Exposition was celebrating the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the New World. At that particular meeting that was held on August 25, 1893, over 2,000 people came, mostly African-Americans. That was a time when Frederick Douglass was being interrupted by white hecklers. That is when he finally become annoyed and angry at his tormentors, and he gave the speech. Once again, the old lion roared:

Men talk of the Negro problem. There is no Negro problem. The problem is whether American people have loyalty enough, honor enough, patriotism enough to live up to the Constitution. We Negroes love our country. We fought for it. We ask only that we be treated as well as those who fought against it.

At that great first African-American Day on August 25, 1893, Paul Lawrence Dunbar was at that meeting, Ida B. Wells was there, James Weldon Johnson was there. Many of the African-

talk about the debate between Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, we needed both. It was a great debate as to which way should we go. The majority people made those two great heroes conflict with each other, but we needed both Booker T. Washington, who said you should train and learn and stand in rural areas and have trades and be farmers, and then you will earn your respect. Du Bois, who was tired of lynching, went on the 1909 Niagara convention where the NAACP was founded, and he said, "We should be scientists, and they could help the rest." So we needed both, we needed Washington and we needed Du Bois. We saw in the 1960's the same argument whether it should be Malcolm or Martin. That was a time when both were necessary.

Mr. Speaker, thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak this evening. I want to thank my fellow colleagues who have taken time from their busy schedules to join us for this special order. We take pride in the opportunity to highlight our heritage and honor the many African-Americans who have contributed so much to this great Nation.

The 1995 National Black History Month theme, "Reflections of 1895—Douglass, DuBois, and Washington," marks a milestone in the life struggle of Black America. It causes us to pause and remember the dream and visions of these three men, as well as thousands of other African-American men and women who championed the cause for freedom through vigilant and aggressive action.

I would like to take a few minutes to honor an individual who was probably the foremost voice in the abolitionist movement of the 19th century. Frederick Douglass was an accomplished author, journalist, statesman, orator, publisher, Presidential adviser, multilingual, activist in women's rights, and an international celebrated leader.

W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington had the same inspiring effect on their listeners. These two men had completely different approaches, but the same determination and commitment to solving the same problem—freedom and better quality of life for African-Americans.

Washington was an advocate for industrial education and vocational training for Southern blacks, and founded Tuskegee Institute. He believed that blacks should remain in the rural areas and work the land, rather than migrate to the city.

DuBois was displeased with the compromising attitude of Washington and advocated that blacks study many different disciplines. DuBois began to speak out on civil rights for African-Americans through the Niagara Movement, which became the NAACP.

What these three great leaders advocated then, still applies today. Many problems continue in our communities, tarnishing the ideal

covering and celebrating our history so that we can begin a new era of healing and hope.

So, as I yield to the gentleman, who I will ask to, temporarily for me as I go back to the committee, handle the proceedings until I or Mr. LOUIS STOKES returns, I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana, Representative FIELDS.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. I thank the gentleman from New Jersey.

Let me commend the gentleman from New Jersey for calling this special order tonight and also commend the gentleman for being a chairman, and a very good chairman, I may add, of the Congressional Black Caucus, because he indeed will go down in history today.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN].

(Mr. BENTSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BENTSEN. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to join our Nation in celebrating Black History Month. The theme of this year's special order observance is "Reflections on 1895: Douglas, DuBois, Washington." However, I would also like to take this opportunity to highlight and pay tribute to the vast accomplishments and contributions of African-Americans in all facets of our Nation's history.

In particular, I want to recognize and pay tribute to the late John Wesley Peavy, Sr., and the late Judson Robinson, Jr. They are not household names and you may never find them mentioned among the great African-Americans of our time. However, in Texas, especially in Houston, these two men were in the forefront of the civil rights movement at a time when such activities were much less accepted than they are today.

The late Mr. John Wesley Peavy, Sr., a labor and civic leader in Houston, was born November 22, 1906, in Bethel Grove, TX. He received many accolades and awards during his lifetime, and was recognized locally in Houston and nationally as a political leader. Under President Roosevelt, he was appointed political action chairman of the AFL-CIO. The late Mr. Peavy served as precinct judge and executive committee chairman for precinct 48 in Houston's fifth ward from 1942 to 1994. As the chair of the Democratic executive committee I had the great honor of working with him. He was an original member of Houston's NAACP chapter. He was the first African-American Texas elector in this century and the first black Texan to attend a State Democratic Convention.

and cared about the city of Houston and worked to make it a better place to live. His deeds were appreciated by the residents, and the love he had for the community was reciprocated by them in their efforts.

That is why today, if you are traveling to Houston going to the ship channel, there is a possibility that you will travel on John Wesley Peavy, Sr. Drive to get there.

Additionally, if you traveled down Market Street in Houston, there is a good chance you may pass the J.W. Peavy Senior Citizens Center. These and many other honors were awarded to the late John Peavy by the residents of Houston for his tireless efforts in devoting over 50 years of community service and making a difference. I might also add that among Mr. Peavy's children is the Honorable John Peavy, Jr., a former Harris County district judge and recently elected member of the Houston City Council. Mr. Peavy has left us a living legacy in his son, Councilman Peavy.

The second person that I am going to pay tribute to is the late Judson W. Robinson, Jr. The late Mr. Robinson was a distinguished graduate of Houston's Jack Yates High School, where he was active in football, debate, and drama. After completing college at Fisk University, he returned to Houston where he joined the family real estate business and began devoting himself to breaking barriers and expanding opportunity for African-Americans in the business arena.

Mr. Robinson's commitment to the Pleasantville community, which is on the east side of Houston, ignited his flame of political involvement. He was elected president of the Pleasantville Civic Club and later became precinct judge of precinct 259. In 1971, he became the first African-American elected to the Houston City Council and held a councilman-at-large position for five terms. Additionally, Mr. Robinson was nominated and unanimously confirmed by his city council colleagues as a mayor pro tem, a position he held until his death.

Mr. Robinson promoted educational and enrichment opportunities for youth. The late Mr. Robinson was an exemplary public servant and an advocate for racial equality, and served as a role model for all children in the Houston community. Like Judge Peavy, Sr., Mr. Judson Robinson left a living legacy in his son Councilman Judson W. Robinson III.

Judson Robinson, Jr.'s years of public service left its mark on Judson III and thus he decided to run for city

tion in the legacy of many black Americans before them. This endless honor roll includes the late Supreme Court Justice, Thurgood Marshall; some compelling speakers and leaders like Sojourner Truth; educators and intellectuals like Mary McLeod Bethune and W.E.B. DuBois; and giants of the civil rights movement like Rosa Parks and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and other great Houstonians such as Mickey Leland and Barbara Jordan.

The people I just named contributed substantially to the history of this country. However, we should not forget those less prominent who worked just as hard to open the doors of opportunity for all Americans, let's not forget the John W. Peavy, Sr.'s and the Judson Robinson, Jr.'s of the world.

□ 2030

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas for his dissertation.

I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HILLIARD].

Mr. HILLIARD. Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and let me thank my colleague, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. FIELDS], for getting us together on a magnificent program. But before the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN] goes, I would like to say to him that I had a very wonderful opportunity of getting to know Mr. John W. Peavy, Sr., and I met him through his son. His son and I were classmates at Howard University School of Law, and we graduated in 1967, and I was there to celebrate his victory when he became, I believe, the first judge in the State, the first African-American judge elected in the State of Texas. That was a wonderful honor that the people bestowed upon him, but he has the ability, he has the tenacity, and it was well deserved for him, and I am very happy that the gentleman had an opportunity to get to know such a magnificent individual as John Wesley Peavy, Sr., and I am also happy that he had an opportunity, and my colleague has an opportunity, to interact with his son, John Peavy, Jr., and I would like to say that I was elated to learn that he has won a seat on the city council in Houston. I am certain that he will do a fantastic job, and, as the gentleman said, he is carrying on in the footsteps of his father. It is a beautiful legacy, it is a lovely story, and it is one that should be told over and over again, and I say to the gentleman, "The next time you see him, please give him my regards. Thank you very much."

Mr. Speaker, today I rise also in observing Black History Month, and I

University Institute while working as a janitor, and as a janitor he got to know the instructors there, he got to know the students there, and he built on that, and later he moved to Alabama, and he believed truly in education. So in 1881 he founded Tuskegee Institute, and, as a result of his belief in education, he trained since that time more than a hundred thousand students who have passed through Tuskegee University, and once again he set the stage for them to have an opportunity to be educated. This man, with limited financial resources, began Tuskegee Institute with only 40 students. He did not see the lack of finances, nor the lack of students, as an inopportunity, but he saw it as an opportunity to move forward and to take care of the business of educating the Negro.

Tuskegee was founded in a dilapidated shanty near the Negro Methodist Church of Tuskegee, and it was a very small shotgun house, but it has grown now to over 80 buildings and is a magnificent institution. I have the honor and pleasure of serving as one of the trustees of that famed university. I would like to say that by the time of Booker T. Washington's death in 1915, Tuskegee Institute had grown to an enrollment of over 2,000 students, and it had accumulated a yearly budget in the millions of dollars.

However more important than the intellectual legacy that Booker T. Washington was known for, he was known for his use of words, and one phrase still stands before us, and it is one that we all remember. He said, "There are two ways of exerting one's strength. One is pushing down, and the other is pulling up." And I would like to say to all Americans today that it is time that we all began pulling up. In a time when African-Americans were not educated, this African-American stepped forth. He took a challenge, and he performed as a pioneer, magnificently.

In 1860, the Civil War was fought, it was won, and in 1960 the civil rights struggle was fought, and it was won, and I would like to think that education made the difference, and because Booker T. Washington, through the famed Tuskegee Institute, helped educate hundreds of thousands of African-Americans, the civil rights struggle did not have the casualties that the Civil War had, and it was because of Booker T. Washington.

In 1895 African-Americans fought to make sure that all the rights that had been won by the Civil War would not be undone. In 1995, we still have that struggle. We will struggle now to make sure that all the affirmative rights

a leader for yesterday and one whose legacy I share today.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HILLIARD] for his moment in black history and tell the gentleman he himself will go down as a moment in black history, not only today, but in the future as well.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks on the subject of this special order tonight.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. CLYBURN] to give us his moment in black history.

□ 2040

(Mr. CLYBURN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, as I rise today in honor of Black History Month, I rise to look back on the history of a proud people, who despite seemingly insurmountable odds, made a way out of no way, and made their indelible mark on American history and culture. The names are familiar to us: Frederick Douglass, the great abolitionist; George Washington Carver, the brilliant scientist and inventor; Harriet Tubman, a feisty former slave who led hundreds of slaves to freedom; Booker T. Washington; W.E.B. DuBois, and hundreds, yes, thousands of others. There are some more recent names, of course: The great civil rights leader and Noble Prize winner, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and many others during his period. And today, in my native State of South Carolina, Judge Matthew Perry, Judge Ernest Finney; and civil rights activists Septima Clark and Majestica Simkins. All of these have made significant contributions toward the development of African-Americans in our great Nation.

I would like to pause here at the mention of these illustrative South Carolina trail blazers, because I would like to talk for a few minutes about South Carolina history; to be more specific, a particular timeframe in South Carolina history.

The period is 1868 to 1878, that brief time just after the Civil War, during which black South Carolinians held Federal and State public offices in numbers approximately close to their

time is 1868, just a few years after the Civil War. The Black Code, a set of State laws restricting the rights of newly freed slaves, had been deemed null and void 2 years earlier in 1866. A year later, in 1867, blacks in South Carolina registered to vote. In 1868, South Carolina adopted a new State constitution which among other things provided for equal rights for Negroes, abolished property qualifications for holding office, and established a free public school system. And I might add, Mr. Speaker, the general assembly that gave us all of that was two-thirds black.

In 1873, the State university opened to blacks. A black man, Pennsylvanian Jonathan Jasper Wright, sat on the South Carolina Supreme Court from 1870 to 1877. Blacks served in the State legislature, including Francis L. Cardoza, a Charleston, SC-born educator, who served as Secretary of State and State treasurer, and later served here in Washington, DC as principals of various DC schools. In fact, today one of those schools, Cardoza High School, bears his name.

South Carolina had its share of black representatives in Congress, the first one being Joseph H. Rainey, and then George Washington Murray, who served from 1893 to 1895, and again from 1896 to 1897. Murray was the last black Congressman to serve the State before I was elected in 1992, 95 years later.

Why did it take so long to elect another black representative? What happened in South Carolina and other places throughout the country just after Reconstruction?

Here is where parallels can be drawn between then and now. South Carolina's political climate shifted, along with its economic climate, in the 1870's. Cotton was no longer king. Industrial technology had yet to make its big debut in the South. And both blacks and whites were going hungry as a result. Enter into this unstable economy the likes of "Pitchford Ben" Tillman, who became Governor of South Carolina in 1890, and later a U.S. Senator in 1894. By playing on the fears of hungry and angry white farmers, who, looking for a scapegoat for their plight, immediately pointed the finger at what they called uppity free blacks.

Tillman was successful in revising the State constitution, and by 1895, almost all blacks were disenfranchised and a rigid policy of racial segregation was developed that would last until the civil rights movement of the 1960's.

Now, let us draw some parallels to what is happening today. Let us look

of the Nation's budget woes to everything from welfare mothers to affirmative action, to crime prevention programs.

As I watch the witch hunt on African-American office holders and potential political appointees that we are experiencing today, as I hear the lopsided debates for abolishing affirmative action, as I see the legal maneuvers involved in countering what some have labeled bizarre-shaped congressional districts, I cannot help but wonder in which direction are we headed?

Mr. Speaker, I close by saying as I used to say to my students when I taught in the Charleston, SC public schools, if a thing has happened before, it can happen again.

As I close, I want to say in this current political climate, I want to applaud all of the black Americans who were pioneers, as well as those here this evening carrying on their legacy. I want to applaud all of our fellow white Americans who understand this history, who know what it means, and who are working with us to make sure that the clock is not turned back, to make sure that we do not repeat that period of our history, and I want to say to all of them, good luck and Godspeed, and I know what the apprehensions are.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from South Carolina for adding to this special order tonight, and also want to thank the gentleman for bringing more insight as it relates to the State of South Carolina and its participation and contribution to black history.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the great gentleman from California [Mr. FILNER].

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman and thank the members of the Black Caucus for organizing this very special special order.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to participate in this historic celebration we have appropriately named Black History Month. Black History Month is a time of reflection and a time to gain insight from the past and to help our continual striving for equality for all.

Today, Mr. Speaker, I want to underline the importance of the continued fight for freedom for Africa-Americans, because that fight is in reality a fight for freedom for all Americans. It is a fight that has seen many victories and overcome many obstacles, only to be faced with more challenges.

In Germany during the 1940's repression was called fascism. In the 1960's, during the civil rights movement, we called it racism. Now in the 1990's, repression has a new face. We do not have

Navy's elite Blue Angles; Miss Regina Petty, the first African-American ever to be named president of the San Diego County Bary Association; the Montford Point Marine Association, the Historic African-American Marine fighting force from World War II; Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, the oldest African-American Church in San Diego County; the Neighborhood House, an organization that originated the Head Start Program in San Diego; the San Diego Urban League, an organization that has served as a leader, mentor and an instructor for the African-American community. The list goes on and on.

These individuals and organizations have served as role models not only for the African-American community, but for all residents in the San Diego area, and I am honored to serve as a representative of these outstanding Americans and organizations.

But, Mr. Speaker, if we are not forceful in our efforts to combat racism, we will destroy these achievements in the legacy of the civil rights movement and thrust our country backward into hostility and animosity. We know, of course, due to these celebrations, the name of African-American heroes, W.E.B. DuBois, Frederick Douglas, George Washington Carver, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, Fannie Lou Hamer, Thurgood Marshall, and many, many others who dedicated their lives to the fight for equality and justice.

But even as we celebrate the progress African-Americans have made in our lifetime, we cannot become comfortable with what has been achieved. The torch must be passed to each generation and the responsibility to continue the fight rests on our shoulders. Yes, we must reflect on the past as we are doing tonight, but, more importantly, we must organize and work in the present and plan for the future.

As we go through the new majority's 100 days, we need to understand that today's actions have consequences for our Nation. We must work together to ensure that our policies are based on hope, optimism, equality and justice.

So I stand to honor African-Americans for their culture and achievements on this occasion tonight, but let us never forget we are all writing the next chapter in this important history. Let us make sure that our chapter is read by our children with pride.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California for adding to this particular special order, and particularly talking about those African-Americans in the State

gentleman from New Jersey, the gentleman from Ohio, for taking this special order to reflect upon the great contributions that African-Americans have made to our society.

One of my constituents, Mrs. Daisy Bates of Little Rock, deserves special recognition, not only for her courageous and inspiring role in encouraging and supporting the nine African-American students who enrolled in Central High School in 1957, but also for a lifetime of advancing the cause of racial justice.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Louisiana and I had the privilege just a few short months ago of visiting in Mrs. Bates' home, and I am glad to report that she is doing well and in great spirits, as always.

I had the privilege, as president of the University of Arkansas, to write the forward to her book, the Long Shadow of Little Rock, which was reprinted by the University of Arkansas Press in 1986. In that foreword I wrote:

During a critical period in the history of our state, Daisy Bates charged into the heart of a gathering storm of intolerance and prejudice, armed only with principles of justice, of reason, of compassion, and of tolerance. Her leadership, her vision, and her courage have lifted all of us to a clearer understanding of the dignity and ultimate value of the human spirit. This book should be read by all who celebrate those virtues.

Mr. Speaker, I am also very proud that the University of Arkansas, long before the decision, the United States court decision in Brown against Board of Education, became the first Southern state to voluntarily admit African-American students to previously segregated programs in law and in medicine.

Silas Hunt, Wylie Branton, and Dr. Morris Jackson were among those first students admitted in 1948, and no chronicle of Arkansas history would be complete without giving recognition to our own son, John H. Johnson, who, with \$500 of borrowed money loaned by his mother, founded Johnson Publishing Company, Incorporated, the publisher of Ebony Magazine, and a host of related enterprises.

How complete would our literature be today without the contributions of Arkansas' own Maya Angelou, whose childhood in Stamps, Arkansas, caused the formation of her beautiful poetic spirit?

Mr. Speaker, African-Americans from Arkansas have not only led in business successes and the cause of education. Many were pioneers in the years before 1952 and the struggle for voting rights.

kansas long before the nationwide civil rights achievements of the 1960s.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that Mr. Kirk's article, "Dr. J.M. Robinson, the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association and Black Politics in Little Rock, Arkansas, 1928 to 1952," be made part of the RECORD at this point.

The article referred to follows:

DR. J.M. ROBINSON, THE ARKANSAS NEGRO DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION AND BLACK POLITICS IN LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, 1928-1952

[By John Kirk]

[After the 1944 elections] the activities of Dr. Robinson and ANDA seemed to wane for some time. Other factors and players now began to come into the equation. In 1940, at Stamps, Arkansas, the Committee On Negro Organizations (CNO) led by Pine Bluff Attorney W.H. Flowers was formed. This movement had the stated aim of seeking the "endorsement of its program by Negro church, civic, fraternal, and social organizations." It formed one of the most important black movements in the struggle for black political freedom of its time in Arkansas. By attempting to organize a coalition of the diverse black political, civic, religious and economic groupings and giving coordination and focus to their efforts in their various communities, the CNO pioneered the ethos of mass voting on a much more extensive scale and seems to have had some degree of success in its efforts.

Increasing the significance of black voter potential by promoting poll tax drives, the CNO built an ever-increasing reservoir of black political power. In later elections this would provide an already established electorate upon which to build a black political power base. Even though blacks were deprived of the vote at the time, these drives evidenced a genuine political interest in the black community and meant that larger numbers of qualified voters were now being deprived of their say via the Democratic primaries. In turn, as the rhetoric of "democracy" grew throughout the war years, there was more and more pressure for change on those who were denying black voters their full suffrage rights.

In Little Rock, voting blocks organized by different community leaders, like the East End Civil League under the guidance of Jeffrey Hawkins, for example, began to have an impact on city elections. The double primary system, which had been used to prevent blacks from voting after the *Smith v. Allwright* decision proved to be both expensive and an administrative nightmare and had been grinding to a halt ever since its installment in 1945. Statewide blacks began voting in Democratic primaries again. Pulaski County, however, financed separate primaries to the bitter end, which came in 1947, when the General Assembly repealed the law which had established them. Thus, although not officially sanctioned (since blacks still could not be members of the Democratic Party and so technically could not vote), blacks did begin voting in Little Rock's Democratic primaries again in 1948. With local black groups encouraging citizens to pay the poll tax and providing voter education and information, the black vote be-

ested: "Arkansas Negro Democrats don't want any Wallace stuff or their party stuff," he said. Dr. Robinson gave his continued support, endorsing "the Democratic administration tooth and toe-nail," in particular the Free Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) in government jobs and the anti-lynching law. At the same time, however, he expressed indifference to the anti-poll tax law ("We believe that individuals will buy poll taxes and vote, if they have sufficient interest in elections") and was set against "civil disobedience" espoused by some black leaders nationally.

Just as Dr. Robinson had been innovative in his day, starting a new movement and leading black politics in a new direction, now new circumstances were overtaking his organization. With the political currency of mass voting by blacks rising in value, Dr. Robinson found his one-man leadership threatened. The organization and following he had built now could have significant political leverage but only with a "new style" black politician, attuned to the possibilities of mass voting and the potential for advancement which it held.

In November of 1949 a new group called the Young Negro Democratic Association was formed, with I. S. McClinton as its president. In May of 1950, blacks representing political interests in all of Arkansas's seventy-five counties met in North Little Rock, apparently to discuss voting in the Democratic primaries of that year. Dr. Robinson was not informed of the meeting, although he attended. An associate of his at this meeting demanded to know why Dr. Robinson had not been consulted. Harry Bass, then secretary of the Urban League, replied that in the job at hand it did not matter "who called the meeting or who the officers were." Dr. Robinson tried to smooth matters over by taking the floor and declaring that he had been "mighty angry" when he had first learned of the meeting, but after matters had been explained to him, he realized that the meeting had been organized "in good faith." In a conciliatory tone he added, "I want this group to know that I am with you in this effort."

Times were rapidly changing. The next political challenge was to be neither from Dr. Robinson, ANDA, nor the new style political leaders. It was the NAACP who finally managed to break the barrier into the Democratic Party structure. In May of 1950, the Reverend J. H. Gatlin, of the Metropolitan Baptist Church, announced his intention to become a candidate for Second Ward city alderman. To do so would mean standing in the Democratic city primaries. To do this would mean becoming a member of the Democratic Party. The immediate reaction from June Wooten, secretary of the County Committee, was to comment, "I see no way under the rules of the State Committee that a Negro would qualify for a place on the State ballot." Black groups, including ANDA, fought shy of the attempt, with Dr. Robinson commenting that Gatlin was not part of his organization and "cannot be identified as a Negro Democrat in Arkansas until he joins." The local chapter of the NAACP initially withheld its official sanction, even though it had held its monthly meeting at Gatlin's church the Sunday before.

Before Gatlin could run, the filing fee had to be paid to the secretary of the Pulaski

prepared by the legal redress committee of the Little Rock NAACP, which was then sent out to the State Democratic Central Committee members, asking that they change the rules preventing blacks from being put on the Democratic ballot. In this letter Gatlin cited recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions as a precedent for his request. Although not mentioning the case specifically, Willis R. Smith, State Democratic Party chairman, called a special session meeting for the following Tuesday at the Hotel Marion in Little Rock.

At the meeting on June 13, it was ruled, after a protest by Roy Penix, committee member from Jonesboro, that only the State Democratic Convention and not just the Central Committee acting alone had the right to vote upon rule changes to the Party's constitution. June Wooten urged the members of the committee to think seriously about their actions since in light of recent court decisions she believed that Gatlin would, if the case came to court, win. As the meeting adjourned with the decision to put the matter to the convention in the fall (well after the primaries), Wooten half-heartedly joked, "if I get in jail somebody bring me a case of Cokes."

In response to the decision, L. C. Bates, chairman of the legal redress committee of the local NAACP, stated, "we are calling our committee together immediately" and that "it will probably be a matter of hours before a suit is filed." The suit was duly filed, naming June P. Wooten and Willis R. Smith as defendants. Later that week, even though the rules of the Democratic Party remained unchanged, a black candidate was allowed on the Democratic primary ballot in Pine Bluff. Yet, in Little Rock, the gridlock remained.

On June 17, attorneys J.R. Booker of Little Rock and U. Simpson Tate of Dallas filed Gatlin's case with the United States District Court, together was a request for an injunction preventing the exclusion of Gatlin "or any other person qualified \* \* \* on account of race, color, religion, national origin or any other unconstitutional restriction" from the Democratic Party city primaries. The case was based on the argument, stated often before, that primary elections in Arkansas were tantamount to election to office and therefore should be held to be public elections.

On July 5, 1950, Judge Thomas C. Trimble upheld this argument and ordered that Gatlin be placed on the Democratic primary ballot on July 25, basing his decision on an "analogy" with other similar recent decisions in the courts. He finally clarified in his decision that the primary election was "an integral part of the state election system \* \* \* tantamount to election at the general election" and ruled: "It is not sufficient that a citizen have a token exercise of his right and privilege [to vote]."

Mr. Gatlin was duly allowed to stand. The ludicrous situation now existed that blacks were permitted to stand for election under the Democratic banner, but still not allowed, technically, to vote in Democratic primaries or to be a member of the Democratic Party. Even for the die-hard Democrats this was a farce that could not be perpetuated for any

a "furor," and he was forced to drop the suggestion. "One man can only do so much at one time," Parish said.

The following day at the convention, the "white electors" only clause was removed from the party constitution. Governor Sid McMath in his closing speech said: "I am proud, and I know you are proud \* \* \* [that the convention] \* \* \* has said the Negro citizen is entitled to rights and privileges of Party membership." The only real dissension came from Amis "Guthridge and his Pulaski County junta" who had been the only delegation to cast a "nay" vote on the amendment to the party constitution. Guthridge had told the party conference, "Sid McMath is all right but is just a man of the moment. You are going to do something here today that you may have cause to regret for years to come." Guthridge would return to center stage, as a man of a different moment, in not many years to come.

The NAACP financed victory, gaining the right for Gatlin to be placed on the ballot, did not succeed in isolation. Credit must be given to the McMath administration which had from the outset taken a principled stand on the race issue. Yet of more impact and significance were the efforts of local community politicians in registering blacks to vote, which undoubtedly gave evidence of a latent black interest in politics. Also significant were the blueprints for political organization and the previous court struggles which were a legacy of Dr. Robinson and ANDA. It was these efforts which provided important precedents and set a contemporary context in which the battle for participation in the Democratic Party structure was won.

Such networks of local support were vital in providing continued pressure on obstructionists and mandates for those how favored change. The NAACP had to rely upon such local groups for channeling its efforts and laying the groundwork within which it could manoeuvre at the "grass-roots" level. It was, however, significant also that it was the NAACP which exerted the final pressure to allow full participation in the party. It had the advantage of a national network of support not embroiled in the local situation of political stalemate, and, perhaps more importantly, it also had the financial clout to sustain its protests through the courts which local organizations did not. Help like this was to become increasingly important in the years ahead.

While the NAACP fought the Gatlin case in the courts, political activity continued on the local level elsewhere. Dr. Robinson, perhaps in an attempt to adjust to the new demands on black politicians, had begun to organize more poll tax drives to boost mass voting in general elections. He began to stress getting "every Negro" to pay the poll tax to gain the vote in the various counties with greater emphasis than he had in the past. At the same time he pointedly expressed anger at the Young Negro Democrats for having "nothing to do with the mother group" after "giving these persons our good blessings."

On another occasion Dr. Robinson reacted angrily to the circulation of "pink tickets," which were pre-marked ballots, distributed to black voters going into the polling place. Such a practice contravened the law. He be-

of the black vote as possible. While Dr. Robinson was making these statements, I. S. McClinton was continuing to expand the base of his rival group, the Young Negro Democrats, establishing chapters in more than ten counties and declaring that his organization was the "only political organization in which a young man or woman has the chance to help direct the policy" which affected the black community. In making an appeal to "young people" it seems he was clearly contrasting a new dynamic "all out" style of utilizing the political process on behalf of the black community, rather than an old style of relying on the "good faith" of the white Democratic Party. In the same meeting at which these statements were made, a committee of three was set up to investigate state and local candidates for office with a view to informing black voters about them, since voters had already begun to request such information. The committee consisted of Wiley Branton, Charles Bussey and McClinton himself.

Shortly after the fight by blacks to participate in Democratic politics was won, a fight which Dr. Robinson had himself long fought, he announced his decision to retire from politics. "I am tired," he said and "I have spent twenty-five years fighting for my people. I've done my work, I will ask the convention to name a younger man to the reins." His decision came after dissension from within ANDA ranks over Dr. Robinson's switch from favoring Sid McMath to Jack Holt in the governor's race.

However, the change in leadership seemed to have been brewing for a while. Dr. Robinson's philosophy of getting blacks into politics had been overtaken by a new, more aggressive stance, of asking what blacks could get out of politics by using their political leverage to make gains. New leaders also pushed to become fully integrated members of the Democratic Party Central Committee which they achieved for the first time under the governorship of Orval Faubus in 1954. The political climate was moving toward integration, to blacks becoming an integral, not separate, part of political and social affairs. Thus, in 1952, the *Arkansas State Press* concluded that "the ANDA under Dr. Robinson has served well, but today, its usefulness is ended."

Old ways cannot last forever and just as Dr. Robinson had taken the reins for advancement, now he had decided to relinquish them and move over for others to take his place. Yet advancement did not necessarily mean improvement. There were abuses. Undoubtedly a more focused and pragmatic use of politics could bring gains. However, the new freedoms could also lead to dissension and turn campaigning into a money-making racket so that, "Every time a white candidate seeking a political office gives a Negro a campaign card and a 3 cent cigar, that Negro immediately becomes a leader of his people."

In later years the *Arkansa State Press* would voice regret at the retirement of "the dean of Negro politics, Dr. J. M. Robinson," claiming that since that time "politics among Negroes has become just as rotten as it is among white people." The charge was that "Negro politicians have found politics to be a lucrative item by bargaining off the

with the black community in return for certain "expenses." Often these "leaders" could take money to campaign with, without holding any influence whatsoever. I. S. McClinton referred to the problem of "two month politicians" in later years, indicating that these corrupt practices continued for some time.

However, despite the phoney politicians, there were also genuine politicians who could exert genuine influence. Among these were the already mentioned Jeffery Hawkins and the East End Civic League, as well as I. S. McClinton, whose Arkansas Democratic Voters Association (ADVA) eventually appropriated the Democratic mantle from Dr. Robinson. Other groups like Charles Bussey's Veterans Good Government Association also successfully dabbled in politics.

These various groups were not necessarily antagonistic to one another, alliances and coalitions seem to have shifted continually. Since many of these politicians had their own sections and areas of interest, however, as in most political rivalries, competition and friction could exist. In spite of periodic divisions, however, by unifying black political action, these leaders could make white politicians more receptive to requests for amenities like parks, general community improvements and so on. Even, albeit in a limited sense, the barriers of segregation could be negotiated. By advocating "block" voting, black political strength could become more effective through being focused.

Following Dr. Robinson's retirement the black political scene became more complex and diverse than when he had been almost its sole voice in the state. The complexities and subtleties of the new black politics would lead to a jostling for position among these different organizations and leaders, with different groups having varying amounts of success in their endeavours.

Dr. Robinson's political career had included many other highlights aside from ANDA, including being invited to attend all functions of President Truman's inauguration, attending several Democratic party conferences, being elected as first vice chairman of the National Progressive Voters League and president of the Mid-Western Negro Democratic Association.

Even after retirement from politics he did not fade into obscurity. As he had always done, he worked for the continual betterment and improvement of the black community. In 1953 he was one of the first black doctors to be admitted to the Pulaski County Medical Society, along with Dr. O. B. White, Dr. G. W. Ish and Dr. Hugh Brown. As well as leading ANDA and being Little Rock's foremost black Democratic politician for many years, Dr. Robinson's career also included service in the Urban League, NAACP, YMCA, YWCA, Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, Community Chest Drives (he was awarded the Bronze "Oscar" in 1949), Bethel AME Church, and the Free Masons. He also once chaired the Negro division of the Arkansas Livestock Show.

He was a founder of the Baptist Memorial Hospital, helped organize the Pulaski County Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Association (of which he served as president five times), was a member of the National Medical Association, published in the national

is approaching fast." If Dr. Robinson had not actually led the black political cause into the modern era, then he, like Moses, had certainly begun to "part the waters," laying the foundations upon which many leaders would continue to build.

That ANDA finally disappeared does not constitute a failure. On the contrary, it fully lived up to and finally went beyond the original intentions of its formation. Through ANDA Dr. Robinson had kept politics alive, providing a forum for black protest and expression, almost single-handedly, and sustaining the movement many times from his own pocket. An ethic of civic mindedness and a thirst for justice and political equality served to sustain one of the most important black political organizations of its time. Dr. Robinson was the quintessential community politician, not only leading from the front, but also lending a hand to better the day-to-day lives of those in the community.

In some small way, this article hopes to recognize Dr. Robinson as one of Pulaski County's leading politicians as well as give some insight and understanding of his career in the context of the black political struggle of the time in which it took place.

(Mr. Kirk won first place in the 1993 F. Hampton Roy History Awards Contest. He is a student at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne in England and is in Little Rock for a year doing research for his Ph.D. dissertation.)

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman for participating in this special order tonight, and I thank the gentleman for giving me the opportunity to actually meet Ms. Daisy Bates, who is a constituent of his.

It was a pleasure to meet her, it was a pleasure to get an autographed book, and it is a pleasure to know that the gentleman played a vital role, along with the University of Arkansas, so I want to thank the gentleman.

The gentlewoman from Arkansas also reminds me of a gentleman from Louisiana who made a significant contribution to civil rights by the name of A.Z. Young, who opened up many doors for African-Americans in the State of Louisiana, and perhaps across the world.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from the State of Georgia [Mr. BISHOP].

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, from its beginning nearly 50 years ago, Black History Month has helped enlighten the country about the true role played by African-Americans in the country's cultural, intellectual, and economic development. It has given millions of black citizens, particularly young people, a better sense of their heritage and a more hopeful vision for their own future and the future of the country. At a time when poverty, and drug abuse, and violence still plague our communities everywhere,

His name was Henry Ossian Flipper. He was born into slavery in 1856 in Thomasville. His dream was to become an officer in the U.S. Army, and following the Civil War he set out to fulfill that dream.

In spite of the incredible obstacles, Henry Flipper succeeded in securing an appointment to West Point. In fact, he turned down the enormous sum of \$5,000—about \$75,000 in today's economy—offered by a white student for his academy nomination. Although he was to suffer abuse and ostracism during his years at West Point, he persevered and became the academy's first black graduate.

While serving with the 10th Cavalry in the West, he was falsely accused of embezzling commissary funds. And, although he was exonerated, he was nevertheless discharged from the Service.

Perhaps his success after that profound setback is the most inspirational part of his life. During the remaining years of his life, he was to serve as an inventor, surveyor, engineer, newspaper editor and author, a developer of the Alaskan Railway system, a special agent to the U.S. Justice Department, an assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, and a pioneer in the country's oil industry.

But Henry Flipper always considered himself, first and foremost, a soldier. He repeatedly appealed to Congress to clear his name. But was rejected. When he died, he was buried in an unmarked grave in Atlanta. His death certificate listed the one occupation he wished recorded: "retired Army officer."

It was not until 1977 that the Army formally reinstated him to honorable status. His body was reinterred amid full military honors and a 21-gun salute. Today, his statute is on the grounds of West Point.

His story is an inspiration to us today because he faced injustice and bigotry with courage, honor and dignity. By examining his life, we are taught the importance of hard work and determination. Through him, we know the value of education. His fight to regain his honor gives us a thirst for truth.

Mr. Speaker, it is fitting during Black History Month to reflect on the lives of great Americans like Henry Ossian Flipper of Thomasville, GA.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Georgia for adding to this special order, talking about the significance of African-Americans in the State of Georgia who have made a great contribution to this country.

Indeed, this is, as you know, Black History Month. I think it is fitting and proper that at every opportunity we get we should highlight the importance of African-Americans to this country.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commemorate Black History Month by paying tribute to the late Fanny Lou Hamer, who rose from a sharecropper on a Mississippi plantation to a prominent position as one of America's most distinguished human rights leaders.

Mrs. Hamer revolutionized the Mississippi Democratic party by helping to organize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was established in 1964, to organize disenfranchised citizens.

The party's primary goal was to challenge the exclusion of African-Americans from the Mississippi Democratic party. Mrs. Hamer was a powerful orator, a courageous leader who led by example. She encouraged people to register and vote. In 1964 Mrs. Hamer ran for Congress on a Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party ticket.

□ 2100

Because of the discriminatory practices of the Mississippi Democratic Party, Mrs. Hamer led the fight to challenge the seating of the delegates of the Mississippi Democratic Party at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, NJ. Even though she was unsuccessful in this effort, the State Democratic Party eventually became a diverse party.

The most visible result of her struggle is the fact that an African-American is now serving as chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Party. In addition, Mississippi currently has more African-American elected officials than any other State in the Nation.

Even though Mrs. Hamer had little formal education, she always encouraged young people to obtain a good education. She was the recipient of honorary doctorate degrees from numerous colleges and universities across the country for her civil rights activism.

In the 103d Congress, I introduced a bill, which became law, that designated the post office in Ruleville, MS, in honor of Mrs. Hamer. Last Saturday, we dedicated the post office in her honor.

Last Saturday we dedicated the post office in her honor with over 700 people present.

It is ironic that with the assaults on affirmative action and the playing of the race card by many Members of this body that Fannie Lou, if she was here



thank the gentleman from Mississippi for his contribution tonight, particularly in talking about Fannie Lou Hamer, who is a person who was born and raised in Mississippi and one of her famous quotes, as the gentleman stated, was one that stuck with me and will stick with me for the rest of my life when she said, "I am sick and tired of being sick and tired." I want the gentleman to know people like Fannie Lou Hamer; those words are all across the country.

I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BARRETT], who walked in and who wishes to participate in the special order.

Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment the gentleman from Louisiana for organizing tonight's special order.

Mr. Speaker, I commend my colleagues, Mr. LOUIS STOKES and Mr. DONALD PAYNE for reserving this special order to celebrate Black History Month, a tradition dating back to 1926 when Dr. Carter G. Woodson set aside time in February to honor the contributions and achievements of African-Americans.

The theme of this year's observance, "Reflections on 1895: Douglas, DuBois, Washington," gives us an opportunity to honor three heroes from America's past. As we look back at the contributions Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, and Booker T. Washington have made to our society, we can all find inspiration in the seemingly insurmountable odds they overcame to establish themselves as giants in American history.

I take pride in saluting these American heroes and in heralding their accomplishments this Black History Month.

While it is important to remember the achievements of the past, it is equally important to recognize African-Americans who are making a difference in their communities today.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to stand before you today to salute an outstanding citizen who lives in my hometown of Milwaukee, Mr. James Cameron.

Mr. Cameron clearly understands the importance of preserving a thorough and accurate record of our past history for future generations of Americans.

In his book entitled "A Time of Terror: A Survivor's Story", Mr. Cameron recounts the lynching he survived 64 years ago. The rope was strung around his neck tight enough to leave burn marks as he dangled from a tree. He prayed, and in those last moments his prayer was answered. But, the memory has never faded.

connection teaches us about the events of our past to prevent history from repeating itself.

Now 80 years old, Mr. Cameron has led a rich life. He married, raised a family, and has dedicated much of his life's work to civil rights. I am certain that the people of Milwaukee will continue to benefit from his tireless efforts for years to come.

This month and every month, we should pay tribute to the many accomplishments of African-Americans of the past and to those outstanding citizens, like James Cameron, who are making history by their actions today.

Again, I thank Mr. STOKES and Mr. PAYNE for reserving this special order to honor heroes of America's past and those who are with us today.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. I want to thank the gentleman from Wisconsin for participating in this special order and also bringing to the forefront those African-Americans in his own State who have made a significant contribution to this country.

Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to yield to the gentleman from Georgia, a person whom I have had and have a great deal of respect for and a person I have watched from afar from my own State of Louisiana and a person I have always viewed as a significant contributor to African-American history, because he, in fact, has always been on the front edge, the leading edge, the cutting edge of the civil rights movement, and I want to thank him today, because it is people like him who have opened up doors for people like me to be in this very House today. I want to thank the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LEWIS], and I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleague, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. FIELDS], for holding and organizing this special order, and I want to thank my friend and my colleague for those very kind words. Thank you for being my friend.

Mr. Speaker, It is time to pay tribute to those great men and women who have dedicated their lives to making sure that African-Americans are able to enjoy all of the rights and freedoms of this great Nation. It is also a time for us to reflect on the distance we have come as Americans and the distance we have yet to travel.

Since I have been in the Congress, I have made a special effort to encourage the preservation of black history. Earlier this month, I introduced a bill to establish a National African-American Museum in Washington, DC. the bill seeks the establishment of a national

uplift present and future generations of Americans. Our history is a precious resource. We should do all that we can to preserve it, and to ensure its accuracy by including the history of all Americans. I urge my colleagues to support this important legislation.

Today, I rise to remember three giants of American history. Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. DuBois provided visionary leadership for African-Americans in the 20th century. Their ideas have served as the intellectual and spiritual foundation for the black struggle in America. Their arguments for full social, political and economic rights provided the ammunition for African-Americans to overturn segregation and outlay discrimination.

Mr. Speaker, these men were men of great vision. I feel a tremendous sense of gratitude and humility to be able to stand on their shoulders.

As the great abolitionist, Frederick Douglass personally lobbied President Abraham Lincoln to abolish slavery. Douglass was easily the most influential African-American public figure of the 19th century. He preached that agitation and protest were the instruments of freedom for an oppressed people. Frederick Douglass planted the seeds of liberation and inspired generations to pursue social justice at all cost.

During his lifetime, Booker T. Washington was known to many as the Wizard of Tuskegee. An innovative and determined leader, Washington founded prestigious Tuskegee University in southern Alabama. Washington preached that social uplift would result from economic prosperity and independence. Washington sought a pragmatic approach to the betterment of the African-American people.

Though he was criticized by some for not being forceful enough in advocating political freedom for African-Americans, Booker T. Washington was a visionary whose philosophy guides us still as we seek economic empowerment. Indeed, Washington's views will continue to guide us as we move into the 21st century.

W.E.B. DuBois, the author of "The Souls of Black Folk," can be considered the intellectual father of the American civil rights movement. A founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, DuBois offered an uncompromising vision for political and social freedom. His writings helped to inspire the legal foundation of the NAACP that eventually led to the desegregation of public schools and facilities.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, again let me thank the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LEWIS] because I know of the work that the gentleman has done across this country, with other great African-Americans, to secure the right to vote, to secure equal access to public housing, to public facilities and accommodations. I thank the gentleman because I know the gentleman has worked the highways and byways of this Nation. I also think of other great African-Americans, like Sojourner Truth, who was on a journey for the truth when she said, "I hold this Constitution in my hand, and I look and look into this Constitution, but I see no rights for me." She died so that African-Americans could be in this Congress.

I want to thank Fanny Lou Hammer, who said, "I am sick and tired of being sick and tired." I want to thank Rosa Lee Parks, who took a seat so we all could stand, take a stand. I also want to thank some of the great pioneers in my home State whose names will never be written in the history books. I want to thank A.Z. Young, who opened many doors for African-Americans in Louisiana. And also Annie Smart, Lillie B. Coleman, and Acie Belton, Leon Robinson and Ben Jeffers.

I also want to thank those great inventors. They have opened up so many doors and made life so much better for African-Americans. Every time I wake up in the morning and I put on a pair of shoes, I say, "Thank you, black America," because a black man named Jan Matziger invented the shoes. Every time I get in my automobile and I touch the brakes, I say, "Thank you," in tribute to black America, because a black man by the name of Granville T. Woods invented the air brakes. And I want the gentleman to know that every time I stop at a traffic light, I say, "Thank you, black America," because a black man by the name of Gray Morgan invented the traffic light. And if I ever run a traffic light and get into an accident and need some blood, I am going to say, "Thank you, black America," because a black American named Charles Drew invented the process for preserving blood.

If the doctors ever tell me I need open heart surgery, I am going to say, "Thank you, black America," because a black man by the name of Daniel Hale Williams was the first to perform open heart surgery.

And further, I wanted to mention to the gentleman that every time I stick my spoon or knife in a jar of peanut butter, I always say, "Thank you,

out the first design for the clock.

So I just want to thank those African-Americans. But in particular I want to thank the gentleman from Georgia because as a young man in this Congress and as the youngest black American in this Congress, I am smart enough to know that I would not be here today but for Members like the gentleman from Georgia.

So I say, "Thank you, gentlemen."

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. I want to thank the gentleman, my colleague and friend from the great State of Louisiana, for those words. The gentleman is so right that countless, nameless individuals whose names will never appear in a newspaper or a magazine, their faces will never appear on television, African-Americans who made outstanding, unbelievable contributions that we must never forget.

I thank my friend.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my appreciation to my colleagues who are joining me in the House Chamber this evening for our special order in observance of Black History Month. We take special pride in this opportunity to highlight and pay tribute to notable African-Americans who have contributed so much to this great Nation. I am pleased to also recognize the distinguished chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, the gentleman from New Jersey [DON PAYNE] who joins me in sponsoring the special order.

I want to share with my colleagues and the Nation some pertinent information regarding our celebration of black history. It was in 1926 that the late Dr. Carter G. Woodson initiated the observance of Negro History Week. He set aside 1 week in February to recognize the contributions of African-Americans to the building and shaping of our Nation. Dr. Woodson, a noted historian, understood that black Americans were not receiving recognition in history for their vast contributions. He hoped that through this special observance, black Americans and, indeed, all Americans, would gain a greater understanding and appreciation of these contributions.

In 1972, the association for the study of negro life and history, which Dr. Woodson founded, changed the name of the observance of African-American History Week. The celebration was expanded during the Nation's Bicentennial in 1976, and President Gerald Ford urged the Nation to join in the first month-long observance of Black History Month. The U.S. Congress also recognized the importance of the black history observance. In February 1976, our colleague from Illinois, the late Ralph Metcalfe, introduced legislation, House Resolution 1050, which declared that the House of Representatives recognize the month of February as Black History Month.

Mr. Speaker, African-Americans have a magnificent and rich history; a history which is woven into the economic, social and political

Black History Month. This year the association has selected the theme, "Reflections on 1895: Douglass, Du Bois, Washington." I want to take a few moments to recognize the contributions of these three giants to American History.

Frederick Douglass was born a slave in Talbot County, MD, in February 1817. He was taught to read by the wife of his owner. Douglass escaped and eventually his freedom was purchased by Quaker abolitionists. During his lifetime, Douglass was a powerful, effective spokesman for the cause of freedom and equality. In his writings and speeches, Douglass' major concerns were civil rights and human freedom. He fought to end slavery, racial prejudice, and discrimination.

Frederick Douglass utilized his own newspaper, the North Star which he began publishing in 1847, to give voice to the struggle. His writings also included his autobiographies, "The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave," and "Life and Times of Frederick Douglass."

During his lifetime, Douglass held a number of prestigious government positions including marshal and recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia, and United States Minister to Haiti. Indeed, our Nation's Capital provides a fitting reminder of Frederick Douglass' historical contributions. We can look to the White House and recall Douglass urging President Lincoln to declare emancipation as the central cause of the Civil War. And, we recall that here in this Capitol building, Frederick Douglass came to Congress to protest the inadequacies of Reconstruction.

Frederick Douglass died on February 20, 1895. In the cause for freedom, he was one of America's greatest orators, writers, and editors. He fought to guarantee that the ideals of the Declaration of Independence be extended to all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, during Black History Month, we note the accomplishments of William E.B. Du Bois, a teacher, author, editor, poet, and scholar. This great American was born in February 1869, in the State of Massachusetts.

Du Bois made history in 1895 when he became the first African-American to earn a Ph.D. from the prestigious Harvard College. He went on to teach Greek, German, and English at Wilberforce University, and economics and history at Atlanta University. In one of his greatest works, "The Souls of Black Folk," it is said that the reader may sample history, sociology, biography, economic analysis, educational theory, and social commentary.

One of the greatest contributions of W.E.B. Du Bois was his strong leadership which resulted in the birth of one of America's most distinguished organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or NAACP, in 1909. Du Bois and others saw the need for an organization to fight for voting rights, educational opportunities, and

role in the quest for justice and equality for all Americans. W.E.B. Du Bois died on August 27, 1963. He will always be remembered as a champion in the struggle for equality.

Mr. Speaker, as we reflect upon our theme for Black History Month, we note the historical contributions of Booker T. Washington, a gifted educator and leader. Washington was born in April 1856, in Franklin County, VA. He spent 9 years in slavery before his mother moved the family to West Virginia.

On September 19, 1881, Washington received the opportunity of his life when the Alabama Legislature authorized the establishment of a school which would train black men and women to be teachers. Washington was recommended and accepted the post as head of the institution. Arriving at Tuskegee, AL, Washington found that no land or buildings had been acquired for the projected school, nor were funds allocated for these purposes.

Undaunted by these circumstances, Booker T. Washington went to work recruiting black students and gaining financial support for the effort. Borrowing funds from Hampton Institute, Washington purchased an abandoned plantation and students then went to work not only making the bricks, but constructing buildings for what would become one of the Nation's most distinguished black institutions of higher learning.

By 1888, Tuskegee Institute owned 540 acres of land and had an enrollment of more than 400. The school offered the first training to African-Americans in the trade skills such as carpentry, cabinetmaking, printing, and shoemaking. The influence of the school extended far beyond Alabama. By the time of Washington's death in 1915, similar institutions modeled on Tuskegee had been founded in other states.

Although Tuskegee was Booker T. Washington's most enduring monument, his oratorical skills and writings also signaled him as a leader and spokesman for the African-American community. He is also famous for his autobiographies "My Life and Work," "Up From Slavery," and "My Larger Education." Booker T. Washington died on November 15, 1915. His spirit lives on through the work which continues at Tuskegee Institute, and in his published works.

Mr. Speaker, this evening as we remember the contributions of Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, we are led back to our theme for Black History Month, "Reflections on 1895." One hundred years ago, America was poised to undergo tremendous social and political change with the abolishment of slavery 32 years earlier.

Slavery ended with the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, by President Abraham Lincoln. Yet, for African-Americans, true freedom would continue to be denied by the systematic exclusion of economic opportunity and equality.

The legal restrictions on black civil rights arose in 1865 and 1866, when many Southern

tion. The new cotton mills and mill towns were generally for whites only, and sharecropping was the way of life for the majority of blacks in the South. Black Americans who lived in northern cities were largely confined to jobs that required the least skills and brought the lowest pay.

Several decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court enabled Southern States to continue to practice segregation and discrimination. In 1883 the Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 to be unconstitutional. That act had prohibited segregated public transportation and accommodations. In addition, the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the 14th amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1868, had forbidden the States to deny equal rights to any person. But in 1896, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of Plessy versus Ferguson that a Louisiana law requiring the separation of black and white railroad passengers was constitutional. This ruling, known as the separate but equal doctrine, became the basis of southern race relations. African-Americans were dismayed as they saw their rights eroded by court decrees and insensitive political leaders.

One hundred years later, as we gather this evening to celebrate Black History Month, we should ask ourselves where America stands in the quest for equality and economic opportunity. As we reflect on the conditions of 1895, has this great Nation embraced the declaration of equality for all its people?

In the nearly 100 years since the infamous Plessy versus Ferguson decision, I must express my concern about the continued assault on the African-American community through the dismantling of affirmative action programs and other legal devices designed to guarantee equality. Today, Congress and the Nation is involved in one of its most important debates on the issue of affirmative action.

Affirmative action has been employed as the primary tool to allow minorities and women to break through the many barriers of discrimination. Studies prove that these barriers help to keep them unemployed, underpaid, and in jobs where there is little or no opportunity for advancement.

Tonight, I would remind those who oppose affirmative action that African-Americans and other minorities also have a contract with America. That contract is rooted in both the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. As it relates to jobs in America, people of color have every right to believe in the doctrine that reads: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal."

Mr. Speaker, as we celebrate black history and black progress since 1895, I want to also recognize the importance of voting rights laws. Without this important vehicle, many of us would not be here today.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was aimed at dismantling all voting-related discrimination practices. Over the years, the Voting Rights Act and redistricting have played an essential

role in the quest for justice and equality for all Americans. W.E.B. Du Bois died on August 27, 1963. He will always be remembered as a champion in the struggle for equality.

This evening, I pay special tribute to my colleagues in the Congressional Black Caucus. We are Members of Congress elected to office from every corner of America, North, East, South, and West. I also recognize the importance of the organization which binds us, the Congressional Black Caucus. Since its founding in 1972, the Caucus has been instrumental in articulating the concerns of the African-American community. From our founding 13 members to the present 41, we have grown not only in size, but in significance, shaping the way America views the African-American community.

Mr. Speaker, I am saddened to report that while the doors of opportunity have allowed African-Americans and other minorities to step forward into leadership posts in government and other areas, through devious and sometimes overt means, our minority leaders are subjected to relentless investigations, witch hunts, and character assassinations. Today, we include the names of Lani Guinier, Mike Espy, Jocelyn Elders, Ron Brown, and Dr. Henry Foster to the list of those who have been subjected to unwarranted attacks. Until we can eliminate the selective character assassinations on persons of color, our Nation cannot stand and proudly proclaim that government is: of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleagues for joining me in this special order celebrating Black History Month. As we reflect back on our accomplishments, we are even more determined to move forward in the spirit of the brave heroes and heroines in whose path we follow.

It is our hope that one day, the celebration of Black History Month will not be limited to 1 month. It is our hope that 1 day American leaders, heroes, and activists of all races, will stand side by side throughout all the pages of our history books, for all the world to appreciate. Then, in fact, we will be the Nation to which we pledge allegiance: One Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty, and justice for all.

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise before you today standing on the broad shoulders of Josiah T. Walls; the first black elected to the Florida House of Representatives, the Florida Senate, and the U.S. House of Representatives from Florida; Joe Lang Kershaw, the first black elected to the Florida House of Representatives in this century; and Gwen Sawyer Cherry, the first black woman ever to serve in the Florida Legislature.

Often times we Members of Congress like to remember those who came before us by naming buildings or erecting monuments in their memory. But Mr. Speaker, I rise before you today to pay tribute to a person whose work and commitment to our children, our race, and women everywhere is still bearing fruit today.

based upon a sure knowledge of the achievements of the past. That knowledge and that pride we must give them if it breaks every back in the kingdom.

This quote, perhaps more than anything else, captures the basic spirit and philosophy and commitment that Mary McLeod Bethune had for her race and the promotion and the development of women and African-American history.

I am greatly moved by the memory of Mary McLeod Bethune. She was an inspirational American woman, of African descent, who was from the people—not of the people. She provided my generation, indeed many generations, with a beacon of light and hope that all things are possible through God and through hard work. I am hopeful that future generations will be able to light their individual torches from the bright flame of wisdom, strength, and knowledge that Mrs. Bethune displayed. Today, Mrs. Bethune's light still shines through the work of her students, including me, and the generations of young people she has laid the foundation for a Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach, FL.

Beginning as an educator and founder of a school which bears her name, Mrs. Bethune became the valued and trusted counselor to four U.S. Presidents, the director of an important government agency, the founder of a major organization for human rights, and a consultant to world leaders seeking to build universal peace through the United Nations.

Mrs. Bethune gained national and international prominence for her advocacy and work on behalf of African-Americans and women. During her life, she was elected and appointed to a number of key positions, which provided visibility for her causes and an opportunity to mobilize African-Americans on issues of concern to the race. From the early 1930's, until her death in 1955, she was a very vocal advocate and activist for African-American and women's history.

In the early 1920's, Mrs. Bethune, was one of the first to actively campaign for legislation to build a national black museum in Washington, DC.

Born in 1875, in Mayesville, SC, Mary McLeod Bethune grew up in the rural South during a period of great transition and turmoil. Her experience with poverty, racism, and ignorance in South Carolina, and later in Georgia and Florida, provided her with first-hand knowledge of the suffering and needs of her people. It was in this context that she committed her life to work with, and on behalf of her people.

A strong believer in education and in self-help, she was an integrationist and Pan Africanist, who argued for unity among people of African descent throughout the world. She viewed education as an important link to African-American freedom and equality. In her view, white people needed to know and appreciate African and African-American history, as well as blacks. In concert with W.E.D. DuBois, and Carter G. Woodson, she believed that, if

this at the Daytona Normal School for girls, which she founded in 1904. Working to produce and sustain a school, she stressed the achievements and contributions of historic figures such as Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Lucy Laney, and others who were role models, she held them up to the pupils for emulation.

Developing contacts with both white and black leadership, Mrs. Bethune was able to build a base of power and influence, which by 1940, would allow her to be recognized as the foremost leader of African-American women.

Tonight as we celebrate Black History Month, I challenge all Americans to reflect on the example of faith, hope, and charity provided by Mary McLeod Bethune's great legacy. As Mrs. Bethune challenged Americans to continue the search for sustaining truth, and to spread that truth far and near, until we, in our turn, shall pass her saving legacy, undiminished, into the waiting hands of posterity.

Many of us here today have relighted our torches from the bright flame provided by Carter G. Woodson, Mary McLeod Bethune, Gwen Sawyer Cherry, Joe Lang Kershaw, Josiah T. Walls, Mary Church Terrell, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and many others whose lives have informed and inspired our work.

Mrs. Bethune's pioneering work in the education, and in the preservation of the history of Blacks and women is to be celebrated and perpetuated. Few leaders have been so diverse in their contributions and so distinctive in their vision. Mrs. Bethune saw African-American history as an integral part of our lives. She has left us a rich heritage. We must commit ourselves and dedicate our lives to carrying forth that vision to another, higher level, unit we too shall pass the torch.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join my colleagues today to commemorate Black History Month. Particularly, Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank Mr. STOKES and Mr. PAYNE for requesting this special order.

Black history is more than just a designation on a calendar; it is a time when all Americans can reflect upon the towering achievements African-Americans have made and continue to make in this country. It is a time when we honor men and women who have influenced and shaped American culture and life.

We thank those who through their writings and teachings have enabled all of America to know and appreciate the African-American legacy, past struggles, and present dreams. We pay tribute to America's sports heroes. We honor scientists and educators who labored so hard to overcome racial barriers in our society and proved that America could not afford squander the talent and knowledge of African-Americans.

I want to honor and share with you the story of an African-American whose history is deeply rooted in the part of the congressional district I represent. The achievements of Henry Jenifer, a person who dedicated his life to pre-

cepting the American Revolution as a revolutionary War soldier and a former Maryland governor. Far from the stately house with ornately carved doorways handsome chimneys and rolling falls, a small clump of trees stands out in the middle of a farmer's soybean field. There, obscured and buried in the overgrowth, is the site of former slave cabins that once housed the working force of the Southern Maryland tobacco plantation. The hills and fields are silent now, but there is a story passed down from oral tradition of African-American History, the legend of a natural healer and his passage to freedom.

Henry Jenifer was a slave of Dr. William Thomas, owner of Deep Falls. Henry's family served the Thomas' for generations. Thomas' brother, James, was Maryland's 26th governor. From the time he was a boy, Henry cared for the doctor's horse and buggy, accompanying him on his rounds of serving the Choptico community.

As he grew older, Henry learned medicine, not only from watching the white physician as he performed his practiced skills, but from the ancient healing ways of his African ancestors. Using simple methods such as looking at the tongue or a patient's eyes, he could diagnose the illness, amble to the deep woods and emerge with root, tree bark or plant to effectively cure what ailed them. The black folk began calling him "Doc" Henry, and at times when Dr. Thomas was away or had failed to produce a cure the whites called upon Doc as well. Like the Native American preceding them on the landscape, the African American combined spiritual as well as physical remedies to heal his patients, often with great success.

At times Dr. Thomas would send Henry to tend his patients. A white farmer with a large open wound on his foot was treated by the white physician with a solution of carbolic acid and water, and it was Henry's job to bathe the wound in the solution on a daily basis. After the gash failed to heal, Doc Henry offered to help, but only if his patient agreed not to tell. The slave soaked some wheat bread in water and left it in the open air until it was covered with a heavy growth of mold. This he applied to the wound, which healed in a short time. Dr. Thomas never knew that his patient was cured by a crude form of penicillin—a hundred years ahead of its time.

As 1848 dawned in St. Mary's County, a severe outbreak of yellow fever ravaged the countryside. When the epidemic reached its height, Henry was taught the art of "blood-letting" by his master, through which patients were bled to leech out the poison in their system. As the fever raged through the long, hot summer, fear soon mingled with ignorance. Residents attempted to flee to other areas, but were stopped at the county's borders by gunpoint and forced to return. Henry's services became invaluable as he tended to the sick, sometimes while family members lay dead nearby.

As summer waned into fall, the yellow fever epidemic finally began to subside. It lasted 10 weeks and took hundreds of lives. The dead were buried in graveyards and cornfields. Prayers of thanksgiving were offered. Black and white, slave and free man, mourned together. Their joy and their sorrow knew no color, no race.

trayed, Henry conceived a plan. Unbeknownst to Dr. Thomas, Henry had saved some money on his own. He got word to "dat Harriet woman" that he wished to leave St. Mary's County on the Underground Railroad. Harriet Tubman's "underground train" was situated on Maryland's Eastern Shore, but had a network that stretched throughout Southern Maryland.

One day Dr. Thomas waited with frustration for Henry to arrive and hitch up his horse to buggy in order that he might make his daily rounds. Henry, however, had fled across back roads and fields to Leonardtown, eventually making his way to the Patuxent River, then on to Cove Point in the Chesapeake Bay. Dozens of participants, black and white, from every profession, helped make up the ties of the underground railroad, which led from Dorchester County to Canada. Before he left Maryland, Henry was to meet his benefactor, Harriett Tubman, in Cambridge.

After long weeks passed, the former slave reached his destination a safe and free man. He mourned having left behind his family, still in bondage at Deep Falls. Another 15 years would pass before they were awarded freedom during the War Between the States, the same war in which their masters would fight for Confederate Army.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, the theme "Reflections on 1895: Douglass, DuBois, and Washington" is most appropriate for this time because we are asking the same question in 1995 that these men attempted to answer in 1895—"How can black Americans empower themselves economically, educationally, and politically?"

It is my hope that during this observance of Black History Month, my colleagues will study the works of Douglass, DuBois, and Washington very carefully and make a distinction between their leadership qualities.

Instead of focusing on education and professions like medicine and law, avenues to self-empowerment, Booker T. Washington preached that all Negroes should be satisfied and happy to have a job working in the cotton-fields or in the farmyard. If he had been successful in his course of action, black Americans would have been guaranteed jobs, but they would have been doomed to a life of servitude in menial jobs.

Booker T. Washington was a Negro leader created by whites who supported him because his message served their general purpose of keeping Negroes as close to a state of bondage as legally possible. As a matter of fact, a New York Times article put it succinctly in 1958, and I quote:

Washington was far from being the Negroes' acknowledged leader, but he was still the only Negro leader the whites acknowledged.

Booker T. Washington may have been a leader to them, but he was a disappointment to many black Americans.

DuBois, a creative thinking leader, who promoted racial integration, was criticized because he disagreed with Washington, thus antagonizing the power structure. In his re-

to make carpenters men.

DuBois believed that blacks had tilled enough fields, picked enough cotton, dug enough ditches. He thought it was time to perform surgery, teach physics, develop businesses, write poetry, and sing the operas.

Frederick Douglass believed that blacks should have the opportunity to improve themselves and their standard of living. He warned that despite individual efforts, the black race would not reach its full potential until whites stopped putting road blocks in their way. Douglass warned:

Where justice is denied, where poverty is forced, where ignorance prevails, and where one class is made to feel that society is an organized conspiracy to oppress, rob, and degrade them, neither persons nor property will be safe.

What does all of this have to do with Black History Month? The answer is everything. Black History Month was adopted because the black experience has been neglected, downplayed, and in some instances ignored in American history. A large section of a country's history has been left out of the history books and the accomplishments of millions of its citizens are not acknowledged. In the process, Black Americans have been denied the opportunity to empower themselves. They have been denied access to resources that would afford them the opportunity to obtain better jobs, better education, better housing, and all other necessities.

For a long time black history was not included in history books because those who wanted to justify human slavery and the oppression of the race, attempted to do so by alleging that black Americans made no significant contributions. Despite the years of contributions our forefathers made to the growth of this country, there were attempts to write black Americans out of history—completely. And, if there was any effort to include them, men like Booker T. Washington and others, who entertained the country with demeaning speeches about the inferiority of the black race, were presented as heroes and leaders of the race when, in fact, they were black Americans' biggest enemies.

But, thanks to Dr. Carter G. Woodson, a renowned historian and one of the few blacks to earn a Ph.D. from Harvard University in the early part of the century, we now celebrate the accomplishments of black Americans who were real leaders and progressive visionaries like DuBois and Douglass. Dr. Woodson established the original idea of a separate time for celebrating black history, arguing that it should be a week long and held in the month of February between the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass. Later, Black History Week was expanded to Black History Month. The underlying purpose is to familiarize whites, as well as blacks, with the contributions black Americans have made to our advancement as a nation.

I do not want to give the impression that this great country could not have progressed and

their lack of knowledge about the race. Many of them don't realize that their everyday lives have benefited from the intellect and talents of black Americans.

To illustrate, let's imagine what their lives would be like if they refused to enjoy the discoveries of black scientists and inventors.

Any person who chooses to boycott black inventions would wake up tired in the morning from tossing and turning all night on a bed covered by some coarse material instead of cotton—because it was a black slave who provided the genius in the development of Eli Whitney's cotton gin which makes cotton affordable. When that person throws his legs out of bed, he would not have a nice inexpensive pair of leather house shoes to put on because Jan Matzeliger, a black man, invented the shoe last which made it possible to mass produce shoes. Then, of course, he would not have the pleasure of drinking a cup of instant coffee which was invented by Dr. George Washington Carver. Nor would that person have the opportunity of putting a spoon of sugar in it because Norbert Rillieux invented the sugar refining system that is still used today.

He probably would have had a clock to wake up to because they are common nowadays. But the first clock made in America was by a black man, Benjamin Banneker, who helped design the city of Washington, DC. Then, one boycotting black creations, he would have had to wait until the sun came up in order to see what time it was, had it not been for Louis Howard Latimer, a black man, who supervised the installation of Thomas Edison's electric lights in America and invented an incandescent light bulb of his own.

If it's a Saturday morning, the old boy who is boycotting black accomplishments would not be able to cut his grass because the first lawn mower patented in this country was by a black American. He would even have trouble playing his usual game of golf had it not been for George F. Grant who gave us the golf tee. And at the 19th hole had it not been for Hiram S. Thomas, there would be no ice cream served.

If it's a work day and he drives, he would be late getting there, had it not been for Garrett A. Morgan who was responsible for the electric traffic light. You say he could take the subway. No way. Black inventors, Granville T. Woods and Elijah McCoy, made it all possible. Woods invented the third rail which made subway transit possible. And McCoy alone with 75 other inventions developed the system for automatic lubricating of locomotive machinery. Have you heard the expression, it's the "real McCoy". That's him.

And the list of things to be boycotted goes on and on. The first successful open-heart surgery was performed by Dr. Daniel Hale. The recipe for potato chips was invented by Dr. George Washington Carver who, born a slave, received international acclaim for his research in agriculture. He developed products

potato, he made 118 products, including flour, shoe polish, and candy. From the pecan another 75 products. He made synthetic marble from wood shavings; dyes from clay; and starch, gum, and wallboard from cotton stalks.

The best way I can explain why this is important is the quote from Justice John W. Hammond of the Supreme Judicial Court of the State of Massachusetts. He once said to Irishmen attending a St. Patrick's Day celebration:

\* \* \* You are of Irish ancestry and are proud of it. I am of the strongest pilgrim ancestry, and am proud of it. It is right, proper, and beneficial that each of us maintain those memories which are peculiar to ourselves. It is right for us to emulate the virtues of our ancestors as it is right to criticize their faults and avoid them if we can \* \* \*

If both black and white know the complete history of our country and all of the people who contributed to it, very few will join the ranks of those who say, "I just don't like black people."

I know that I have departed from today's theme a little. But, it is because I believe that our theme's importance lies in its relation to the issues of today. The purpose of history is to learn from our mistakes and to find hope in our accomplishments. By studying the works of DuBois, Douglass, and Washington, you will get an understanding of where black people have been and how far we have to go. In doing so, it will help you to understand the problems that black people face and to come up with effective solutions to these problems. But, if nothing else, you will learn that black people are a people with a rich history.

In closing, I commend my colleagues for recognizing the contributions of great black Americans. However, I encourage them to move beyond recognition to constructive action. We must not forget that many of the black Americans we are honoring this month were selfless men and women who went beyond the call of duty to make the American dream a reality for all Americans. Some of them even gave their lives for this purpose. It is incumbent upon us to build upon their accomplishments. Anything less would be derision.

Mr. FAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues today in this special order recognizing the accomplishments of African-Americans and their contributions to our Nation's history.

Black History Month gives all Americans the opportunity to appreciate and understand the involvement of African-Americans in America's history and society. Arising from a legacy of slavery and oppression, African-Americans have made ongoing contributions to America's agriculture and industry. There is no area in which their ongoing presence and contributions are not felt—be it the military, Government, education, literature, the sciences, entertainment, the arts, sports, or social reform—all while struggling for equality and freedom, and fighting to counteract the effects of the racism that continues to pervade our society.

their world by writing, speaking, and living lives that were influenced by the belief that all men, regardless of color, are created equal. They showed all Americans how much better a world in which all are equal can be. Because of this I recognize them and urge all Americans to live by their example. We often take the freedoms that Douglass, Dubois, and Washington worked so hard to achieve for granted. Imagine how much better our country and world would be if all of us had the energy and zest for learning that made them great men.

Mr. Speaker, I am honored to participate in this opportunity to highlight the accomplishments and contributions of our African-Americans citizens. I also commend the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. PAYNE], chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, and the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. STOKES], for calling this special order, and I thank them both for including me in this effort.

Mr. PICKETT. Mr. Speaker, the month of February provides us with the opportunity to examine, explore, and celebrate African-American history. I thank Mr. STOKES for calling this special order today in honor of African-American Heritage Month.

In light of the 1995 theme for Black History Month, "Reflections on 1895: Douglas, DuBois, Washington", it is fitting to note that 92 years ago, in 1903, W.E.B. DuBois began writing what has become one of the great works not only of American literature but also of American history, "The Souls of Black Folk." In this work, DuBois paints his vision of an ideal America, an America in which Americans of all races develop in large conformity to the greater ideals of the American Republic, in order that some day on American soil two world-races may give each to each those characteristics both so sadly lack. Well, that "some day" has arrived.

While DuBois provided America with an ideal to aspire to, it is the many African-Americans who have followed in this great leader's footsteps who have transformed his vision into reality. African-American artists, musicians, authors, politicians, educators, scientists, doctors, and athletes have acted as emissaries of their culture and heritage, facilitating an exchange of ideas and values amongst the American people.

To witness a clear and quite poetic symbiosis of two races, one need only look as far as the world of music. African-American musicians and composers have heavily influenced American music by introducing new musical forms and acquainting America with the traditional music of Africa. Songs and rhythms which were once confined to slave cabins now echo around the country.

In the early 20th century, the meshing of ragtime and blues resulted in jazz as we know it today. The lively rags of Scott Joplin, the blues of B.B. King, and the jazz of Ray Charles have become mainstays of American

can-Americans have inspired and enlarged the music world, passing their musical message not only onto American audiences but onto international audiences as well. Stars such as Diana Ross, Stevie Wonder, and Whitney Houston have enjoyed international fame. And in attaining that fame these individuals have shared with the world their black heritage and culture.

Music, whether lyrical or not, has a special way of speaking to its listener. Its rhythm, tone, and melody tell a story as effectively as any novel. All that is required is a willing and open ear. African-American music speaks to a listening America, as one world race gives to the other characteristics which it lacks. DuBois himself recognized the power of music and its ability to convey thoughts, feelings, and even social agendas. In fact, DuBois entitled the final chapter of "The Souls of Black Folk," "Of the Sorrow Songs".

In this concluding chapter, DuBois studies and analyzes certain popular slave songs. DuBois argues that the Sorrow Songs "breathe a hope—a faith in the ultimate justice of things. The minor cadences of despair change often to triumph and calm confidence". But whatever the case, DuBois declares that in these songs, "the meaning is always clear: that sometime, somewhere, men will judge men by their souls and not by their skins". That sometime and that somewhere are now, today, in America. The Sorrow Songs have spoken, they have delivered their message, and they have been heard. In celebrating Black History Month, let us celebrate this triumph. Let us celebrate the attainment of W.E.B. DuBois' vision of America.

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize the Crenshaw High School students participating in the school's choir and the enterprising students from this school who have dedicated themselves to Food from the 'Hood, the Nation's first student-owned natural foods company. As we observe Black History Month, I believe it is important to acknowledge these students who have worked hard to reach their potential and create opportunities for themselves.

Food from the 'Hood has an ambitious company mission that seeks to illustrate the potential of young adults and provide them with jobs, give back to the community, and prove that businesses can be socially responsible and profitable. The students have successfully marketed their first product, Straight Out the Garden Creamy Italian Salad Dressing, at over 10 major grocery stores in southern California. Profits from the project are used for scholarships for the student-owners and contributions to local charities.

In response to the Los Angeles disturbances, a science teacher at Crenshaw High School, Ms. Tammy Bird, encouraged her students to restore the school's garden and give the food to the needy. On December 18, 1992, the students reaped their first harvest

In devising a means through which they could further their education and enhance the quality of life within their community, these young entrepreneurs have served as examples for our youth and have provided a source of much-needed hope to the inner city community of Los Angeles.

Another group of students from Crenshaw High School has inspired the Los Angeles community and people all over the world. The Crenshaw High School Choir consists of over 200 talented and dedicated students who have consistently been recognized for their outstanding music. Iris Stevenson, the dedicated and inspirational director of the choir, has taken representatives of Crenshaw High School Elite Choir to the Caribbean and France. The choir won the Jamaican Jazz Festival 4 years in a row and performed in French at Nice's Worldwide Music Festival in 1992 and 1993. The group is currently performing at the festival in France. The talented Elite Choir has performed on several television shows and was the inspiration for Disney's "Sister Act II."

Black History Month is an important time to look at the contributions made by African-Americans to this nation. It is also a time to look at where our children will take the country in the future. The students at Crenshaw High School show us the positive aspirations of this generation and the inspirational and caring way that they contribute to our society. I am pleased to have this opportunity to commend the outstanding students of the Crenshaw Choir and Food from the 'Hood. They inspire hope for our future. I also commend the Principal of Crenshaw High School, Mrs. Yvonne Noble, and Mrs. Iris Stevenson, Ms. Tammy Bird and the other instructors who work with these students.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in commemorating Black History Month for 1995. I would like to thank the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. STOKES] for arranging the time for this special order.

Black History Month is an appropriate time to commemorate the great black men and women who have contributed so much to our society. This year we are paying special attention to the deeds of three black leaders who were changing America 100 years ago and more.

Frederick Douglass was an escaped slave who rose up in the face of opposition to meet and conquer any and all obstacles. An abolitionist leader at a young age, Douglass spread his ideas through writings and speeches and probably did more to call to the attention of the entire world the injustice and inhumanity of slavery than any other individual of his generation of any race. His talents and influence as an orator were unmatched in his time. While living as a fugitive in England, he earned enough money to purchase his own freedom. His accomplishments while working for the Federal Government as an advisor to President Lincoln and later as a diplomat are

hard to recall. He went on to publish dozens of books and articles concerning the Black condition, and founded the NAACP. He spent an incredibly busy lifetime teaching African Americans to work toward social emancipation by fighting for their Civil Rights. This made him one of the most influential men of all time, but also made him a major opponent of Booker T. Washington. Washington believed that Afro-Americans could enjoy the full fruits of freedom by achieving economic self-sufficiency within a segregated society. W.E.B. DuBois contended that as long as the races were kept separate, true equality and freedom was impossible. While Washington's philosophy was endorsed in the Supreme Court decision Plessy versus Ferguson (1896), it was DuBois' view that ultimately prevailed, when the Court reversed itself in 1954, ruling in Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka that segregated facilities in education are inherently unequal.

Booker T. Washington, like Frederick Douglass, rose out of a childhood in bondage to accomplish significant deeds. While controversial, his ideas helped motivate southern blacks to improve their economic situation. In retrospect, many today deplore Washington's argument that freedom for Afro-Americans could be won through economic improvement and self-reliance, without social equality. But we must remember the times in which he lived, and remember that all progress in human history has come about one step at a time. It is doubtful that future advances could have been made had not Booker T. Washington become a living symbol of his race, blazing a trail in his own day by specific symbolic achievements, such as becoming the first Black person invited to dine at the White House. Washington's founding of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, the first institute of higher learning for Afro-Americans in the nation, have earned him an immortal place in the hearts of all of us.

As my colleagues have pointed out, these three men changed American society in ways that are yet to be equaled. They are not alone, however, as black heroes and leaders. Our history books do not yet tell of all the most significant African Americans and all they have done to make America the fine country that it is today.

For example, Crispus Attucks, a free black man who, at the Boston Massacre, was the first American to die for the Revolutionary cause. After our War of Independence was won, a black man by the name of Benjamin Banneker laid out our Capital City of Washington, D.C.

Black men and women were among the most courageous and determined fighters in the war to end slavery. While thousands of African Americans were dying at the hands of their owners as examples to their peers, thousands more were escaping to the north by way of the Underground Railroad founded by Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman. And of course, let us not forget the tens of thousands

great Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's, in which the moral conscience of the entire nation was awakened, and in which our laws were finally brought into compliance with the ideals of our own American Revolution, Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights.

Black History Month is an appropriate time to recall and recite the events in which black Americans changed our nation's policies and attitudes. But we must also remind our students that the struggle for equality goes on today not only in The United States but also broad. Fortunately, today we are blessed with heroic black men and women who work to bring our races closer together and set a shining example for our youth.

It is imperative that we not simply acknowledge Black History this month, forgetting about it in months to come. The contributions of African Americans to our society are truly overwhelming yet are too often taken for granted. I urge my colleagues to bear these contributions in mind throughout our deliberations.

Our Nation's rich diversity sets it apart from every other nation on the face of the Earth. If we embrace that diversity and learn from it, then nothing will stand in our way. Black Americans have significantly contributed to every facet of our society and therefore our culture. This, Mr. Speaker, is the point that we must teach our children, in hopes that they too will one day teach their children these thoughts.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, in celebration of this year's theme, I am pleased to be here today to honor the memories of three great African-Americans in recognition of Black History Month. But first let us recognize Dr. Carter G. Woodson, the man who in 1926 first called for a period of time to be set aside for the recognition of important historical achievements by African-Americans. It is his legacy that we also celebrate today, and his work to create this important holiday.

One hundred years ago, Mr. Speaker, in 1895, the lives of three giants in history intersected. Frederick Douglass, runaway slave and later educator to thousands, passed away. He left behind a legacy that has continued to inspire those who love freedom.

After successfully escaping from slavery, he traveled widely, speaking against the enslavement of people everywhere and supporting the rights of women. He later held various government posts, including the territorial legislature of the District of Columbia.

Mr. Speaker, Frederick Douglass was a man who refused to accept defeat. Even though he had been taught to build ships, the indignities of prejudice forced him to work as a common laborer. He helped President Lincoln to organize the celebrated 54th and 55th Massachusetts regiments of all black soldiers. And shortly before his death, he served as the consul general to the Republic of Haiti. Frederick Douglass led a life of which we could all



As a founding member of the NAACP Dr. DuBois believed that an important goal for African-Americans was the utilization of any and all educational opportunities. He stressed the need for African-Americans to promote their own cultural and social values.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, Booker T. Washington delivered a famous speech in 1895, which outlined his philosophy of vocational education as an avenue of advancement. Mr. Washington's speech at the Atlanta Exposition urged the African-Americans at that time to try and gain an industrial education in order to make use of the rural areas where many blacks lived. Although his views were considered controversial at the time, he helped to further the dialog that led to equal rights for all of America's citizens.

Mr. Speaker, these three men made their mark on history by pursuing truth, justice and equality. They were truly great statesmen, and great leaders.

Mr. VISCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take part in this Special Order on Black History Month to recognize the achievements and contributions that African-Americans have made to our country. I would like to thank Congressman LOUIS STOKES and Congressman DONALD M. PAYNE for organizing this opportunity to applaud the accomplishments of the African-American culture. Since 1976, the month of February has been celebrated as Black History Month. But the origins date back to 1926 when Dr. Carter G. Woodson had the vision to set aside a week in the month of February to celebrate the accomplishments and heritage of African-Americans.

Indeed, it would be foolish not to recognize such a large part of our heritage. On the national scene, the contributions that African-Americans have made to our society are innumerable. Through literature, we have been blessed with the powerful writings of Maya Angelou, W.E.B. DuBois, and Alice Walker. We all have received joy from listening to the stirring melodies of Ray Charles, Aretha Franklin and Duke Ellington.

While all of these are important contributions, what I find to be of equal importance are those of people who are in our own community: The men and women who live down the street, attend the same church with you, or whose children play with your own. These men and women have performed extraordinary acts of bravery and selflessness that should make us all proud. Indeed, Alonzo Swann, a World War II veteran from Northwest Indiana, was just awarded the Navy Cross for showing extraordinary bravery in the face of Japanese Kamikaze attacks.

The theme for Black History Month this year is "Reflections on 1895: Douglass, Dubois and Washington." In keeping with the dedication to education and political involvement these men supported, Ms. Patricia Harris, Supervisor of the Gary Community School Corporation's Staff Development Center, sponsored several events that helped to educate the citizens of

club facilities at Freeman Field in Seymour, Indiana and were consequently threatened with court martial. An independent commission of inquiry, appointed by President Truman, exonerated the airmen and ordered integration of the club. In addition to Mr. Smith, Ms. Dharthula Millender spoke about the origins of the City of Gary and the crucial role that African-Americans had in forming the city. In the city's first census, African-Americans numbered 100 of the first 334 people in the area. Ms. Millender also pointed out that as Northwest Indiana's steel mills grew, steelworkers were recruited from all over the U.S. and in many European countries. The result was that, from its beginning, the people of Gary had an appreciation for its multi-ethnic community.

The goal of these programs is to teach Gary's parents and children about their community's history. I commend Patricia Harris and the staff of the Staff Development Center for taking the initiative to make the teachings of Black History Month extend throughout the rest of the year. By having our children learn about a part of their culture, we can help ignorance give way to understanding and realize that we all are created equal. In closing, I commend and thank all of the people of Northwest Indiana, who in their own special way have brought special meaning to this month. Again, I would like to thank my distinguished colleagues, Congressmen STOKES and PAYNE, for giving the U.S. House of Representatives this special opportunity to celebrate Black History Month.

#### BLACK HISTORY MONTH

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). Under the Speaker's previously announced policy of January 4, 1995, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. OWENS] for 60 minutes.

Mr. OWENS. I want to congratulate, Mr. Speaker, my colleagues and congratulate the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History for their theme this year on Black History.

Mr. Speaker, in the interest of maintaining the continuity that we have started, I am going to reserve my own comments and let my colleagues who have been waiting go at this point ahead of me.

I would like to first yield to the gentleman from Puerto Rico, Governor Romero-Barceló.

Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ. I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding some time for me to speak on this occasion to commemorate the outstanding African-Americans throughout this Black History Month.

Mr. Speaker, there have been some outstanding African-Americans in

with a special focus on Black History, because in those days they did not give blacks too much of an opportunity for the leading roles.

And of course, one who needs no explanation as to the things he has done throughout his lifetime, the outstanding player, one of the most outstanding players in the All-American game, Roberto Clemente.

But there is an African-American in Puerto Rico whose influence transcends all of them, and I refer to Dr. Jose Celso Barbosa.

Mr. Speaker, as we continue to celebrate Black History Month, I wanted to take this opportunity to honor the memory of Dr. José Celso Barbosa, the founding father of Puerto Rico's statehood movement, founding father of the Republican Party in Puerto Rico and the island's most prominent and distinguished African-American leader.

Born in the City of Bayamón, PR, on July 27, 1857, Dr. Barbosa dedicated his whole life to his struggle for political and economic equality for all Puerto Ricans. He was very instrumental in the extension by Congress in 1917 of U.S. citizenship to all persons born in Puerto Rico.

From very humble origins—his father was a craftsman—Dr. Barbosa contributed to make our goal of achieving political and economic equality through statehood, no longer a distant dream, but a reality well within our reach.

A very intelligent and dedicated student, he graduated with honors in 1875 from the Conciliate Seminary School. Five years later he graduated with a doctor's degree in medicine and surgery from the University of Michigan. In so doing, Dr. Barbosa was the first black Puerto Rican and one of the first island residents to graduate from a university in the continental United States.

Back in his native Puerto Rico, Dr. Barbosa acquired a solid reputation both as a doctor and as a respected citizen. At the age of 23, he started to become involved in Puerto Rican politics.

When the sovereignty change came to Puerto Rico after the Spanish-American War in 1898, Dr. Barbosa began his struggle so that Puerto Ricans would benefit from the American political process and the democratic values that he had experienced first-hand during his earlier years as a student in Michigan.

In 1899, Dr. Barbosa founded and organized Puerto Rico's Republican Party, committed to achieving political and economic equality through statehood for the island. He devoted the rest of his life to this purpose.