

HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

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

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, tonight I am joined by one of our colleagues, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. JACKSON], who will talk along with me on the subject of HCBU's, historically black colleges and universities.

Mr. Speaker, on September 23 of this year, historically black colleges and universities all across the country will celebrate Black College Day, and on that day many colleges across the country will recognize some of the great contributions of historically black colleges and universities. But to put this whole discussion of HCBU's in the proper perspective and the proper context, I would like to talk about the history behind historically black colleges and universities.

HCBU's are defined as any historically black college or university established prior to 1964 whose principal mission was and is the education of black Americans and is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association determined by the Secretary of Education.

There are 103, Mr. Speaker, historically black colleges and universities; only 3 percent of all colleges and universities in this country. They are located in the Southeast, in the District of Columbia, and the Virgin Islands. They include 41 public 4-year colleges and universities, 8 public 2-year universities, 46 private 4-year schools, and 8 private schools with 2-year curriculum.

Most of our colleges are more than 100 years old. Cheyney University of Pennsylvania being the oldest, founded in 1837. Historically black colleges and universities enroll only 16 percent of African-American undergraduate students, however they graduate about 30 percent of all African-American students nationwide.

To show the contributions that these schools, colleges, and universities have had and the impact they have had to the African-American community and to societies as a whole, with marginal resources HCBU's have been able to accomplish a lot. Federal moneys for research and development to HCBU's in 1990 was \$101 million; only 1.1 percent of the total Federal money dedicated to research and development across the Nation. But yet in spite of the lack of resources, these colleges and universities still were able to produce doctors and lawyers and scientists and engineers.

However, with limited resources, 37 percent of all the students attending HCBU's come from families with incomes of less than \$25,000. Retention and graduation rates at HCBU's are higher than non-HCBU's in this Nation. Enrollment has grown, Mr. Speaker, at historically black colleges and univer-

sities from 70,000 overall in 1954 to 200,000 in 1980, and from 239,000 in 1988 to 257,000 in 1990. So you see the trend of HCBU's, the enrollment rather, on these colleges and universities.

HCBU's also noted an increase in transfer students from other institutions. Seventy-three percent of all transfer students in the fall of 1993 went to historically black colleges and universities. This shows the quality of these schools across the country. Many students are transferring to these colleges and universities across the country.

On the graduate level, from 1977 to 1990, the amount of doctoral degrees awarded by HCBU's increased by 214 percent. In sciences, 44 percent of the bachelor degrees awarded to blacks were from historically black colleges and universities; 41 percent of the math degrees awarded were awarded from HCBU's; 38 percent of the computer science and life sciences degrees; and 25 percent of the engineering degrees were awarded to blacks by HCBU's.

In my State, Xavier University in New Orleans ranked second in placing black students in medical school. In fact, over the last 10 years, 93 percent of all of Xavier graduates who entered medical school received their medical degrees.

Remembering that HCBU's enroll only 17 percent of all black college students nationwide, this statistic is very encouraging. Moreover, HCBU's maintain low tuition. The average tuition with fees in 1992 and 1993 was \$5,008, less than half of the average cost of private colleges and universities nationally.

Historically black colleges and universities educate almost 40 percent of the country's black college graduates, 75 percent of all black Ph.D.'s, 46 percent of all black business executives, 50 percent of all black engineers, 80 percent of all black Federal judges, 50 percent of all black attorneys, 75 percent of all black military officers, and 85 percent of all black doctors.

So you see the impact of HCBU's as relates to the medical community and the black community as well as engineers, doctors, lawyers, and military officers alike.

For example, many individuals who serve in government today, in public office, graduated from HCBU's. In the Congressional Black Caucus, for example, 16 of the Congressional Black Caucus members in this Congress serving today graduated from historically black colleges and universities.

The gentlewoman from Florida CORRINE BROWN, graduated from Florida A&M, the gentlewoman from North Carolina, EVA CLAYTON, North Carolina A&T; the gentleman from South Carolina, JAMES CLYBURN, graduated from South Carolina State; the gentleman from Maryland, ELIJAH CUMMINGS, Howard University; the gentleman from Tennessee, HAROLD FORD, Howard University; the gentleman from Florida, Congressman ALCEE HASTINGS,

graduated from Florida A&M and Howard University; the gentleman from Alabama, Congressman EARL HILLIARD, graduated from Morehouse College as well as Howard University; the honorable distinguished colleague who is with me tonight, the gentleman from Illinois, JESSE JACKSON, Jr., graduated from North Carolina A&T; the gentleman from Louisiana, Congressman WILLIAM JEFFERSON, graduated from Southern University; the gentleman from Georgia, Congressman JOHN LEWIS, Fisk University; the gentlewoman from Florida, Congresswoman CARRIE MEEK, graduated from Florida A&M University; the gentleman from Mississippi, Congressman BENNIE THOMPSON, Tougaloo College and Jackson State University; the gentleman from New York, Congressman ED TOWNS, graduated from North Carolina A&T; the gentleman from Maryland, Congressman ALBERT WYNN, Howard University; and, of course, I graduated from an HCBU as well. I graduated from Southern University in Baton Rouge, which so happens to be the largest historically black college in the entire country, with a system of over 14,000 students with colleges located in Baton Rouge, Shreveport and New Orleans.

It is the largest historically black college in the country. And in a real sense, for all of the public HCBU's, Southern University to some degree set the tone in terms of what will happen to other colleges and universities as relates to Federal funding and as relates to State funding as well.

I am pleased tonight to be joined by a very distinguished colleague of this House, Congressman JESSE JACKSON, Jr., who graduated from North Carolina A&T, who will enter into a colloquy with me to further talk about the need to preserve historically black colleges and universities and I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. I thank the gentleman for yielding. Let me first begin by congratulating the distinguished gentleman from the Fourth Congressional District of Louisiana, who I had the privilege of meeting in 1983 while he was a student at Southern University in Baton Rouge, LA, and I was a student at North Carolina A&T State University.

We prided ourselves, as aggies, in our ability to beat Southern University in football and every other possible athletic endeavor that we engaged in.

There is a serious camaraderie that exists amongst those of us who are graduates of historically black institutions, and I want to take this opportunity as a product of those institutions to certainly engage in this colloquy and in this special order with the gentleman from Louisiana, Congressman CLEO FIELDS.

Many Members of this institution probably do not know that while Congressman CLEO FIELDS is the youngest African-American to have ever had the privilege of serving in this institution,

he served the people of the Fourth Congressional District of Louisiana with great distinction and will not be in the 105th Congress due to attacks on the Voting Rights Act and gerrymandering in the State of Louisiana that has undermined the Fourth Congressional District of Louisiana.

The people of the Fourth Congressional District of Louisiana have been served with great distinction. Young African-American men, including myself, have been inspired by the example that Congressman CLEO FIELDS has laid for all of us.

I saw Congressman CLEO FIELDS during special orders, while I was the field director of the Rainbow Coalition, knowing that he was the president of the Student Government Association of Southern University who subsequently ran for State senate while he was a student his senior year, and was elected by the people of that particular district to serve in the State senate, having just finished his senior courses at Southern University.

He served in the State legislature with great distinction and then subsequently earned his way on to the reapportionment committee in the State of Louisiana, and consistent with the 1965 Voting Rights Act, was able to enfranchise literally hundreds of thousands of people in the State of Louisiana who had been heretofore without representation.

□ 1830

So Congressman CLEO FIELDS, as the youngest African-American, has earned his place in history, but it is really a larger statement about the quality and the caliber of leadership that historically black colleges have created.

The first African-Americans arrived in this Nation on slave ships in 1619. There was a century's old struggle to end racism in our Nation and certainly racism that was legally enforced by law, the institution known as slavery. The very foundation of our Nation was a Civil War, a very bloody war between north and south over whether or not we should be individual States or united as a Nation.

After the Civil War, in 1863, when President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, ushered in a period known as First Reconstruction. During that period, 131 historically black colleges were founded to educate the newly freed slaves.

I might add, Representative FIELDS, during First Reconstruction, 22 African-Americans were elected to serve in this institution, between 1863 and 1896. There was a direct relationship between their participation in this Congress and in State legislatures all across our country that made it possible for African-Americans to come to institutions like this Congress and fight for the kind of resources that would educate those who had historically been denied education in these institutions.

As Representative FIELDS has already indicated, more than 40 percent

of all college graduates who are African-American still come from the remaining 102 or 103 institutions that presently exist. That was really the commitment that our Nation had made to newly freed slaves in our Nation. I might add that you indicated that in 1964, since 1964, that officially ended the period of officially designating colleges as historically black colleges and universities, not one historically black college or university has been founded since that reconstruction period.

One of the reasons I commend you and commend other members of the Congressional Black Caucus and Progressive Caucus and Members of this institution who continue to fight to sustain these institutions is because they know that the products of these institutions, once people become educated and become integrated, if you will, through that education in the society, they can then continue the desegregation of the society which really was a testament to this movement.

Sixteen Members of Congress are presently graduates of historically black colleges and universities. EVA CLAYTON and ADOLPHUS TOWNS are graduates of North Carolina A&T, where I had the privilege of attending that institution. I might add, Congressman FIELDS, that it is really the mission of historically black colleges to train, to educate, and provide the kind of environment during the formative years of students through which they can learn.

I remember I went to a predominantly white high school here in Washington, DC. While I had tremendous professors who worked very hard toward my academic development, when I went to predominantly white high schools, and I have nothing against predominantly white universities or colleges or high schools, I attended several of them myself, but for me as a young African-American male in this society, to have Dr. Liston as a psychology teacher and to have professors who were African-Americans, to see African-Americans who could be chancellors or universities and heads of math departments and Dr. Quiester Craig at North Carolina A&T as the head of the business department, to see Dr. Howard as a mathematician who worked in the business department at A&T State university during my formative years between 18 and 21 years old, for me to be able to see African-Americans who had achieved at universities all across this country, it really fought stereotypes in my own mind about what I could be. And so I set at an early age, as a result of the mission of those institutions really to train its leadership, to allow it to have the free voice to move beyond the stereotypes and say that we can really make it, that we can really achieve.

This is really what the mission of historically black colleges has been. I would certainly hope that Members of this body would continue to support historically black colleges and univer-

sities. They represent the very best that our community has to produce. I am honored to have this opportunity to engage in a colloquy with the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. I thank the gentleman for his comments. The gentleman is right, not only is one inspired at an HBCU or can be inspired at an HBCU, but taking a moment of personal privilege, it also builds leadership. I often wonder today, had I not had the opportunity to attend Southern University and had the opportunity to be freshman class president and president of an entire student body and had to manage a budget in excess of \$150,000 as a young college student, or had the opportunity to travel abroad, representing a student body of 10,000 students and then having the opportunity to compete to serve on the board of regents as the student representative, but for that foundation at Southern, I do not know if I would have had the opportunity to serve in the State senate at a very young age and serve now in Congress at a very young age.

Southern, that HBCU was a place to prepare me to be a young leader or to be a person who was able to be elected to public office, and the same thing it did to you and for you and for other Members of the CBC. That was really my first elected office. We had to run a campaign and you had to be responsive to constituents, the students, and that was a learning place for me.

That is why I would like to see CBC Members, you and I, as we have worked with the CBC, Congressional Black Caucus, to make this HBCU day, the 23d of this month, make it a significant day not just having a good program on a black college in this country but also show leadership among students where students register to vote in the hundreds of thousands across this country on September 23.

I am glad that this gentleman decided to initiate this program with the Congressional Black Caucus. I am glad that members of the Congressional Black Caucus, through your leadership and others, will be on college campuses across this country on black college day and certainly I urge SGA presidents, for example, to participate and get students registered to vote, because you have a civic responsibility on a college campus and young people who are sitting in a classroom on a historically black college need to know that there is a responsibility that goes along with that.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield, there are some intangibles that come from being a product of a historically black college, some things we hardly even think of. When I was at North Carolina A&T, to expect that an African-American could serve as the president of the student body, that was not like a far-fetched idea. That was what was kind of expected, that we could run a student government association.

On the other hand, when I went to the University of Illinois, where I very fortunately received my juris doctorate degree, it was not necessarily expected that an African-American could serve as the president of the SGA and be responsible for a million-dollar budget in terms of student activities and student fees or that we could organize the student body in such a way as to bring about the kind of campus life that we thought was acceptable to most of the students or bring about the kind of programs and speakers that we wanted to come to the university. This is an intangible.

So I left A&T feeling that, yes, I can serve as the president of the SGA or, yes, I could be the chancellor of an institution. And so the gentleman is so correct when he says that the African-American historically black colleges serve as an incubator for African-American leadership. I look forward to traveling on September 23 to a historically black college either in North Carolina or certainly in my district or wherever it is that I am needed in order to articulate the significance that these institutions have had.

But I think the gentleman raises another very interesting point, that there is a relationship between the education of those who have been historically denied, those historically black colleges, and political participation.

During First Reconstruction, 22 African-Americans were elected to Congress and to State legislatures, all across our country, the byproduct of which elected officials whose students voted for at that time who could come and serve in these bodies and fight for more resources. When students do not vote, students do not participate in the process, they cannot elect people to representative bodies across this great democracy for the purpose of fighting for those resources. So one of the things I have encouraged students to do, whether they are Democrat or Republican, really it is a nonpartisan effort, not promoting one party over the other, in 1996, as a result of the passage of the motor voter law of 1993, people can simply dial 1-800-register and fill out the voter registration application card over the phone and it will be mailed to them, just dial 1-800-register and they are full participants in democracy.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. It is so simple now because of what this Congress did. It is so simple now to register to vote. There are organizations like Rock the Vote, for example, who travel all across the country and have a 1-800 number where a student in a dormitory room can get on the phone and dial 1-800-register and be a registered voter.

The motor-voter law did so much to encourage participation, particularly young participation in the process where young people could register to vote. So certainly a part of our effort with the CBC members traveling all across the country on September 23,

actually participating in black college day, we will urge students to register to vote.

I will give you a scenario, something that happened to me when I was student body president at Southern.

Southern's budget, there is so much power in the vote and that student vote, that vote of 10,000 students sitting idly on a college campus can impact not only local policy but national policy as well. College students, HBCU or not, all across America, young college students can have a serious impact on elections and the outcomes of elections, if they simply exercise that constitutional right to vote.

When I was president of the student body at Southern University, there was a bill in the legislature to cut funding at Southern University by almost 20 percent. It was unbelievable and the student body, we had a meeting with the student senate and the student senate met and we all said, what we will do is we will march to the State capitol and in record numbers. And we will protest on the steps of the capitol and we will demand our legislators to come out of the session and speak to us and address this issue of higher education, not only at Southern but colleges all across Louisiana were being cut because the budget was tight and lawmakers saw fit to fund other areas and cut higher education across the board.

So we marched, about 5,000 students, and other college campuses met us on the steps of the capitol. We had 7,000 students on the steps of the State capitol in Louisiana protesting and demanding that legislators come out and address our concerns and also reconsider this across-the-board cut on higher education. We could not get a legislator to come out and address us.

And when we regrouped at the end of the day, college students and college presidents from all over the State, and we talked, why would not legislators address us, because politicians we thought look at three things, reelection, reelection and reelection. And then it dawned on us, how many of us are registered to vote? Of the 7,000 students we marched from all across the State to the capitol, we probably had 200 of them registered to vote. So we were talking loud and saying nothing, because we failed to use the power of the vote.

So what we decided to do was to think smart. We decided to have massive voter registration drives on all college campuses across the State of Louisiana and eventually presidents and Greek organizations, if they had a party, they had the party for a purpose, you had to be registered to vote to enter. We registered thousands upon thousands of students. Then it was not that easy because you had to actually take students, according to Louisiana law, back then to the registrar of voters office to actually register the student to vote.

So we had to use resources like buses and use moneys to rent buses to take

students to register to vote. We registered 5,000-some odd students just on Southern's campus alone. And then the Governor and the legislators started calling the SGA presidents and wanting to know what they wanted in the appropriations bill.

□ 1845

So it just goes to show you the power in the student vote. Had we not exercised that power to vote we still would be marching, talking about saying nothing.

So you know I am just so excited that you are part of this HBCU Day where we encourage young college students on Black College Day, on the 23d, not just to have a program and talk about the significance of black colleges and universities in this country, but have the gall to be willing to protect them and stand by them by registering to vote and using that significant power by voting in all the elections. I mean that is just something that students all across this Nation should and must do.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. If the gentleman would yield, I would like to share a brief story I had experienced while I was at North Carolina A&T State University, a story that is similar to the one that the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana has mentioned. I was the vice president along with a good friend of mine by the name of Rick Bradley who was the president of a group that we founded on North Carolina A&T State University campus called Students United for a Free South Africa [SUFSA], and one of the things that we did outside of protesting various banking institutions in North Carolina that were still involved in doing business with South Africa, fighting for disinvestment or divestment of these various institutions, trying to get North Carolina A&T and the North Carolina school systems to divest their pension funds from businesses that were doing business in South Africa, we did a lot of research on South African issues. And it was not very long before international focus turned to more domestic issues, when we found ourselves fighting against apartheid in South Africa, but also as the most politically astute and aware group on campus with issues that affected us domestically.

Our struggle against apartheid in South Africa encouraged us and forced us to look at the role that our congressman, who represented North Carolina A&T State University at that time, was playing in South Africa, the free South Africa movement, and we found at that time that our representative did not represent the position of our organization, and we began registering people to vote on our campus. We would not let the Deltas, the Q's, the Alphas, Sigma Gamma Wu's, we would not let any organization on North Carolina A&T State University's campus host a party or an event on the campus unless they were registered to

vote and the students on that campus could prove that they were registered to vote, and as a result we registered of the 4,200 students, of North Carolina A&T State University's campus we registered more than 3,600 aggies to participate in the political process. And on election day, while we came very close to defeating that Member of Congress, we were only 60 votes away in the general election, and I will leave the gentleman's name anonymous for the purposes of my discussion, but when I was sworn into the 104th Congress as the 91st African-American to ever have the privilege of serving in this institution, that Member of Congress came up to me, congratulated me for my electoral victory, gave me an embrace, a hug, and said, "You know, I am very familiar with you. You almost beat me on that day."

And we were within 60 votes of beating that Member of Congress. As a result of that again I graduated in 1987. Students across the State of North Carolina were registered to vote and participate in the political process. The end result was a census taken in 1990, a reapportionment plan in 1991, the implementation of that reapportionment plan in 1992, and the by-product of which in 1996, the 12th Congressional district is now represented by Congressman MEL WATT, who represents North Carolina A&T as well as Winston-Salem and I believe as many as 6 other historically black colleges.

So it is possible, and I will yield back to the gentleman in just about 30 seconds.

Very few people know that they can register where they live. Students do not live in New York if they are at A&T. They do not live in Chicago if they are at A&T. They live in Greensboro, NC.

According to the law, you can register wherever you spend the last 3 nights in a row. That is home. If your name has changed, you are now an unregistered voter. If you just got married, your name was Smith last week, you married a Williams last week, you are now an unregistered voter because your name has changed, and as a result of efforts of many who fought and died in this country, Viola Wheatson, a white woman, got her brains blown out at point blank range trying to register students to vote.

Martin Luther King, Jr., and Bobby Kennedy and others have died trying to reduce the age from 21 to 18. As a result of their efforts, you can now dial 1-800-REGISTER and become a full participant in this democracy, and I might add those who are interested in doing it ought to do it soon because the election is approaching.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Absolutely, and you know this whole voter registration among young people is really catching on.

I do not know if you are familiar with the shows called the Tom Journal Morning Show. It is a show that is on every morning on many of the syn-

dicated shows on many of the ministrations all across America.

I mean I was sitting in—I was driving in the car the other day, and I heard Tom Journal that morning talking about how people, particularly young people, need to register to vote, and he started this thing: You know, register five people to vote and call their names in and I will announce them over the air. And people were actually registering people to vote, and he was announcing the names over the air.

I just think that is so encouraging because a lot of people do not wake up in the morning, young people for example, who is about to go to a biology lab, who is on a college campus, not thinking about voting per se, interested in the future, interested in the outcome of elections, but not registered. As you stated, many college students, when they leave from Illinois and go to Los Angeles to register for college, they may be registered back home, but the likelihood of them going back to Illinois from California to vote on election day is not all that great. And so it is incumbent upon them to register to vote at that college, at that university because they are going to be there 4 to 5 years on the average.

So that is really home. That is where they are going to be during the local and State and perhaps Federal elections. So that is where they ought to exercise the power. They should never go powerless.

And I was just impressed with Tom Journal. I think that is the name of the show, the Tom Journal Morning Show. You know, encouraging people to register to vote.

I will give you an example.

Yes, we talk about, you and I debate night and day, for student loans and grants, Pell grants, to make sure that those opportunities are available to students today as they were available to us when we were in college. Why is it? I mean people that asked the question why is it that legislators would move on college tuition and raise college tuition or vote to cut higher education so that schools and board of directors have to raise college tuition and cut Pell grants and student loans and things of that nature? I mean let us look at it from a political perspective and preserve seniors on the other hand. Let us look at it from a political perspective.

If you look on the voter register rolls and you see most of the registered voters in this country are of the age of 55 to 65, and the fewest number of registered voters are between the ages of 18 and 35, then of course you are more likely to move on that age group than you are likely to move on the age group that is most registered to vote, but not just registered to vote, but more likely to go to the polls and vote on election day. Because it is one thing to register to vote, but it is another thing to actually go out and use the power by voting.

So college students—I mean we can fight. You and I and other Members of

this Congress on both sides of the aisle, we can fight night and day about, you know, we need to keep student loans, we need to keep opportunities available to elementary, secondary, and higher education, but if we do not have students out there—they get enough of ire education, they get enough of a Pell grant, they thinking enough of student loans, that they are not exercising a power that they rightfully have by going to the polls and vote, especially after we passed this easy, easy, easy voter registration process.

I mean this bill that we have passed in this Congress. We passed a bill, as you stated, where a student government president, for example, can walk into a classroom and register every student. A teacher rather, a professor in a class at an institution, can say all right, first day of school, the first question:

How many of you all are registered to vote right here at this college?

And have the forms there. It is legal. OK, register to vote.

Do not have to dictate how you register, Democrat or Republican; that is irrelevant for registration purposes, or how you vote or who you vote for. You know, I am not going to advocate teachers do that. But it should be part of the learning process.

You talk about personal responsibility? One of the first basic personal responsibilities that individuals have is to claim citizenship by registering to vote, and then that teacher, that professor—I mean just think about if every college campus—just think about HBCU's, just take black colleges, for example, on Monday, the 23d. If every professor say, OK, what we will do this day is we will register every student in this class. When you walk into my class, you have the opportunity to register to vote the first 5 minutes, and I will personally turn these forms in. And the 100 percent voter registration on college campus, the kind of power, and not just HBCU's, historically black colleges, but all college students can have if they only exercise that constitutional right, and it is so easy to do.

I mean some can right now in their dormitories just dial 1-800-REGISTER and be registered to vote.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. If the gentleman would yield, and I thank the gentleman for yielding once again, you know this is a democracy. We claim to be the largest democracy in the world, the oldest democracy in the world, the most practicing and the most functioning democracy in the world, but nothing could be more tragic than to realize that fewer and fewer people are voting in our local, State, and national elections. There seems to be some kind of disconnect between the people's participation in this democracy and what takes place in the halls of this Congress and the State legislatures around our country.

And so when one even talks about voter registration, the reality is we

have sufficient enough technology in our country today. Whenever you get pulled over by a police officer, get pulled over by a state trooper or any law enforcement official, he can take your drivers license, and they can determine whether or not you are guilty or wanted of a felony or a misdemeanor in any of the 50 States. Because many of those police computers are connected to Interpol, we can find out within moments whether or not you are wanted for an international crime including terrorism or some international conspiracy. And so within moments we can find out whether or not you are guilty or wanted of some offense against this Nation or any nation around the world.

And yet to participate in this democracy there still remains so many barriers, including a 30-day cut off before the Federal election or the local election.

One of the States in our country that has the highest participation, which has absolutely no registration whatsoever, is the State of North Dakota. There is no voter register required. You just show up on election day, prove that you live in the State of North Dakota, can vote and keep right on about your business.

So even voter registration, which is obviously important for political purposes, is really an outdated method for including and encouraging people to participate in the political process.

But the gentleman touched upon something else that I want to, if he would not mind, allow me the opportunity to talk about for a moment, and that is the whole issue of why vote at all? Why participate in the political process?

When I was teaching political organizing classes and political education classes for the Rainbow Coalition before I became a Member of this body, I used to teach that there were really three types—two types of material power, but really three types of power. Spiritual power is obviously an important power, but it is not a material power. So for the purposes of this discussion we will leave spiritual power out; really two types of material power:

One is economic, and the other is political, and by definition poor people, disenfranchised people and increasingly growing body of students in our Nation, because they take student loans out to go to school, but at the end of school they cannot find a job, they cannot get the kind of employment that addresses the debt that they have received as a result of being a student; by definition poor people and disenfranchised people and students do not have economic power. What is available to them? The alternative is available. Political power.

And why is political power so important? Political power and the political system really is the distribution system for the economic system. It is in this institution and in State legisla-

tures around this country that we determine how the economic system in our Nation is distributed. Some of us on one given day may talk about tax cuts; others may refer to them as entitlements for the poor.

□ 1900

Some of us may refer to them as welfare benefits. Others of us look at tax breaks for the wealthy. So it is called tax breaks if you are a wealthy person in this country, but if you are receiving a Federal benefit, it is called welfare. So even how it is labeled and what it is called in our society is the by-product of how we define it politically.

So when people begin to see the relationship between their vote, it is easy to cut welfare in an election year. It is easy to attack the most vulnerable in an election year, because those who do not vote cannot defend themselves. Those who do vote will get a tax break. Those who do not vote will get their Federal benefits withdrawn, or even their constitutional rights violated or undermined, and I mean that by Democrats or by Republicans. We have to acknowledge that all of us, and many of us, have a political weakness when it comes to those vulnerable political, commercial type issues that could affect our reelection to this institution.

So once people understand and begin to appreciate that the political system is really the distribution system for our economic system, I might add that they begin to participate in great numbers. No long ago one of the Presidential candidates had suggested that, for example, he would propose an across-the-board 15 percent tax cut.

The next question I ask as an elected official is how is he going to pay for that tax cut. There is only one way to pay for it, do what General Powell said, eliminate the entitlement state as we know it. What are those entitlements? Those entitlements would be Medicare, Medicaid, and ending Social Security as we know it. That is really the only way to pay for a 15 percent across-the-board tax cut.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Or what about education?

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. We talked about one of the President's plans to rebuild schools, the physical infrastructure, and leverage that money, \$5 billion, leverage it four times, to \$20 billion, to \$23 billion, to rebuild the infrastructure of our public school systems. But if in fact we are not paying what we should be paying in terms of taxes and making sure that those resources are not going to an over-bloated military budget, but are being directed in a way that can help the average American to help change the quality of their lives, not for the rich but for those who are most vulnerable.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. You are a former student leader on your college campus. How did you and your colleagues encourage young people or get young people at North Carolina A&T registered to vote? Let us face it, there

are a lot of students who are not from North Carolina, who really do not care about the local politics of North Carolina, some not even concentrating on national politics, either. They are at North Carolina A&T just to get an education. When I was at Southern, that was one of the big things I had to face, trying to encourage students to register to vote, though they were not from the State.

What did you do to encourage non-residents, so to speak, though they are residents once they register for school, to take an interest in registering to vote and actually vote on an election day?

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. One of the campuses in North Carolina, right in front of the library has a statue, a statue of a famous North Carolinian. On that statue there is a placard that reads "This Nation is democratic in direct proportion to its people's education." I remember that from 11 years ago when I was a student at North Carolina A&T. "This Nation is democratic in direct proportion to its people's education." And guess what, the converse of that statement is also true: This Nation is undemocratic in direct proportion to the level of literacy and intelligence and education or lack of education thereof of its people.

So one of the things that I found most valuable for getting students to participate is education. I simply tell them that they are the first generation of Americans who are graduating with a college degree, graduate with a college degree, and if they decide to go to graduate school, 3 years for law school or 4 to 8 years, however long it may take to get a medical degree, where they have so many student loans as a result of their college education that it fundamentally affects their career options and their alternatives.

I chose public service. Fortunately, I went to North Carolina A&T State University. I played football for North Carolina A&T State University for a year or so before I received an academic scholarship. I left college not owing any money, so my genuine desire to become a public servant was directly related to me not owing \$80,000 or \$90,000 in bills that are associated with my college education. Had I owed \$100,000, \$110,000, \$120,000 as a result of graduating from the seminary and graduating from law school, I quite probably would have had to have assumed a role in private, in the private sector or in private America, just to make the kind of salary that would address these bills.

I share that with students, that when they graduate from college, that they are the first generation of Americans who are more than likely moving back home with their parents. Their moving back home with their parents is part of the political process. Many of them who are incubated by their college environment, when they leave college, they are finding for the very first time that there are more unemployed people

in this Nation with college degrees and Master's degrees than at any other point in time in our Nation's history.

They then engage the political system, and if they stop complaining about what they do not have and just start using what they have got, pick up their vote early one morning and exercise it, exercise it in an intelligent way, not just vote for exercise but exercise their right to vote and make a sound decision, this country will become more democratic.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his comment. There are so many creative ways we used, so many creative ways to register young people to vote on a college campus. We used all kinds of techniques. We got all the professors involved, professors encouraged students to get on a bus. At that time we had to take the bus.

That is why I cannot even comprehend why a student is not registered to vote, because in 1994 when I was SU president, in 1984, rather, when I was SU president, you had to take students to register. I could not walk up to a student in Louisiana and say, or anybody, are you registered to vote; no, I am not. I could not register that student. But this Congress passed legislation where you can do that now.

If I was SU president I would walk around with voter registration cards in my pocket. For every student I came in contact with, I would ask the question, are you registered to vote? Because they empowered me as their student representative on the board of regents, their student representative as president of the student body, to speak with force to legislators to protect the institution and protect higher education statewide. Going back to talking about it and saying nothing, we can always complain about the problem, but you are part of the problem if you are not participating.

I was not as fortunate as you. Look at me, I am a little smaller than you. I could not play football, could not play many sports. I did not have an athletic scholarship. I had a book scholarship, a small academic scholarship, a book scholarship that only lasted 1 year that I received from the American Legion.

My family, my mom and my dad died when I was young, 5 years old. My mom raised 10 of us. There were 10 of us. I could not even afford to take out a student loan, to even entertain the thought of taking out a \$5,000 student loan each semester. I could not even see how one could pay \$5,000. At the end of the day, \$20,000, \$30,000, \$40,000 after you graduate, I could not understand that.

I had the opportunity to participate in the Government's Pell Grant Program. I was able to get BEOG, the basic educational opportunity grant. Without that BEOG, quite frankly, since I did not have an athletic scholarship, I had a small academic scholarship that only took care of my books,

so I do not know if I would have been able to attend college.

It would have been irresponsible of me as a recipient of the BEOG, a Government grant for higher education to assist me, because I did not have the kind of resources that other students may have had, to not vote. I wanted to protect my BEOG. Every time I heard of fights in Washington, DC, about cutting the BEOG and cutting Pell grants, I wanted to register even more students, because I wanted to make sure that this program was protected, because it is a program that gave benefits to so many students who, through no fault of their own, just did not have the resources and parents did not have the resources to send them to school.

Without it, I would not have gotten a higher education. Mr. Speaker, that is why it is so important. I am going to give a list of members of this Congressional Black Caucus who will attend Black College Day on the 23d of this month. I just think that is outstanding. I want to thank you for your leadership, that every member of the CBC, every last, every individual member of the CBC, the Congressional Black Caucus, will be at an HBCU on Monday, September 23, celebrating Black College Day, and encouraging young students to register and vote on all college campuses across America.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. If the gentleman will yield, Mr. Speaker, it is really amazing when we talk about this process. I want to thank the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana for his leadership, and the leadership that he has shown oftentimes by himself on the floor of this Congress, toward trying to get young people to participate in the process.

Today, we passed in the U.S. Congress a bill under suspension of the rules called the Student Debt Reduction Act, which will go a long way toward reducing the debt of students who have taken out these various loans.

I might add, Mr. Speaker, that we did not pass the Student Debt Elimination Act, which would totally wipe out the debt of every student who has ever had a student loan in this country. We can afford it. We are the richest Nation in the history of the world, we can afford it. If we education is a real priority, we can pass a student debt elimination act. But you know what, students are going to have to be mad enough about student loans as a collective body, a spirit is going to have to sweep across the Nation where students are calling for the elimination of debt. Because our Nation can afford to put children through college.

The President has a program for 2 years, others have proposed 4-year programs for students who desire to go to college. We can afford it if we consider education to be a National Defense Act. If our country is democratic in direct proportion to our Nation's education, then the defense of this democracy, education, must be seen as the defense of this democracy.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Let me just tell the gentleman where many of our colleagues will be on September 23. The gentleman from Georgia, SANFORD BISHOP, will attend Albany State College. I just think this is history making, having every member of the CBC at a historically black college in this country to talk about, listen, it is time to not just have a program, but to register to vote.

The gentlewoman from Florida, Ms. CORRINE BROWN, will be at Bethune Cookman College and Edward Waters College, as well; the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. WILLIAM CLAY, Lincoln University; the gentlewoman from North Carolina, EVA CLAYTON, Fayetteville State; the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. ELIJAH CUMMINGS, a new Member of this body, Morgan State and Coppin State University; the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. CHAKA FATTAH, Lincoln University; the gentleman from Florida, Mr. ALCEE HASTINGS, Florida A&M; the gentleman from Alabama, Mr. EARL HILLIARD, will be at Alabama State University; the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia, Ms. ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON, will be at Howard University; the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. WILLIAM JEFFERSON, Xavier University in New Orleans; the gentlewoman from Texas, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON, the Paul Quinn College; the gentlewoman from Texas, Ms. SHEILA JACKSON-LEE, Texas Southern University; the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. JOHN LEWIS, AU Center; the gentlewoman from Florida, Mrs. CARRIE MEEK, will be at Florida Memorial College; the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. BOBBIE SCOTT, Norfolk State University; the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. BENNIE THOMPSON, Jackson State University; the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. ALBERT WYNN, Bowie State University.

I can go on and on. Every member of the CBC, and you are trying to make your alma mater, A&T, or North Carolina A&T, and a college in Illinois, in your district. There is so much energy among CBC members who want to participate, who want to be at a college on that day to get your people registered to vote. But the SGA presidents have a responsibility and the Greek presidents have a responsibility, and all the civic and social organizations have a responsibility. They have a responsibility to say, by the end of the day, we will register 100 percent of our student body. Professors have a responsibility.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. An achievable goal.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. College presidents have a responsibility. Most colleges, when I was going to school, we had what you call a convocation, and freshmen had freshmen seminars, something they had to attend every week. Every student had to attend convocation. You attended convocation.

What would happen if a college president said, OK, at this convocation, for the first 15 minutes, I want every student to be registered to vote; pass out

the cards, not influencing students as to how to vote or how to register in terms of party affiliation, but if you choose to register, you have 15 minutes to do so right now.

I passed a bill in Louisiana where registration, college registration, will incorporate voter registration, when the registrars or voters office has to be present during college registration on college campuses in the State of Louisiana; a way to register students to vote when they register for college.

You worked when you were a kid on a piece, and I remember talking to you, I was at Southern and you were at A&T, talking about registering students to vote when they graduate from high school; if they graduated with a diploma in one hand and the voter registration card in the other. I remember that, and that worked. I went back to Louisiana and I tried to institute the same thing. I said, OK, when you graduate from high school, you have to have a diploma in one hand.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Knowledge in one hand and empowerment in the other hand, that is correct.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Knowledge and power. I cannot overemphasize how important this is. For the 23d, it is HBCU, historical black colleges and universities, but listen, every college students, irrespective of what college they attend, ought to register to vote. SGA presidents have their responsibility.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. The old adage is true, if you do not vote, do not complain; really, do not complain if you are not voting, if you are not participating in the political process. The reality is that if you do not vote, you do vote. You vote by definition for the person you do not want to win. That is not a Democratic or Republican statement, that is just a statement of political reality. If you do not vote, you cannot complain. If you do not vote, you got what is coming to you that is coming to you, because it is coming to you.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Or if you use the excuse that I am not from Illinois or from Chicago, I am only here for school.

□ 1915

You live there, and you will be living there for the next 2, 3, 4 years.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Nor can you use the excuse that "I don't trust politicians, I don't like politicians." Run yourself. Come up here and try some of this. If you want to engage in a debate, if you want to engage in some discourse about the future of our Nation and the future of our community. Don't vote for the politician of your choice. You run and find out how difficult it is to talk hope into people who are dispirited, to talk hope into the disenfranchised, and to bring them into the political process and see how difficult it is.

If I were a DJ in America, on the radio every morning talking jive, and you had no substance to your jive, beyond the jive that you are talking,

there is something wrong with that, if you are just complaining.

I am a graduate of Chicago Theological Seminary, and I speak in a lot of churches. Just about every Sunday, my pastor, the pastor of the Salem Baptist Church in Chicago, the Reverend James Meeks, we have altar call in our church. You would be surprised. I had a meeting with some of the people at our church who counsel members of our church. And I asked them some questions about what do people share with them most to be their problems. Some people are concerned about losing their job when they come to altar call, some are concerned about their illness, whether or not they can check into a hospital, whether or not they can afford to add a burden to their family. People come to altar call to pray for a whole lot of reasons. Many of these things are resolvable if they are in the political process.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Let me ask the gentleman a question. If I were sitting at home tonight and I wanted to register to vote, in my dormitory, watching television, doing whatever, washing, and I just want to register to vote, what is that number that I can call right now if I wanted to register to vote?

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. I would look at that Jaguar from Southern University who is sitting at home.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. What is that number for my edification?

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. 1-800-REGISTER. It is really simple. 1-800-REGISTER. And "register" is spelled R-E-G-I-S-T-E-R. It costs you nothing. It is free.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. I want to make sure I am doing it right. All I have to do if I go back to my office right now and I wanted to register to vote is pick up the phone and dial 1-800-REGISTER?

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. That is correct.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. That is all I have to do?

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Unless you are from the State of Illinois.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. What will happen? They will send me a package or something?

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. It is a toll-free call where they prompt, they ask you for your name, address, phone number, verify who you are through your State Secretary of State.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. They set this up, and then I have to sign it or something?

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. That is all you have to do is sign it. It is postage paid, and returned to you.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I include the following material for the RECORD:

APPENDIX—SOME PROMINENT HBUC ALUMNI
Leaders of the Past

Nobel Laureate Martin Luther King, Jr. (Morehouse), Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall (Lincoln and Howard), educators W.E.B. DuBois (Fisk), Mary McLeod Bethune (Scotia Seminary [Barber-

Scotia]), Lucy C. Laney ([Clark] Atlanta), scientist-educator Booker T. Washington (Hampton), Urban League leader Whitney Young (Kentucky State), NAACP leader Walter F. White ([Clark] Atlanta), writer Ralph Ellison (Tuskegee), poet-lyricist James Weldon Johnson ([Clark] Atlanta), and activists Medgar Evers (Alcorn State) and Rosa Parks (Alabama State).

And the Present

Writers: Nobel Laureate Toni Morrison (Howard), Alice Walker (Spelman), Nikki Giovanni (Fisk), the late Alex Haley (Alcorn State and Elizabeth City State), and Imamu Amin Baraka (Leroi Jones) (Howard). Opera singers: Jessye Norman (Howard) and Leonryne Price (Central State). Historians: John W. Blassingame (Fort Valley State and Howard) and John Hope Franklin (Fisk).

Political leaders: Jesse Jackson (North Carolina A&T), former ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young, Jr. (Dillard and Howard), former Virginia Governor Douglas Wilder (Howard), former New York Mayor David Dinkins (Howard), former Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson (Morehouse), former Memphis mayor Willie Herenton (LeMoyne-Owen), Secretary of Energy Hazel O'Leary (Fisk), former Surgeon-General Jockeyln Elders (Philander Smith), former Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan (Morehouse), and many others such as * * * and NAACP leader Benjamin Hooks (Howard).

Enterainers: film director Spike Lee (Morehouse); actor-television host Oprah Winfrey (Tennessee State); actors Ossie Davis (Howard), Tim Reid (Norfolk State), Phylicia Rashad (Howard), director-actor Kenny Leon (Clark [Atlanta]), Esther Rolle (Spelman); musicians Roberta Flack (Howard), Lionel Ritchie (Tuskegee), Erskine Hawkins (Alabama State), Billy Eckstine (Howard), Billy Taylor (Virginia State), and Branford Marsalis (Southern).

Also journalist Carl Rowan (Tennessee State); astronaut Ronald E. McNair (North Carolina A&T); architect Tarlee Brown (Tuskegee); founder of a literary journal, Charles H. Rowell (Alabama A&M); kidney transplant specialist Dr. Samuel Lee Kounta (University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff); president and chief executive officer of Atlanta Life Insurance, Jesse Hill, Jr. (Lincoln); educator Marva Collins (Clark [Atlanta]); the first Black woman member of the American College of Physicians, Dr. Margaret E. Grisby (Prairie View A&M); jurists Joseph W. Hatchett of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit (Florida A&M) and Henry E. Frye of the North Carolina Supreme Court (North Carolina A&T), and coaches John Chaney (Bethune-Cookman), Clarence Gaines (Morgan State), Art Shell (University of Maryland Eastern Shore), and Eddie Robinson (Leland).

Military leaders: the late Daniel James (Tuskegee), the first Black four-star general; Russell C. Davis (Tuskegee), first Black Air National Guard general; Dr. Marion Mann (Tuskegee), medical corps general; Air Force Generals Lucius Theus, Tirus Hall, James F. Hamlet, Rufus L. Billups, and Charles B. Jiggets (all of Tuskegee); Army generals Eugene R. Cromarie (Florida A&M), Junitis W. Becton, Jr. (Prairie View A&M), Edward Honor (Southern), Guthrie L. Turner (Shaw), Henry Doctor, Jr., James R. Klugh, and George Price (all of South Carolina State); and Army nurses corps general Clara Adams-Ender (North Carolina A&M).¹

¹This list, by no means comprehensive, was compiled from information obtained by AAUP Committee L from the institutions listed, and from Christa Brelin, ed., *Who's Who Among Black Americans, 1992-93* (7th ed.). Detroit: Gale Research, Inc., 1993, and from *Leadership and Learning, An Interpretive History of Historically Black Land-Grant Colleges and Universities*, 99-111.

HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

- ALABAMA
 - Alabama A&M University
 - Alabama State University
 - Bishop State Community College
 - Concordia College
 - Fredd State Technical College
 - Lawson State Community College
 - Miles College
 - Oakwood College
 - Selma University
 - J.F. Drake Technical College
 - Stillman College
 - Talladega College
 - Trenholm State Technical College
 - Tuskegee University
- ARKANSAS
 - Arkansas Baptist College
 - Philander Smith College
 - Shorter College
 - University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff
- DELAWARE
 - Delaware State University
- DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
 - Howard University
 - University of the District of Columbia
- FLORIDA
 - Bethune-Cookman College
 - Edward Waters College
 - Florida A&M University
 - Florida Memorial College
- GEORGIA
 - Albany State College
 - Clark Atlanta University
 - Fort Valley State College
 - Interdenominational Theological Center
 - Morehouse College
 - Morehouse School of Medicine
 - Morris Brown College
 - Paine College
 - Savannah State College
 - Spelman College
- KENTUCKY
 - Kentucky State University
- LOUISIANA
 - Dillard University
 - Grambling State University
 - Southern University and A&M College at Baton Rouge
 - Southern University at New Orleans
 - Southern University at Shreveport/Bossier City
 - Xavier University

- MARYLAND
 - Bowie State University
 - Coppin State College
 - Morgan State University
 - University of Maryland Eastern Shore
- MICHIGAN
 - Lewis College of Business
- MISSISSIPPI
 - Alcorn State University
 - Coahoma Community College
 - Jackson State University
 - Mary Holmes College
 - Mississippi Valley State University
 - Rust College
 - Tougaloo College
- MISSOURI
 - Harris-Stowe State College
 - Lincoln University
- NORTH CAROLINA
 - Barber-Scotia College
 - Bennett College
 - Elizabeth City State University
 - Fayetteville State University
 - Johnson C. Smith University
 - Livingstone College
 - North Carolina A&T State University
 - North Carolina Central University
 - Saint Augustine's College
 - Shaw University
 - Winston-Salem State University
- OHIO
 - Central State University
 - Wilberforce University
- OKLAHOMA
 - Langston University
- PENNSYLVANIA
 - Cheyney State University of PA
 - Lincoln University
- SOUTH CAROLINA
 - Allen University
 - Benedict College
 - Clafin College
 - Clinton Junior College
 - Denmark Technical College
 - Morris College
 - South Carolina State University
 - Voorhees College
- TENNESSEE
 - Fisk University
 - Knoxville College
 - Lane College
 - Lemoyne-Owen College
 - Meharry Medical College

- Tennessee State University
- TEXAS
 - Huston-Tillotson College
 - Jarvis Christian College
 - Paul Quinn College
 - Prairie View A&M University
 - Saint Phillip's College
 - Southwestern Christian College
 - Texas College
 - Texas Southern University
 - Wiley College
- VIRGINIA
 - Hampton University
 - Norfolk State University
 - Saint Paul's College
 - Virginia State University
 - Virginia Union University
- WEST VIRGINIA
 - Bluefield State College
 - West Virginia State University
- U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS
 - University of the Virgin Islands
- FEDERAL AGENCIES SUPPORTING HBCUS UNDER EXECUTIVE ORDER 12876
 - U.S. Departments of:
 - Agriculture
 - Commerce
 - Defense
 - Education
 - Energy
 - Health and Human Services
 - Housing and Urban Development
 - The Interior
 - Justice
 - Labor
 - State
 - Transportation
 - Treasury
 - Veterans Affairs
 - Agency for International Development
 - Appalachian Regional Commission
 - Central Intelligence Agency
 - Environmental Protection Agency
 - Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
 - National Aeronautics and Space Administration
 - National Credit Union Administration
 - National Endowment for the Arts
 - National Endowment for the Humanities
 - National Science Foundation
 - Nuclear Regulatory Commission
 - Small Business Administration
 - United States Information Agency

TABLE 10.—FALL ENROLLMENT IN HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, BY INSTITUTION, CONTROL, AND SEX: 1976 TO 1990

Institution	State	Year es- tablished	Control	1976		1978		1980	
				Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Total				222,613	117,944	227,797	123,581	233,557	127,170
**Alabama A&M University	AL	1875	Public 4-year	4,564	2,246	4,425	2,056	4,380	2,104
Alabama State University ²	AL	1874	Public 4-year	4,153	2,455	4,794	2,844	4,066	2,416
Bishop State Community College ³	AL	1927	Public 2-year	1,649	920	1,500	956	1,425	955
C.A. Fredd State Technical College	AL	1965	Public 2-year						
Carver State Technical College	AL	1962	Public 2-year						
Concordia College ⁴	AL	1922	Private 2-year	137	70	228	170	243	182
Daniel Payne College, Birmingham ⁵	AL	1889	Private 4-year	346	165				
J.F. Drake Technical College	AL	1961	Public 2-year						
Lawson State Community College ⁶	AL	1965	Public 2-year	1,345	870	1,271	913	1,056	728
Lomax-Hannon Junior College ⁷	AL	1893	Private 2-year	126	76	160	89	96	42
Miles College	AL	1905	Private 4-year	1,469	739	1,283	704	1,014	528
Oakwood College ⁸	AL	1896	Private 4-year	1,171	652	1,266	654	1,303	751
Selma University	AL	1878	Private 4-year	650	324	632	371	501	276
Stillman College ⁹	AL	1876	Private 4-year	857	497	607	360	558	317
Talladega College ¹⁰	AL	1867	Private 4-year	625	406	705	481	797	576
Trenholm State Technical College	AL	1966	Public 2-year						
**Tuskegee University ¹¹	AL	1881	Private 4-year	3,571	1,797	3,298	1,708	3,736	1,930
Arkansas Baptist College	AR	1901	Private 4-year	583	173	445	182	296	146
Philander Smith College	AR	1877	Private 4-year	592	249	550	248	590	282
Shorter College	AR	1886	Private 2-year	199	98	172	92	164	72
**University of Arkansas, Pine Bluff ¹²	AR	1873	Public 4-year	3,062	1,653	2,998	1,730	3,064	1,750
**Delaware State College	DE	1891	Public 4-year	1,844	885	2,153	1,031	2,084	1,096
Howard University ¹³	DC	1867	Private 4-year	9,815	4,708	10,339	5,066	11,321	5,845
**University of the District of Columbia ¹⁴	DC	1851	Public 4-year	1,322	966	13,661	7,634	13,900	7,698

TABLE 10.—FALL ENROLLMENT IN HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, BY INSTITUTION, CONTROL, AND SEX: 1976 TO 1990—Continued

Institution	State	Year es- tablished	Control	1976		1978		1980	
				Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bethune-Cookman College ¹⁵	FL	1904	Private 4-year	1,517	855	1,791	1,045	1,738	1,045
Edward Waters College ¹⁶	FL	1866	Private 4-year	743	417	660	406	836	548
**Florida A&M University ¹⁷	FL	1877	Public 4-year	5,779	2,913	5,882	2,987	5,371	2,726
Florida Memorial College ¹⁸	FL	1879	Private 4-year	412	177	797	428	950	502
Albany State College	GA	1903	Public 4-year	2,222	1,289	1,750	1,066	1,555	897
Clark Atlanta University ¹⁹	GA	1989	Private 4-year	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Atlanta University ²⁰	GA	1865	Private 4-year	1,177	656	1,227	658	1,371	706
Clark College ²¹	GA	1869	Private 4-year	1,792	1,135	1,849	1,216	2,107	1,397
**Fort Valley State College ²²	GA	1895	Public 4-year	1,869	910	1,872	973	1,814	983
Interdenominational Theological Center	GA	1958	Private 4-year	227	31	288	41	273	36
Morehouse College	GA	1867	Private 4-year	1,402	0	1,659	0	2,006	28
Morehouse School of Medicine ²³	GA	1978	Private 4-year	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Morris Brown College ²⁴	GA	1881	Private 4-year	1,579	806	1,684	950	1,611	983
Paine College	GA	1882	Private 4-year	775	472	817	563	748	473
Savannah State College ²⁵	GA	1890	Public 4-year	2,847	1,713	2,229	1,291	2,110	1,090
Spelman College ²⁶	GA	1881	Private 4-year	1,289	1,289	1,262	1,262	1,366	1,366
**Kentucky State University	KY	1886	Public 4-year	2,389	1,167	2,196	1,045	2,336	1,236
Dillard University ²⁷	LA	1869	Private 4-year	1,186	875	1,217	891	1,208	902
Grambling State University ²⁸	LA	1901	Public 4-year	4,048	2,144	3,623	1,968	3,549	1,797
**Southern University and A&M College, Baton Rouge	LA	1880	Public 4-year	8,995	4,970	8,061	4,424	8,372	4,409
Southern University, New Orleans	LA	1959	Public 4-year	3,311	1,928	2,710	1,748	2,574	1,733
Southern University, Shreveport-Bossier City Campus	LA	1964	Public 2-year	974	580	692	481	723	507
Xavier University of Louisiana ²⁹	LA	1915	Private 4-year	1,846	1,086	1,895	1,166	2,004	1,277
Bowie State University ³⁰	MD	1865	Public 4-year	2,845	1,598	2,722	1,545	2,757	1,619
Coppin State College ³¹	MD	1900	Public 4-year	2,949	2,122	2,874	2,114	2,541	1,838
Morgan State University	MD	1867	Public 4-year	6,254	3,333	5,209	2,891	5,050	2,851
**University of Maryland, Eastern Shore	MD	1886	Public 4-year	994	451	1,057	462	1,073	543
Lewis College of Business ³²	MI	1874	Private 2-year	225	180	560	431	487	392
**Alcorn State University	MS	1871	Public 4-year	2,603	1,476	2,296	1,365	2,341	1,346
Coahoma Community College ³³	MS	1949	Public 2-year	1,446	696	1,425	837	1,394	984
Hinds Community College, Útica Campus ³⁴	MS	1954	Public 2-year	994	544	834	492	1,005	575
Jackson State University	MS	1877	Public 4-year	7,928	4,283	7,646	4,274	7,099	4,078
Mary Holmes College	MS	1892	Private 2-year	624	279	655	333	422	218
Mississippi Industrial College ³⁵	MS	1905	Private 4-year	314	162	270	150	239	139
Mississippi Valley State University	MS	1946	Public 4-year	3,228	1,718	2,899	1,629	2,564	1,461
Natchez Junior College ³⁶	MS	1884	Private 2-year	19	16	62	56	.....	.....
Prentiss Institute ³⁷	MS	1907	Private 2-year	139	80	81	50	146	83
Rust College	MS	1866	Private 4-year	883	555	725	503	715	434
Tougaloo College ³⁸	MS	1869	Private 4-year	810	541	960	634	886	598
Harris-Stowe State College ³⁹	MO	1857	Public 4-year	1,248	862	1,102	827	1,175	832
**Lincoln University ⁴⁰	MO	1866	Public 4-year	2,341	1,037	2,332	1,047	2,651	1,202
Barber-Scotia College ⁴¹	NC	1867	Private 4-year	526	289	401	247	317	191
Bennett College ⁴²	NC	1873	Private 4-year	618	618	614	614	620	620
Elizabeth City State University ⁴³	NC	1891	Public 4-year	1,651	929	1,584	908	1,488	836
Fayetteville State University ⁴⁴	NC	1877	Public 4-year	1,940	1,114	2,125	1,268	2,465	1,440
Johnson College Smith University	NC	1867	Private 4-year	1,599	805	1,473	766	1,379	740
Livingstone College	NC	1879	Private 4-year	909	400	921	448	879	366
**North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University	NC	1891	Public 4-year	5,515	2,675	5,385	2,580	5,510	2,473
North Carolina Central University ⁴⁵	NC	1910	Public 4-year	4,782	2,849	4,810	2,919	4,910	3,013
St. Augustine's College	NC	1867	Private 4-year	1,641	997	1,762	1,003	1,861	1,063
Shaw University	NC	1865	Private 4-year	1,453	648	1,263	549	1,523	749
Winston-Salem State University ⁴⁶	NC	1892	Public 4-year	2,094	1,277	2,204	1,329	2,220	1,313
Central State University ⁴⁷	OH	1887	Public 4-year	2,182	1,084	2,414	1,171	3,031	1,554
Wilberforce University ⁴⁸	OH	1856	Private 4-year	1,109	493	1,026	473	1,082	558
**Langston University ⁴⁹	OK	1897	Public 4-year	1,128	503	942	391	1,179	497
Cheyney University of Pennsylvania ⁵⁰	PA	1837	Public 4-year	2,848	1,289	2,637	1,345	2,426	1,249
Lincoln University ⁵¹	PA	1854	Public 4-year	1,104	537	1,132	513	1,294	665
Allen University ⁵²	SC	1870	Private 4-year	543	275	419	213	410	210
Benedict College	SC	1870	Private 4-year	1,982	1,267	1,761	1,152	1,426	914
Clafflin College ⁵³	SC	1869	Private 4-year	1,005	640	852	560	739	481
Clinton Junior College ⁵⁴	SC	1894	Private 2-year	208	81	122	34	116	54
Denmark Technical College ⁵⁵	SC	1948	Public 2-year	.....	.....	565	239	669	317
Friendship College ⁵⁶	SC	1891	Private 2-year	193	56	166	46	343	141
Morris College	SC	1908	Private 4-year	638	368	637	386	626	372
**South Carolina State College	SC	1896	Public 4-year	3,678	2,127	3,437	1,999	3,929	2,192
Voorhees College ⁵⁷	SC	1897	Private 4-year	1,050	617	794	487	613	390
Fisk University ⁵⁸	TN	1867	Private 4-year	1,279	761	1,150	721	1,009	682
Knoxville College ⁵⁹	TN	1875	Private 4-year	837	435	713	343	557	205
Lane College ⁶⁰	TN	1882	Private 4-year	701	341	673	345	757	378
LeMoyne-Owen College ⁶¹	TN	1862	Private 4-year	1,118	677	990	637	1,063	690
Meharry Medical College ⁶²	TN	1876	Private 4-year	886	362	1,038	445	817	298
Morristown College ⁶³	TN	1881	Private 2-year	176	79	149	68	114	45
**Tennessee State University ⁶⁴	TN	1912	Public 4-year	5,480	2,919	5,537	2,855	8,318	4,435
Bishop College ⁶⁵	TX	1881	Private 4-year	1,664	694	1,569	708	945	273
Huston-Tillotson College ⁶⁶	TX	1876	Private 4-year	717	268	616	271	692	290
Jarvis Christian College ⁶⁷	TX	1912	Private 4-year	526	257	480	237	619	307
Paul Quinn College ⁶⁸	TX	1872	Private 4-year	537	236	421	195	438	230
**Prairie View A&M University	TX	1876	Public 4-year	5,118	2,660	5,101	2,667	6,592	3,542
St. Philip's College	TX	1927	Public 2-year	6,900	2,034	6,782	2,218	6,860	2,308
Southwestern Christian College ⁶⁹	TX	1949	Private 4-year	341	154	471	138	285	146
Texas College	TX	1894	Private 4-year	725	377	468	241	476	218
Texas Southern University ⁷⁰	TX	1947	Public 4-year	9,170	4,350	8,802	4,261	8,100	3,564
Wiley College	TX	1873	Private 4-year	599	293	615	319	664	328
Hampton University ⁷¹	VA	1868	Private 4-year	2,805	1,714	2,808	1,738	3,230	1,930
Norfolk State University ⁷²	VA	1935	Public 4-year	6,956	4,074	7,283	4,146	7,286	4,324
St. Paul's College	VA	1888	Private 4-year	626	331	615	313	645	322
Virginia College ⁷³	VA	1886	Private 2-year	242	91	251	88	.....	.....
**Virginia State University ⁷⁴	VA	1882	Public 4-year	5,229	2,963	4,475	2,518	4,668	2,645
Virginia Union University	VA	1865	Private 4-year	1,424	704	1,178	618	1,361	682
Bluefield State College	WV	1895	Public 4-year	1,735	774	2,283	1,173	2,742	1,456
West Virginia State College	WV	1891	Public 4-year	4,001	1,813	3,678	1,874	4,353	2,413
**University of the Virgin Islands, St. Thomas Campus ⁷⁵	VI	1962	Public 4-year	2,122	1,350	1,848	1,266	2,148	1,533

—Data not reported or not applicable.

*Land-grant institution.

¹ Preliminary data.

² Founded as the Lincoln Normal School, a private institution. In 1874, became first state-supported historically black college.

³ Founded as the Alabama State Branch by Mrs. Fredericka Evans and Dr. H. Council Trenholm, President of Alabama State College. In 1936, the College began offering a 2-year curriculum as part of the parent institution, Alabama State University. In 1965, the College became an independent junior college and the name was changed to Mobile State Junior College. In 1971, the name of the institution was changed to honor its first President, Dr. S.D. Bishop.

⁴ Formerly called Alabama Lutheran Academy and College. In 1961 changed name to Concordia College. Affiliated with the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod.

⁵ School closed in 1977.

⁶ In October 1973, Wenonah Vocational Trade School for Negroes (founded in 1949) and Theodore Alfred Lawson State Junior College (founded in 1963 and known as the Wenonah State Technical Junior College between 1963 and 1969), merged as a result of Alabama legislation adopted June 1972.

⁷ Prior to closing in 1984, the school was affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

⁸ Is owned and operated by the General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists.

⁹ Affiliated with the Presbyterian Church.

¹⁰ Was the first school in Alabama to admit students regardless of race.

¹¹ Founded by Booker T. Washington. Formerly called Tuskegee Institute.

- ¹² Founded as Branch Normal College, it continued from 1927 until 1972 as Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College. In 1972, it joined four other campuses to comprise the University of Arkansas System.
- ¹³ Founded as a coeducational and multiracial private university in 1867 by an act of the U.S. Congress, the University is named after General Oliver Otis Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau.
- ¹⁴ The roots of the University of the District of Columbia, the nation's only metropolitan, land-grant institution of higher education stretch back to 1851 when Myrtila Miner opened a school to prepare black women to teach. In 1976, three public higher education institutions, D.C. Teachers College, Federal City College, and Washington Technical Institute, were merged into the University of the District of Columbia. This merger caused the apparent enrollment increase in 1978.
- ¹⁵ Upon the merger in 1923 of Cookman Institute for Men, founded in 1872 by the Reverend D.S.B. Darnell, and Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute for Women, founded in 1904 by Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, the institution became the Daytona Cookman Collegiate Institute and was taken over by the Board of Education of the Methodist Church. The name was later changed to Bethune-Cookman College.
- ¹⁶ Founded as Brown Theological Institute, Edward Waters College is the oldest historically black institute of higher learning in the State of Florida. Affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church.
- ¹⁷ Designated as a land-grant institution in 1891 and became a university in 1953. Founded in 1887 as the State Normal College For Colored Students.
- ¹⁸ Affiliated with the Baptist Church.
- ¹⁹ Atlanta University and Clark College merged July 1, 1989, and became Clark Atlanta University.
- ²⁰ In 1929, the college became an exclusively graduate and professional institution, the first with a predominantly black student body; merged with Clark College in 1989.
- ²¹ Founded as the first Methodist-affiliated college to serve African Americans.
- ²² The Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School merged with the Forsyth State Teachers and Agricultural College in 1939 to become Fort Valley State College.
- ²³ Morehouse School of Medicine began in 1975 as a medical program within Morehouse College. In April 1985, the school was granted full accreditation to award an M.D. degree.
- ²⁴ Affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church and is the only surviving college founded by blacks in Georgia.
- ²⁵ Called Georgia State College until 1947, it was established as a school for the training and education of Negro youth. It served as the state land-grant institution for blacks until this function was transferred to Fort Valley State College. The Regents of the University System changed the name to Savannah State College in 1950.
- ²⁶ The nation's oldest undergraduate liberal arts college for black women.
- ²⁷ Affiliated with the United Church of Christ and the United Methodist Church.
- ²⁸ Founded by Charles P. Adams. Is a multi-purpose, state-supported, coeducational institution.
- ²⁹ The only historically black institution with Catholic affiliation.
- ³⁰ Bowie State University is part of the University of Maryland System. Formerly Bowie State College.
- ³¹ The only public senior college in the University of Maryland System.
- ³² Founded by Dr. Violet T. Lewis to provide postsecondary business education to urban dwellers unable to obtain training from other institutions. This school originated in a store front in Indianapolis, Indiana.
- ³³ Was established as Coahoma Junior College in 1949. In 1989, the College was renamed Coahoma Community College.
- ³⁴ Founded by Dr. William H. Holtzclaw. Formerly called Utica Junior College and then Hinds Junior College.
- ³⁵ Lost accreditation in 1983 and closed in 1986. Lane College in Tennessee maintains their records.
- ³⁶ School no longer eligible for listing.
- ³⁷ Formerly Prentiss Normal and Industrial Institute. Closed in 1990.
- ³⁸ In 1869, the American Missionary Association of New York purchased a plantation of 500 acres near Jackson, Mississippi, and established on it a school for the training of young people irrespective of their religion and race.
- ³⁹ Founded in 1857 as the first teacher education institution west of the Mississippi. Was formerly known as Harris Teachers College and Harris Stowe College.
- ⁴⁰ A land-grant, comprehensive, multi-purpose institution of higher education founded by members of the 62nd and 65th U.S. Colored Infantry units as Lincoln Institute in 1866.
- ⁴¹ Founded as Scotia Seminary, a preparatory for young Negro women. In 1916 changed its name to Scotia Women's College. Merged with Barber Memorial College in 1930. In 1932 changed name to Barber-Scotia College and then changed to coeducational in 1954. Historically affiliated to the Presbyterian Church (USA).
- ⁴² Founded as a coeducational institution and reorganized as a women's college in 1926. Is affiliated with the United Methodist Church.
- ⁴³ Founded as a Normal School for the specific purpose of teaching and training teachers of the black race to teach in the common schools. Since 1972, it has been part of the 16-campus University of North Carolina System. Granted its first degrees in 1939 when it was known as Elizabeth City State Teachers College.
- ⁴⁴ Began as Howard School in 1867. In 1877 its name was changed to the State Colored Normal School. It is the second oldest state-supported institution in North Carolina and one of the oldest teacher education institutions in the South. In 1939, the institution began a 4-year program and became Fayetteville State Teachers College marking the beginning of a 4-year curriculum. In 1972, became part of the University of North Carolina System.
- ⁴⁵ Founded by Dr. James E. Shepard. In 1925, became the nation's first state-supported liberal arts college for black people.
- ⁴⁶ Founded as Slater Industrial Academy. Became Winston-Salem Teachers College, the first black institution in the U.S. to grant degrees for teaching in the elementary grades.
- ⁴⁷ Originated as a separate department of Wilberforce University in 1887. Became independent in 1947.
- ⁴⁸ Founded as the first coeducational college for blacks. Affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church.
- ⁴⁹ Was founded as the Colored Agricultural and Normal University. The present name was adopted in 1941.
- ⁵⁰ Founded by Richard Humphreys, a Philadelphia Quaker. It is the nation's oldest historically black institution of higher learning. Began as a high school in 1837 and offered its first baccalaureate degree in the 1930s. Formerly known as Cheyney State College.
- ⁵¹ The first institution established anywhere in the world to provide higher education in the arts and sciences for male youth of African descent. It was chartered as Ashmun Institute, an all-male institution, and remained as such for almost 100 years. It graduated its first woman in 1953, but it did not become fully coeducational until 1965.
- ⁵² Founded under the auspices of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.
- ⁵³ Founded by two Methodist laymen from Massachusetts, William and Lee Claffin.
- ⁵⁴ School was not eligible for listing in 1988. Affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.
- ⁵⁵ Founded as an all black trade school. In 1969, became a public 2-year branch campus of the South Carolina technical education system.
- ⁵⁶ Closed in 1982. Formerly known as Friendship Junior College.
- ⁵⁷ Founded by Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, it is a coeducational, liberal arts college.
- ⁵⁸ Incorporated under the laws of the State of Tennessee on August 22, 1867. The purpose was the education and training of young black men and women.
- ⁵⁹ Knoxville College now has two campuses. In 1989, Morristown College merged with Knoxville College. Knoxville was founded in 1875 by the United Presbyterian Church of North America.
- ⁶⁰ Founded by the Colored (Christian) Methodist Episcopal Church as the C.M.E. High School, and became Lane College in 1895.
- ⁶¹ In 1968 LeMoine College and Owen College merged.
- ⁶² Founded as the Medical Department of Central Tennessee College, with the mission of educating health professionals for the black population. Meharry became an independent medical college in 1915. Meharry Medical College has trained close to one-third of the black physicians and dentists practicing in the United States today.
- ⁶³ After closing in 1988, Morristown was annexed by Knoxville College in 1989.
- ⁶⁴ Founded in 1912 as the Tennessee Agriculture and Industrial State Normal School for Negroes. It merged with the University of Tennessee at Nashville in 1979 and now has two campuses.
- ⁶⁵ Closed in 1988; was affiliated with the Baptist Church.
- ⁶⁶ Was formed in 1952 by the merger of Tillotson College (founded in 1875) and Samuel Huston College (founded in 1876). Is supported by the United Methodist Church and the United Church of Christ.
- ⁶⁷ A private coeducational college founded in 1912 and affiliated with the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).
- ⁶⁸ Paul Quinn College began in a one room building in Austin, Texas, by a group of African Methodist Episcopal circuit riders who saw a need for a trade school to teach newly freed slaves. The college moved to Dallas in 1990 to the campus formerly occupied by Bishop College which closed in 1988.
- ⁶⁹ Formerly a 2-year institution, but became a 4-year institution offering bachelor's degrees in 1984.
- ⁷⁰ Founded as the Houston Colored Junior College. Its successor, Houston College for Negroes was transferred to the State of Texas following passage of a bill creating Texas State University for Negroes. Established as a State University in 1947. The name was changed to Texas Southern University in 1951.
- ⁷¹ Founded by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong. Hampton is Virginia's only coeducational, non-denominational 4-year private college. Formerly known as Hampton Institute and Hampton College.
- ⁷² Formerly known as Norfolk State College.
- ⁷³ Changed name to Virginia Seminary and College. Closed in 1980.
- ⁷⁴ The first fully state-supported, 4-year bachelor's degree black college in America. Founded in March 1882, when the Virginia legislature passed a bill to charter the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute. Formerly known as Virginia State College.
- ⁷⁵ This is a public, coeducational, land-grant institution that was founded in 1962 by enabling legislation of the Virgin Islands Legislature. Formerly known as College of Virgin Islands.

Note.—Some schools are estimated on the previous year enrollment on this table.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS), "Fall Enrollment in Colleges and Universities" surveys; and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Fall Enrollment" surveys. (This table was prepared January 1992.)

COMBATING THE NATION'S DRUG PROBLEM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to talk tonight a little bit about the growing debate about the drug war and talk about some of the things that this Congress has done to combat the drug problem in America and the youth.

I think there are two things that we need to keep in mind. One is the statistics, and the other is the recent salvo of the Clinton administration about tobacco. I, like you, have young children. I am concerned about my children smoking at early ages and I am concerned about the health problems of smoking and so forth. But why did Bill Clinton come out so strong now, on the

eve of an election, against tobacco when he has had the Presidency for 4 years? Why suddenly?

One of the suggestions that people have, and I think this is a legitimate, it goes back to when Bill Clinton was talking on national TV on MTV, the music television show which gets a huge audience of, say, 13 to 20-year-olds, I will watch it every now and then myself, it is good, it is not just those ages; they have some good programs; of course they have some other things that are pretty questionable.

He was asked if given another chance to smoke marijuana, would he have inhaled; because, of course, Bill Clinton would have everyone in America believing that he never inhaled, which this particular President seems to be able to get away with a lot of things but he is famous for saying he did not inhale. But when asked by an MTV au-

dience full of 13-, 14-, 15-, 16-year-olds, if you had it to do again would you have inhaled, to which a snickering, laughing Bill Clinton said, "Sure. Sure, if I could. I tried before. Ha-ha."

So here we are, he is running for the President of the United States and at that time, this was on June 12, 1992, he was clearly on his way to being the Democrat nominee, standing in front of 13-, 14-, 15-year-olds, makes a joke about it. So let us kind of say, well, that is what happened. Think about that as exhibit 1.

Now play that scenario again, Mr. Candidate for President Clinton, if you had to do it again, would you have inhaled?

"You know, if I had to do it again, I never would have smoked marijuana. I never would have tried. It hurts your ambition, it hurts your grades, it hurts your abilities to do sports. It can be a