

4. You are not required to talk to the media. If you do, you have the responsibility to protect classified information and the security and privacy of your fellow soldiers. Do not discuss anything outside your area of expertise and do not speculate.

5. You may not discuss future plans and operations, political or foreign policy matters, operational capabilities, or give opinions on hypothetical situations. "Stay in your lane."

6. Don't say "no comment." Simply state "we don't comment on future operations," or "I'm not qualified to answer that question."

7. Never lie to the media. If you can't answer a question or don't know the answer, say so. Suggest where, or with whom the answer may be found.

8. Be brief and concise in answering questions. Use simple language, not military jargon or acronyms.

9. Think before you speak. When asked a question, stop, think, and then answer.

10. If you accidentally say something inappropriate, say so. Ask the reporter not to use your comment, and then report the incident to your commander.

11. Don't allow yourself to be badgered by the media. If necessary, politely end the interview and contact your commander or the PAO.

12. If you observe a reporter recording or viewing something classified, take immediate steps to protect the information and report the incident to your commander. Under no circumstances should you try to take notes, film or equipment from a reporter. Get the reporter's name and organization for your report.

13. Be positive in your answers. This is your opportunity to tell the public what a good job you and your unit are doing.

CONTINGENT ADJOURNMENT OF
THE HOUSE FROM CALENDAR
DAY OF FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 2,
1996 TO TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 6,
1996

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns on the calendar day of Friday, February 2, 1996 (legislative day of Thursday, February 1, 1996), it stand adjourned until 8 p.m. on Tuesday, February 6, 1996, unless the House sooner receives a message from the Senate transmitting its concurrence in House Concurrent Resolution 141, in which case the House shall stand adjourned pursuant to that concurrent resolution.

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

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I will not object, I do want to, for the RECORD, indicate that the minority has been consulted on the unanimous-consent request. We understand the merits of it and the necessity of it, and we have no objections at this time.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MFUME. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, under the gentleman's reservation, I would like to just take a moment to say farewell to my good friend from Maryland, Mr. MFUME. I have enjoyed my time that I

have had the privilege of serving here, and we have worked well together, and I must say that I can say, as my grandfather said about many of his acquaintances, that the gentleman from Maryland is indeed, as my grandfather would have said, a gentleman, a scholar and a poor judge of good whiskey, and I thank you for having allowed me the privilege of being your friend in this body.

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman very much for his kind remarks and for his friendship over the last decade as we have served together on a number of committees, fought a number of battles, and at the end of the day recognized that friendships really do matter and the ability to work together and compromise really is what this body is all about. I thank the gentleman for his kind remarks.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

FAREWELL ADDRESS BY KWEISI
MFUME

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. METCALF). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MFUME] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, for those Members that are still in their offices and others who are watching, this is in fact probably the last time that I will come into the well of the House of Representatives to address this Chamber and to address the people of the United States in this capacity.

As many of you know, on the 18th of this month, I will conclude my service here in the House of Representatives, lay my resignation forward, and move from that point on on the 18th into a new capacity, that being the President and CEO of the NAACP.

Mr. Speaker, I come to the well with mixed emotions but I come nonetheless because this has been for me a place of partisan wrangling and a place quite frankly to make amends. This well is used by Members for a number of things, most of which is to talk about their legislation, but it also, I think, ought to be a pulpit from which we seek to bridge a better understanding of one another, from which we try to build coalitions and from which we try to understand not just the Members of this Chamber but ourselves differently and also the millions upon millions of people throughout the United States who watch on a daily basis our actions as Members of this august body.

I came here, Mr. Speaker, 10 years ago, in the class of 1986. We were 51 in number and we were a part of what was known then as the historic 100th Con-

gress, a unique class, I think, in many respects, but a class nonetheless that I regret having to depart from as many others have before me.

□ 2215

But those were different days, and in many respects this was a different Congress and, indeed, perhaps even this was a different Nation.

I have fond memories of the years that I have served in this capacity. I would be remiss if I did not thank the people of Baltimore City and Baltimore County that comprise the Seventh Congressional District of Maryland for vesting in me year after year both in this capacity and previously in a local capacity their trust, their goodwill to represent them here in elected office. They have been good to me over the years, returning me to office with 84 percent of the vote in a day and in an age where there is a great deal of cynicism, when totalities are considered landslides if they approach 65 percent. So in that respect, I have been blessed.

I have also been blessed in these 10 years to have an opportunity to serve with a number of distinguished Members of the House, many of whom are still here, others who have gone on to other careers, and some of whom are no longer on this Earth.

I remember the days of serving with Claude Pepper of Florida, a distinguished gentleman who had in his heart of hearts one desire and one true commitment, to try to bring about change in this body with respect to how we viewed those in the twilight of their lives. I listened to Claude Pepper from this well as others did as he continued to talk about why we needed catastrophic health care in this country and why we ought to understand the treasure chest that we have and the repository that we have in our senior citizens, why we had to have a sensitivity toward them as we must have a sensitivity toward young people.

I remember Sil Conte of Massachusetts, a Republican who understood partisan debate and partisan discourse, but, who at the end of the day, recognized that we were all the same people cut in many respects from the same cloth and given, if we were lucky, the same challenge in this institution to heal and bring us together. Sil Conte passed away many years ago also, but it is the memory of him and Claude Pepper that reverberate in this Chamber, the memory of Mickey Leland coming from Houston, TX, with the desire to represent not only those in his district but those around the country who were voiceless and, indeed, ultimately those around the world who had no voice who in the end gave his life on a mountaintop in Africa trying to feed the hungry and to clothe the naked.

So it has been an interesting 10 years. Having served as I have under three Presidents, I have developed at least a different appreciation beyond what I learned in the classroom about the relationship between the legislative branch and the executive branch of

Government. Coming here as I did under Ronald Reagan's administration and leaving as I prepare to do now under the administration of Bill Clinton, it has for me been enlightening, and it has also been humbling.

Someone asked me today what things do you think about when you think about leaving this Chamber, and I said what I will miss most of all are the people, those who are here who serve now, those who were here, and perhaps even those who are running now in districts around the country because they have a desire to come here and to help this institution. I would caution those people, wherever they may be, no matter what State or region of this country, who seek to serve to remember that service has with it a great sense of humility, that these seats before us in which we sit day in and day out are not our seats. They belong to the people of the district that we represent. They are on temporary loan to us, and if we learn nothing else, if we are fortunate enough to get here, we must remember that at some point in time, and at some day in time we must return those seats to them.

I think about at this moment many of the major bills that have gone through this House in the last 10 years, how we debated in one of the more finest hours of this Congress the whole issue of the gulf war, whether or not there ought to be an American involvement, and to what extent that ought to be, a debate that carried over several days, and I think brought out the best of Members of this body on both sides of the aisle in a very wrenching issue that 5 years ago confronted us in the starkest of ways and one that we were able to come to grips with. I remember the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act when people in this country with all sorts of disabilities were thought somehow in some way to be second-class citizens, and many even thought that they had no rights or privileges that the law and this Congress were bound to respect, and when STENY HOYER of Maryland and others got together and allowed me to be a part of the sponsorship of that very historic piece of legislation, how even then people found problems with it. And yet you ask the disabled have their lives changed as a result of the Americans with Disabilities Act, and most would say it in fact has.

I remember in 1990 the desire to deal with what we thought was a rather aggressive Supreme Court, a Supreme Court that had turned back a number of civil rights cases, for whatever reason had begun moving judicially toward the right at a great speed, and how in that year we prepared for what was to ultimately be introduced in the next year the Civil Rights Act of 1991, and everyone then thought that we would either pass this or we would not pass it on the merits of the bill. But regrettably the merits got lost in the sauce, and people began to throw things on the table that were not here.

They spoke of quotas. They played the race card. They fanned the fears of everybody in this body to the extent that we became as polarized as the problems that we were trying to solve. But we worked on that day in and day out, month after month. Serving as an original cosponsor and as a conferee, watching as we did when the White House vetoed the bill and then working diligently because we did not give up to try to come up with something that would pass this body, we ultimately did that. It became known as the Civil Rights Act of 1991, and also became known as one of this body's most shining moments of the last 10 years.

Some of you recall the 5-year deficit reduction plan spearheaded by the Democratic leadership in this instance, ultimately passed by the full House that gave us real deficit reduction at a time in our history when people talked about it and if you were ready to move forward with it.

I could go on and on about what I consider to be the best moments of this body. But let me also talk about those moments that were far from the best, and in many instances became the worst, those moments when we fought beyond the principle and the power of ideas, when our ideas were put aside and put asunder so that we might then in a very emotional and gut sort of way deal with things that had nothing to do with the power of ideas and nothing to do with the right to object on principle, but went to the personal nature of Members of this body, personal attacks that not only belittled the person making them but lowered, I think, the dignity and the esteem of this body, times when we decided to talk about one's orientation or times when we laughed at the fact that one was in a minority group or times when we even spoke in a very strange, discordant way about what was wrong with the Democratic Party or what was wrong with the Republican Party on a personal level; the low points of this or any other Congress, those instances when we got out of the lofty, privileged, and blessed positions of being Members of Congress that would come here and debate the issue and debate the power of ideas and to stand on principles, and when we lowered ourselves to make very personal and vicious attacks at one another. I know the sort of tense debating that takes place in this body. I understand the emotion and the passion that comes with it.

But I would caution those who continue to serve and those who seek to serve to remember that the words that are inscribed behind me on this desk that speak of tolerance and justice and union and the words above me that say "In God we trust" must in fact be words that we live by. Otherwise, we lose our ability to effectuate the hearts and minds of other people and to effect change in such a way that we then have added to what we consider to be the lifestyle and the decor and the principles of America and instead have

detracted from them in a very evil and vicious way.

Now, I need to say just a couple of things, if I might, about staff. Obviously my own personal staff who year after year served with me, worked with me, believed in me, trusted me, became a family and became the kind of staff that I have been very proud of; I had a very, very low turnover rate in those 10 years, and I took a great deal of pride in that, because I think if you treat people as people, if you let them know what is expected of them and you give them goals and objectives and you allow them to work toward them, people then give you the maximum amount of productivity. People give you everything they have, and people in turn feel like people. They feel like they are included. I say that about my personal staff.

But I say it also about the committee staffs that serve this institution. Oh, they are significantly reduced from what they used to be. Maybe that is good, and maybe it is not so good. But they are still people, and they serve every committee of this institution, and they serve day in and day out, and they do not get a lot of fanfare or notoriety. But we are empowered as Members of Congress, because we have their wisdom and because we have their views and because we have what they give us in terms of their friendship.

Finally, it also includes the staff that works this floor. Some of you who watched the debate and the discussion on C-SPAN oftentimes will get a glimpse of some of the people who work here. Many of you will never get to know, however, the special people that they are, because they are people with their own unique stories, their own unique beliefs. They are Republican and they are Democrat, they come from different regions, they are different in many respects, but they serve this institution long hours, laboring day in and day out. Oh, they get a salary for it, true. But they also do it because they recognize how important this institution is, and the function of this institution is to the society that we all love and the society that we all come to embrace as Americans.

I have had some partisan battles here like all of us. I leave this place not with regrets but with fond memories. I leave it also with an understanding of what it takes to find true compromise and what it takes also to find true respect. I know that respect is earned, that it ought to be reciprocal, but it must first be earned.

And so I leave to take up the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the NAACP, 87 years old, formed in 1909 in an apartment in Manhattan, brought together by a number of converging forces in the first decade on this century, not that different from converging forces in the last decade of this century.

Charles Kellogg, in his book that chronicles the first two decades of the

NAACP writes about those forces when he says it was in fact a retreat judicially by a Supreme Court that had begun to render decisions that were moving the Negro back and not moving him forward. He spoke also about a Congress that was very reactionary in their moment and legislated in such a reactionary way that they were polarizing the country and not always bringing it together. He spoke about the periodicals of the intellectuals that, in their own way and through an academic entree, decided to talk about what was in fact wrong with people, so that in order for you to justify how you felt, you had now the periodicals of the intellectuals that talked about inferiorities that were genetic and otherwise, and he also talked about the need among the Negroes in this country to find a way to organize, to do the best they could to bring the best from them, to add and to contribute to the society.

But when you look at those converging forces that were there in 1909 in the first decade of this century and you look at the converging forces that are here now in 1996 in the last decade of that century, the similarities are frightening. There is still a Supreme Court that is legislating or, rather, rendering judicial decisions, as was the case in 1909, that are making it more difficult, not less difficult, for the Negro, as it were, to empower himself or herself and to move into the mainstream of American society. They talked about then, and there pretty much is today, reactionary forces in the Congress of the United States that legislate in such a way that we polarize communities too often and polarize people.

There is, as there was then, the periodicals of the intellectuals. We refer to them now as the bell curve. They are the academic entrees that talk about inferiority being genetic, thereby giving one the basis to legislate accordingly.

□ 2230

Mr. Speaker, and then there is also, as there was then, the need among African-Americans to understand that in bringing out the best in ourselves, and in working with other people, that we could, in fact, and will, contribute mightily to the fabric of the Nation that we all have come to love.

So, because it is the NAACP and because it is the same organization that offered the word "coalition" in the civil rights struggle and meant it, and means it today; because it is still prepared to work with all people; because it welcomes the support of Latinos, of like-minded whites, of Asians, of Native Americans, of people throughout the African diaspora in this country and elsewhere; because it recognizes that one must not be measured by their religious beliefs but, rather, what they have in their heart and what they bring to the table in the spirit of real compromise. That young people, those who were 4 and 5 and 6 years of age, to-

night really represent in a mirror image what this Nation will look like 20 years from now and why their fate is so desperately sealed to our fate. And because it understands also that as a historic American institution, it has a mission and a mandate to do all that it can as the NAACP, to once again try to heal our Nation, and to bring people together and to forge a new day.

We focus so much in our society on differences. Our differences of race, our differences of religion, our differences of ethnicity, our differences of opinion, that so much time is spent on differences that we have little time left over to spend on similarities, those ways in which we are all alike.

Everybody in this country believes that, if they could, they would like to have a better life for their children than they had. That is a very big similarity. Every person in this country wants to believe that they can have safe streets and a safe community. They want to think they can educate their children. They want to think they can grow old and die and watch America be a better nation at the point of their death as opposed to the point of their birth. Similarities that cut across race and gender and religion and everything else.

But when we focus on differences only, and focus on them in a negative way, we do a disservice. I think cultural differences are important. I think every cultural and religious group and ethnic group and racial group in this country ought to hold proudly to their heritage, ought to find ways and monuments that speak to them and pass on those traditions to another generation.

Those are positive differences that in the aggregate make America what she is. But when we focus on differences for the purpose of putting people down, and developing inferiorities, when we focus on differences to point out what is wrong instead of what is right, we do a disservice.

America at her best has treated such differences with a blend of common sense and compassion. America at her worst has treated those differences with the empty evenhandedness of Marie Antoinette. And so I would say to this Chamber and to all who serve here and in fact those who seek to serve, that we have a bigger mission in life because we carry a sacred trust. We asked to come to this body. We asked for people to vest their votes and their support in us. We asked for the opportunity to cast important votes.

We came here because we asked to be here, and someone heard us in the majority and we were elected. But it is a sacred trust, so we are responsible for more.

And as such, we must do more and worry less about whether or not we are going to get reelected in 2 years, and worry more about what kind of nation we help to build.

So, I leave this Chamber and this institution to do, as Kipling said, and that is to take "the road less trav-

eled." The road less traveled is still the road less certain. But in traveling it, if we navigate properly, if we understand what our road signs are, if we keep our eyes on our objective and on our mission, if we seek to be the good Samaritan on the way, and if we believe in our heart of hearts that at the end of that road there is a reward not for ourselves but for our country, then we do the sort of service that I think we can and must provide as people of America, from all walks of life and from all religions and races who understand the gift of this country. What makes it so very special is the unique way in which we have grappled with our problems and, because we are so diverse, we have before us a very unique and special history.

When you read Gibbons, "Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire" and other empires, there are certain things that are always precursors to those declines. Fortunately, every time we have met a precursor in this country, whether it was the evil institution of slavery; whether the denial of suffrage to women; whether it was the second class citizenship to minorities, we have tried to recognize those precursors when we met them and to recognize also that, if we did not deal with them, then all that led to the decline of other great empires would in fact lead to the decline of America.

I think we can still do that. We can still understand when things are wrong. We can still have the courage enough to recognize that the salvation of this Union is utmost. And if we are daring enough and believing enough both in God We Trust and in ourselves, then we will find a way to do that.

And this Union will be secure and safe for generations still unborn. So I bid a fond farewell to the Chamber and to all that I have served with. To those who taught me and to those who I have had a chance to teach, I shall be back again and again in another capacity. But I shall always be forever fond of the 10 years that I have served as a Member of the U.S. Congress.

Mr. Speaker, it has been said that the NAACP is the oldest and largest organization of its kind in the world—and it is.

It is said that it is the most effective of its kind—and it is. It said that it is the most consulted, most militant, most feared, and most loved organization of its kind in the world—and it is.

We have been charged with this from the genesis of our beginnings, in 1909.

Just a few moments ago we stood, ankle deep in mud in the roadways of the Old South, after blacks had trudged through hot fields and dusty hills to the ballot box only to be turned away due to the manufactured grandfather clauses, literacy clauses and, poll taxes. But we fought back.

In 1915, we stood side-by-side and took the battle back to the white marble chamber of the Supreme Court, where those racist tools of disenfranchisement were found to be in violation of the Constitution. But the battle did not end there.

Just a few moments ago in history, a black man could not walk down a road, could not go

into a store, could not go into a courtroom without the threat of a noose hanging over his head or a torch being thrust into his life.

Two years after the NAACP was founded, in a grimy steel town in southwestern Pennsylvania, a seriously wounded black man was charged with killing a police officer. He never had the chance to prove his innocence.

A mob of people dragged him from his hospital room in Coatesville and burned him alive. A conspiracy of silence prevented the mob leaders from receiving the justice they deserved. Racism was alive in the North.

On November 14th, 1915, southerners were witness to one of the most notoriously racist films of all time: D.W. Griffith's "Birth of A Nation." In it, reconstruction was distorted, emancipation was assailed, and blacks were reviled. And the heroes of the movie were the Ku Klux Klan.

From 1910 to 1919, 840 African-Americans were lynched in the United States of America.

In a Texas town in May of 1916, a mentally retarded black teenager was convicted of murdering a white woman. He would never have a chance at an appeal.

He was seized by a mob and taken to the public square. Before a crowd of 15 thousand people, fire and flames were the center of attention in what was then called "the Waco Horror" as the boy was tortured and burned alive.

When black soldiers were baited and harassed, they in the end would pay the harshest penalties. On a hot Houston day in 1917, race prejudice against members of the 24th Infantry led to violence. Seventeen whites and two blacks were dead when the smoke cleared.

A court martial sent 41 members of the all-black unit to life in jail. Four others were given long prison terms. And 20 of them were condemned to death. One-fifth of the condemned men were summarily executed without even the benefit of an appeal.

It was the NAACP that worked long and hard through four presidential administrations. Eventually 10 lives were saved, and the last man from the 24th Infantry was released from jail—21 years later. The battle did not end there.

In 1919, there was rampant brutality and military occupation of the Republic of Haiti. Three thousand citizens there were cut down by troops who claimed they were "bandits."

Censorship was rampant, news of the brutalities inflicted by the troops on our brothers and sisters there was suppressed. Why? The forces occupying Haiti were from the United States of America.

The NAACP pressured President Wilson. James Weldon Johnson went to Haiti and showed the world through his writings what kind of inhumanity was being visited upon the people there by the troops sent from the nation calling itself the land of the free.

It was this great organization that helped Haiti create an organization for independence, one modeled on our own. When they came to New York to lobby for their freedom, the offices they used their were the NAACP.

The NAACP learned early the political game and played presidential candidates off presi-

dential incumbents. When Woodrow Wilson wouldn't listen to us, Warren Harding would, and then President Wilson sat up and took notice.

Through the actions of the NAACP, the military presence was cut back. Through their investigations, the abuses were brought to light. And with the continued pressure, American occupation of Haiti was fully ended — almost 20 years later. And the battle did not end there.

From 1920 to 1927, 304 people were lynched in the United States of America.

The NAACP was issued a challenge to help end lynching by the philanthropist Philip Peabody. Peabody would help us help ourselves by donating ten-thousand dollars and more if we could match his grant by fundraising on our own.

It was the NAACP, massed and clad in white, that marched silently down New York's Fifth Avenue, to protest treatment of African-Americans.

Four times anti-lynching laws were introduced and passed in this House of Representatives. Four times those laws went down to defeat due to stonewalling, filibustering and indifference in the Senate. But people paid attention.

The esteemed and historic magazine of the NAACP, *The Crisis* was set upon by the Department of Justice as radical and seditious. In the end, it prevailed, and even flourished.

In 1929, 10 lynchings were recorded for the year.

But the battle could not end there.

Just a few moments ago in history, in the second decade of the 20th century, we stood arm-in-arm, as the NAACP took to the hallways of the courts of the District of Columbia to fight again. We were denied the simple right to ride streetcars as we chose, marry as we chose or be promoted within the Armed Forces as we deserved.

As this historic organization was in its infancy, African-Americans were limited within the military to two cavalry regiments and two infantry regiments. In many cases the only fighting seen by the rest of the blacks in uniform came only when the action got too close to the mess tent.

African-Americans were fighting regularly for the right to become commissioned or even non-commissioned officers in the military then, with the highest-ranking black officer of the era having been cashiered on the grounds of so-called "physical disability."

Later on, the Army was found out. When it was proven that they were reluctant to promote Charles Young, a graduate of West Point and the highest ranking African-American in the military. It just would not do to have a black general in the Army — heavens no. Only a colonel would do, and they felt he could also retire that way, as a colonel.

It was the NAACP that made sure Charles Young was restored again to active duty. But the battle did not end there.

We had to fight for every inch, we had to fight for every right — even in the military, which nowadays is one of the most integrated aspects of American life.

The Surgeon-General then, William Gorgas, felt what color you were determined who you worked on. It mattered not who was sick, who was ill, who was dying. Black nurses only nursed black wounds. Black dentists only fixed black teeth. Black doctors only saved black lives. And black units were still separate—and unequal.

It was the NAACP in 1931 that organized the defense of the Scottsboro Boys who were unjustly accused of rape. And the legal battles intensified and this organization sharpened itself and began to come into its own.

In 1938, when the Daughters of the American Revolution denied Diva Marian Anderson the use of Constitution Hall, it was once again the NAACP who took up the cause and fought for what was just and right.

In the 1950's, the desegregation battle began to take on a new urgency as the NAACP successfully battled against segregated public housing. And in 1954, it was the great Thurgood Marshall, who as the Director of the NAACP's Legal Defense and Education Fund, fought and won that historic Supreme Court case, *Brown versus Board of Education*, which outlawed once and for all the separate but equal doctrine in public education.

The next year, the NAACP joined with other civil rights groups and concerned Americans by taking an active role in the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott. This boycott was initiated after Rosa Parks made her valiant stand by refusing to give up her seat for a white passenger.

As our Nation entered the turbulent 60's, the NAACP was there, front and center. In 1963 I remember marching the historic March on Washington from our black and white television. We couldn't afford the bus trip from Baltimore, but I felt the power nevertheless.

By 1965 the power of the NAACP had reached a new pinnacle when President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act. After years of fighting for basic equality, the dream was finally becoming real.

As the needs of the African American community have changed, so has this historic, beloved organization. In the 1970's and 80's the NAACP tackled educational excellence and established SAT Preparation clinics which helped raise the average test scores by 50 points. And the organization continues to grow and meet the demands of the day.

New efforts have been made to attack discrimination through legal and legislative means. Child welfare and mentoring programs have taken on a new urgency. Economic empowerment programs have been launched to make the logical next step in the civil rights movement. And just last month in Stone Mountain, Georgia we launched the new Voter Empowerment Project, which seeks to energize the electorate from the bottom up. This new effort was initiated because of court rulings that have eroded the Voting Rights Act.

Some of our gravest crises have come from within. This was an organization born of wealthy white liberals, nurtured by newspapers and brought into its own by the black intelligentsia.

Booker T. Washington had honest differences of opinion with W.E.B. DuBois at the start of this organization. Washington's Niagara Movement was in open disagreement with the new association tasked with the advancement of our peoples. It continued until Washington was dead, and debate and differences continue even now.

W.E.B. DuBois differed with Walter White over the future of the NAACP and the finances necessary to run it. It continued until DuBois resigned.

How little times change.

It is time we stand up to say again—"The battle begins here."

Where once it was poll taxes and literacy tests, now it is cries of reverse discrimination and a roll back of voting rights.

When we once were subject to the noose and the torch, we are now plagued by the pipe and the needle and crimes against each other.

Where once our mother and sister countries of Africa and Haiti were run through by colonization and occupation, so they are now by militarization and discrimination.

We were not monolithic then, nor are we now. We have different agendas, we follow different drummers, we have differing destinies. But all of them are intertwined with who we are.

If we cannot remind ourselves of the challenges overcome in the past, we will never overcome the obstacles set in our future. The battle begins here.

We have fought in the courts—we can do so again, now. We have made presidents listen by the force of our numbers and our will. We can do so again, now.

We can vote in greater numbers. . . .

Speak, in louder voices. . . .

Write, with sharper pens. . . .

Walk, with bigger strides. . . .

Act, with firmer conviction. . . .

Look forward, with stronger resolve. . . .

And fight . . . fight with the knowledge that history is on our side. We have won before. We can do so again, now.

Just a few moments ago in history we overcame all that 41 percents, nine wars, and innumerable verdicts could put in our way. That is all history now. . . .

The conscience of America is resting in our hands. We can cup them and nourish our freedoms or we can open them and see them blow to the winds.

Let us pray that our hands, joined together, will know what's right for us, our children and our future.

And so, it is for me a high honor and a distinct privilege to be selected in the capacity of President-designate or our Nation's largest and oldest civil rights organization. I am honored to have been chosen for this opportunity, and I am moved by the support that our Chairwoman, the members of the search committee and the members of the board have shown me.

The decision to accept this new opportunity did not come lightly. For the last 16 years, I have served in elected office: seven years in local government and the last nine as a Member of the United States Congress. To the people of Baltimore, who year after year have

given me the opportunity to represent them and who continue to vest their confidence and trust in my abilities, I am, and forever will be, grateful.

At this point in time, however, I am convinced, without reservation, that I can best affect social, economic and political change in the broader capacity that the NAACP represents.

As you all know, the NAACP is at a critical point in its history. In fact it is at the most critical point. Our focus must be on: First, increasing political power by organizing and energizing voters in every congressional district in America; second, emphasizing educational excellence and individual responsibility; and third, creating an infrastructure for empowerment and economic parity. There is much work to be done and the time for such work is now. We must, without equivocation or timidity, reclaim our rightful place as the voice of African-Americans and others who believe in the power and the premise that all persons are, in fact, created equal. The task before us will be significant, but all challenge is significant. The greater challenge will not be measured by its size, but rather by our willingness to accept it. As such, there must be an ever escalating crescendo of clear and consistent voices that become part of the national dialogue and the national debate.

The extreme ultra-conservative policies of the far right wing in our nation are draconian and punitive. They are policies that punish the elderly, restrict the poor, and deny opportunity to our children. Those policies must be countered with effective and realistic responses that reflect our need as a society for inclusion and tolerance. We can only do that by reinvigorating the age-old concept of coalitions where people work together for the common good.

Racism, sexism, anti-Semitism cannot, and will not, be allowed to enjoy a comfortable and quiet acceptance. The damaging divisions brought about by xenophobia cannot be allowed to color our thinking about those who come to our shores in search of a better life. Fear, which often finds its incubator in our refusal to stand up for what is right, will forever be challenged by a new NAACP—reunited and reinvigorated at the threshold of change.

At the risk of understatement, we all know that the task ahead will not be easy. The time is now to restore the financial, spiritual and political health of this historic American institution. As such, we must move quickly toward that end, and my job is to provide the leadership to make that happen. Make no mistake about it, there will be change. It will be swift, it will be focused, and it will be constructive. Efficiency and fiscal integrity within the organization will not be just a concept. It must, in fact, become a reality. We will re-tool our apparatus and re-harness our energies.

The time is now for a new generation to join the NAACP. While we value maturity and experience, we must also learn to cherish youth. Thus, I reach out today to a new generation to join in this effort. And I reach out to the current generation and say to you in the clearest of terms that it's alright to come back home to the NAACP.

We are at the crossroads of tremendous change in our nation. Despite the gains made by African-Americans, racism continues to divide our country and polarize people. We can stand by and watch in the comfort of our own circumstance, or we can step forward and dare to lead.

The NAACP has a long and proud history filled with major accomplishments that have changed forever the America that we know and love. The lives of millions of our citizens who are black, white, Asian, and Hispanic have been made better because of it. Yet, our country is still in desperate need.

In his renowned chronology of the NAACP from 1909 to 1920, Charles Kellogg begins his historical work with the following observation: "In the first decade of the twentieth century few voices were raised in defense of the Negro and his rights as a citizen of the United States. Reactionary attitudes about race had been strengthened. [And] by 1909, the civil rights gained during reconstruction had been severely limited. The prevailing attitudes toward the Negro were reflected in the sensational press, in the hate literature, in the periodicals of the intellectuals, in court decisions reinterpreting the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, and in legislation."

Eighty-six years later, in the last decade of the same century, again, few voices are being raised in defense of African-Americans and their rights as citizens of the United States. Reactionary attitudes about race regrettably continue to be strengthened. Civil rights gained during the second reconstruction have now also been severely limited. And, the prevailing attitudes toward minorities are still reflected in the sensational press, in the hate literature, in the periodicals of the intellectuals and in court decisions.

Only a strong, revitalized and focused NAACP can accept the realities that were present in that first decade and readjust to the challenges still present in this last decade.

I look forward to this gift of opportunity to serve in a different but continued public capacity and I thank God Almighty for continuing to bless me.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues Louis Stokes and Donald Payne in celebration of Black History Month. This special order has now become a time-honored tradition in the House, and I always enjoy participating.

Black History Month is a time of reflection and honor. During Black History Month, we recall and pay tribute to the towering achievements and inspiring contributions that African-Americans have made to this country. It is a time to reflect on the progress we have made as a society based on the constitutional principles of liberty, equality, and justice. It also is a time to assess, as individuals, our personal role and responsibility to our fellow citizens, our children, and our Nation's future.

During Black History Month, we honor those men and women who influenced, shaped, and altered American life, culture, and politics—those who believed in a democracy that would not tolerate prejudice and discrimination, those who fought brutal injustice with the power of moral truth.

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 American's sports heroes, such as Arthur Ashe, the great activist and renowned humanitarian, who inspired all Americans with his courage. We honor the scientists and educators, who labored so hard to overcome the racial barriers in our society and proved that America could not afford to squander the talent and knowledge of African-Americans. We recall the words and visions of some

of our Nation's most revered ministers and theologians, such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who braved the wrath of society to change our society to fit the principles it espoused but did not practice.

Black History Month has a broader significance as well. It is a critical prism through which to view America's history overall. Our examination of this history is both painful and shameful, but it is also essential as only in this way can we appreciate the importance of this country's ability to redress past injustices. Only with the awareness of past wrongs can we define our future as one in which the right to live with dignity and freedom from persecution will be accorded all Americans. Only with the knowledge of our heritage and the conviction that we are indeed a Nation of people "endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights," can we practice the teachings of those whose legacy we remember today.

One of our better teachers, who I would like to honor today is the Honorable Barbara Jordan. She left us just a few short weeks ago but her incredible spirit will remain with us forever.

We all know of her impressive educational, political, and legal background. However, it ease her eloquence and sense of integrity which made her such a gifted leader. She championed opportunity, demanded equality, and vociferously espoused the principles of equal opportunity for all Americans.

There are some in this body who carry with them a "Contract With America." But it was Barbara Jordan who carried in her purse a copy of the U.S. Constitution which we as American legislators all need to uphold. During the historic Watergate hearings, it was Barbara Jordan who said, "My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total, and I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator to the imminution, the subversion, the destruction of the Constitution." As we celebrate Black History Month, it is my hope that every Member of this body heeds Barbara Jordan's words.

Mr. MARTINI. Mr. Speaker, February has been celebrated as Black History Month since 1976, but the origins of this event date as far back as 1926 to Carter G. Woodson, a noted historian and author. Black History Month is a special month designed to recognize the heritage, contributions, and achievements of African-Americans, and I rise today to recognize and pay tribute to the holistic experiences and culture of African-Americans. Their experiences have contributed so much to this great Nation, and their culture is an inseparable part of American culture.

The 1995 National Black history theme, "Reflections on 1895: Douglass, Du Bois, Washington" causes us to be reflective of the visions and dreams of three men of vigor who tenaciously championed the cause for freedom through vigilant, assertive, non-violent action. These three men personified resolve, dedication, and commitment, and with these characteristics they were able to alter the course of history. Their courage and successes empowered Black Americans. Their memories and accomplishments should empower all Americans.

African-Americans have made great strides in recent years, assuming leadership positions in record numbers, and uniting to address and solve shared problems and ailments and cele-

brate successes and victories. A great amount of opportunities exist in an increasingly expansive number of fields. African-Americans in the 1990's are finding that mobility and equal opportunity are the norm rather than the exception.

At this time we should look to past and present leaders in the African-American community and heed their cries. Frederick Douglass, the foremost voice in the abolitionist movement of the nineteenth century called for freedom and equality; W.E.B. Du Bois, and editor, scholar, author, and civil rights leader called on Blacks to cultivate their own aesthetic and cultural values; Booker T. Washington, an educator and statesman advocated economic self-sufficiency, self-help, and moral advancement; and Martin Luther King, Jr., a cleric, educator, and recipient of the Nobel Peace prize, led the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950's and 1960's calling for equality. The list is expansive and we must not forget the prolific writings of Alice Walker, Toni Morrison, Richard Wright, and Ralph Ellison; the music of Louis Armstrong, Miles Davis, and Ella Fitzgerald; and the courage and moral rectitude of Rosa Parks.

These men and women have messages for us all. By rediscovering their hopes, aspirations, and successes we can forge ahead and continue where they left off. America is a special country indeed. We are privileged to be the most diversified, democratic country in the world. Our culture as a people is personified by our demographics. Everything that we are is interrelated to our history. Black History Month is not just for African-Americans, rather it is for all Americans. The separate but equal doctrine of the past has been abandoned, and a united and equal doctrine must be ushered in and secured; a nation divided is a nation at risk. The heritage, achievements, trials, tribulations, contributions, and successes of African-Americans should be remembered 365 days a year, not only in February.

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank both the Congressional Black Caucus for reserving a special order to observe Black History Month, and the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. CARDIN] for reserving a special order yesterday to honor our distinguished colleague, Congressman KWEISI MFUME.

Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago this month, as a freshman Member of Congress, I delivered my first speech on the floor of the House of Representatives in honor of Black History Month. I could not have been more proud to dedicate my first address in this Chamber to the celebration of African-American freedom and accomplishment.

As many of my colleagues know, I have a special link to the African-American struggle for freedom. Some 35 years ago, I rode though Mississippi as a freedom rider and witnessed first-hand the desperate and often brutal attempts to preserve segregation. In that summer of 1961, Mississippi was a war zone. Innocent black Americans were beaten and killed. Angry mobs attacked black men and women at will. Random gunfire contributed to an environment of terror and fear.

I spent several months in a Mississippi State Penitentiary isolation cell as a result of my efforts in the struggle for equality.

We have come a long way since then. Today, African-Americans have more opportunities open to them than ever before. African-Americans attend our Nation's finest schools,

are some of America's most successful entrepreneurs, and hold office at the highest levels of state and federal government.

African-American children can base their hopes and dreams on a host of African-American heroes: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, Thurgood Marshall, Maya Angelou, and many other who have led the fight for equality and justice. But we still have much to accomplish.

Thousands of people whose names do not yield national recognition bravely continue the struggle every day for the rights of African-American. The spirit of Black History Month applies to these local heroes who stand as more than a symbol of success to African-American youth. These are people who offer a helping hand, a smiling face, or a word of encouragement to young African-Americans. These are people who make a personal and direct contribution to the lives of young African-Americans in their communities.

There are many such heroes in California's 50th Congressional District. As the focus of this year's Black History Month is on African-American women, I will mention one who, along with her husband, has made a profound difference in the San Diego community.

Evelyn George of San Diego realized 18 years ago that the money her husband, Aaron, spent on cigarettes could be used on something more constructive. She implored him to give up his smoking habit, and together they transformed their home into a Christmas wonderland for neighborhood children each December—complete with ferris wheels, merry-go-rounds, caroling angels, a nativity scene, and nearly 5,000 holiday lights.

After 18 years, Aaron George has become known as the "Black Santa" of San Diego, handing out more than 2,700 candy canes, signing some 325 autographs, and posing for more than 250 pictures for area children this year alone.

This Christmas was a difficult one for Mr. George. Evelyn, his wife of 42 years, passed away in July. In her honor, Aaron has promised to maintain the display every Christmas, bringing joy to the lives of hundreds of young San Diegans.

There are thousands of other African-Americans in San Diego and across the Nation making unique and positive contributions to their communities. But there is also reason for concern in the African-American community. Division and hatred, always lurking in the depths of interracial relations, have begun to surface again with unprecedented ferocity, threatening the strides that whites and blacks have made together.

No one understands this threat better than Congressman KWEISI MFUME. During his 9 years in Congress, he has emerged as a national leader and advocate for the rights of African-Americans. His leadership abilities were brilliantly displayed during his 2-year term as chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, a period during which the caucus achieved unprecedented levels of influence.

Individuals of Congressman MFUME's character and intelligence rarely are able to keep their value secret for long. It was to no one's surprise, then, that Congressman MFUME was chosen to be chief executive officer of the NAACP, a proud organization that has fought for the rights of African-Americans since the early part of this century.

The House of Representatives will lose a great leader, an ardent advocate and a brilliant legislator as Congressman MFUME leaves to assume his new responsibility. But our loss is the NAACP's gain. I am confident that Congressman MFUME will make great strides in the advancement of the rights of African-Americans and continue his effort to improve interracial relations throughout the country. These goals are given special significance during the celebration of Black History Month.

Mr. SABO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my strong support for Black History Month. This year we are celebrating African-American women of yesterday, today, and tomorrow. In Minnesota, we are fortunate to have a fine tradition of civic leaders who have dedicated their lives to enriching the lives of others through their selfless contributions. Today, I'd like to recognize three, among many, of the African-American women in Minnesota who have become shining role models for us all.

In its brief history, the State of Minnesota has had many fine leaders who were also African-American women. In 1923, Ethel Ray Nance—1899–1992—was the first black woman hired by the Minnesota Legislature and was the first black police woman in Minnesota. During her long life, Ms. Nance was an activist in several civil rights organizations, including the National Association for Advancement of Colored People [NAACP]. She also served as the director of research for the National Urban League.

In more recent years, Nellie Stone Johnson, who celebrated her 90th birthday in December 1995, has been one of the most outspoken and thoughtful leaders in Minnesota's African-American community. Generations of Minnesotans owe Nellie a great deal for her dedication to community building, to civil rights, and to economic fairness. In the tradition of Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale, Nellie Stone Johnson has been rock solid in her commitment to the most vulnerable in our society.

Finally, representing a new generation of African-American women leaders, Minneapolis Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton, elected in 1993, is the first African-American and the first female mayor of Minneapolis. Mayor Sayles Belton began her public service career immediately after college—when as a civil rights worker she traveled to Jackson, MS, to register voters. She later became the first African-American president of the Minneapolis City Council. As mayor, she has continued her efforts to strengthen families and children by focusing on education, crime prevention, and the economic development of neighborhoods in the city.

I am proud to say that these women, and many other African-Americans, have had an important impact on my life and the lives of many Minnesotans. I wish to thank them for their service to the community, the women's movement, and the United States of America. All citizens should be grateful for their accomplishments and endeavors. Mr. Speaker, as we observe Black History Month, I commend Ethel Ray Nance, Nellie Stone Johnson, Mayor Sayles Belton, and all African-Americans for their contributions to our society.

Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in proud observa-

tion of Black History Month and its 1996 theme, "African-American Women: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." I thank the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, Congressman PAYNE, and the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, Congressman STOKES, for once again reserving this annual special order.

This year, as we celebrate the vital role which African-American women have played in our Nation's growth and development, I would first like to spend a moment reflecting on the life of one of the most influential of these women who recently passed away, the Honorable Barbara Jordan of Texas.

Having served with Barbara in this House, I can tell you first hand of the tremendous intellect, passion, and presence she commanded. As an untiring, articulate, and outspoken defender of the Constitution and the rights and liberties of all citizens, she was effective in ensuring access to legal services for the poor, advancing consumer protection at the Federal level, and securing a livable minimum wage for all working Americans among other numerous achievements.

Morton Dean of ABC News summed up the overwhelming impact Barbara Jordan had on American society when he said, "Where she walked, barriers fell, historic barriers against blacks and women in politics. When she talked hearts swelled, awakened to America's potential." We will all miss her deeply.

But before Barbara Jordan, Mr. Speaker, there were other African-American heroines who blazed a path of opportunity for her, and there will be many more who will come after. It is each and every one of these women that we also honor today.

We all know of Hattie McDaniel, the first African-American to win an Academy Award for her role in "Gone with the Wind" in 1939. Her breakthrough performance opened the door for other black actresses and performers such as Lena Horne, Cicely Tyson, Whoopi Goldberg, and Angela Bassett to showcase their talents and skills on both the American and world stage and screen.

Nor can we forget in the field of literature the incredible poetry of Phillis Wheatley and Maya Angelou, novels of Toni Morrison and Alice Walker, and writings of Jean Toomer and June Jordan. These African-American authors have lifted our spirits, our hopes, and our dreams with their thoughtful words and honest reflections.

From inspirational words stem inspirational music and we would be remiss not to mention the incredible jazz vocals of "The First Lady of Song," Ella Fitzgerald, or the deep rhythm and blues notes belted out by "The Queen of Soul," Aretha Franklin. What about Billie Holiday, Mahalia Jackson, Sarah Vaughan, and Dinah Washington?—each of them being an exceptional African-American female artist of the modern era.

In the world of sports, black women have as role models the outstanding track and field star Jackie Joyner-Kersey, holder of the world record in the heptathlon and winner of four Olympic medals in this event as well as Althea Gibson, the first African-American tennis player to participate in and win a championship at Wimbledon.

I could go on and on for hours Mr. Speaker, elaborating on the lives of courageous abolitionists Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman,

the great civil rights activists Rosa Parks and Fannie Lou Hamer, and such deft legislators as Shirley Chisholm and, as I have mentioned, Barbara Jordan. As you can see, African-American women have an exceptionally rich history of contributions to this country, from the arts and athletics to politics and our overall social progress. It is therefore only fitting that this year's observance of Black History Month recognizes and heralds the many accomplished and talented among us, before us, and those yet to come.

Again, I thank my distinguished colleagues for this special order and yield back the balance of my time.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. METCALF). Pursuant to clause 12 of rule I, the House stands in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 38 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. METCALF) at 12 o'clock and 1 minute a.m.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mrs. SEASTRAND (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) after 4:30 p.m. today and for the balance of the week on account of illness in the family.

Mr. RADANOVICH (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) after 4:30 p.m. today on account of illness in the family.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

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

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

Mr. VOLKMER, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. NORTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. UNDERWOOD, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. TOWNS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mrs. CLAYTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MILLER of California, for 5 minutes, today.

Mrs. MALONEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. WISE, for 5 minutes, today.

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

Mr. TIAHRT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan, for 5 minutes, today.