

getting this relief money to those people who so desperately, desperately need it.

I know the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LIVINGSTON] from the Committee on Appropriations said yesterday that he expects strong bipartisan support and quick action, and the people of those devastated areas certainly deserve nothing less.

I am also, in conclusion, grateful to the Speaker. I know the gentleman invited him to tour the area to see firsthand how bad it is. I appreciate the invitation to go along with the Speaker. My favorite cousins had to evacuate their homes in Grand Forks. In fact, their daughter and her husband and little baby do not know what they have to come back to. It is in the area that is hard hit. We do not know for sure at this time. But I know the Speaker has made a commitment to support whatever is necessary to get this flood-ravaged area repaired and restored, and to help the people in the short term as well.

We will be there with the full cost of emergency rescue and cleanup. We will be there for the permanent repair and restoration of facilities, as well as the short-term assistance, the disaster unemployment relief, the disaster food stamps. Then, over the longer term, we will be there with a Federal task force; a Marshall plan, as the President called it, for flood-ravaged areas.

I thank my friend, the gentleman from North Dakota for yielding to me, and for the tremendous job that he has done in serving his people well.

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his remarks. The majority leader, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARMEY], said when it comes to disasters, once a North Dakotan, always a North Dakotan. The Congressman, although so capably representing Minnesota, has certainly shown with the depths of his concern and the sincerity of the energy behind his effort to do something to help that that is true for him as well.

Mr. Speaker, this concludes the portion of our discussion about the Grand Forks, ND disaster and the disaster that has impacted our entire area. I do ask for Members' support and prayers. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

#### TRIBUTE TO JAMES FARMER, CIVIL RIGHTS FREEDOM FIGHTER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LEWIS] is recognized for the remaining 18 minutes of the hour of the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. POMEROY].

#### GENERAL LEAVE

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

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

There was no objection.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker I rise to pay tribute to one of the last of a special breed of freedom fighters, James Farmer. His voice has been strong and reliable; his leadership, invaluable. However, James Farmer has never sought the limelight. In the course of history and fate, he has not been given his due. We owe it to ourselves and to the unborn generations to stop and pay tribute to this great man, and that is why we are here tonight, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from the District of Columbia, ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his great generosity in yielding to me. First, in light of some unavoidable scheduling difficulties, I will be brief, but I believe I had to come forward, because, Mr. Speaker, I was in the nonviolent army of Jim Farmer, and if I may say so, in the nonviolent army where one of the commanders was the gentleman who has the remaining period, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LEWIS].

He and I, because we were in that army, needed to come forward to pay tribute to a man who, as the gentleman from Georgia has said, many in America do not know, but who everybody knew in the 1960's when he led the nonviolent marches, and encouraged Americans to remain nonviolent in the face of what might otherwise have been temptations into violence.

The name of James Farmer is, indeed, a name that will go down in history as one of the great civil rights leaders of the 20th century. James fought the brutality of racism through nonviolent means, making him one of the Nation's most recognizable and influential black leaders in the 1960's.

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In 1942, Jim Farmer and several Christian pacifists founded the Congress of Racial Equality with the goal of using nonviolent Gandhian tactics to challenge American racism. Under his leadership, the Congress of Racial Equality, or CORE as it became called, began a campaign of sit-ins which successfully ended discrimination in two Chicago restaurants in 1947. Later he would be appointed the executive director of CORE, and in 1961 his group would initiate the famous freedom rides throughout the Deep South. The gentleman from Georgia will tell you all about those rides.

Like Martin Luther King, Jr., Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and other courageous black men of the early civil rights movement, Jim Farmer was no stranger to the danger of organizing nonviolent demonstrations in the tumultuous South of the 1960's. Jim Farmer literally put his life on the line more than once in the struggle for civil rights. In 1963, outside the town of

Plaquemine, LA, a mob of State troopers hunted for him after he organized nonviolent demonstrations. He said and I am quoting him: "I was meant to die that night, they were kicking open doors, beating up blacks in the streets, interrogating them with electric cattle prods." And remarkably, Jim made his escape by playing dead in the back of a hearse which carried him along back roads out of town.

This articulate and charismatic leader continued to spread the method of nonviolent demonstrations throughout the country. Under his direction, CORE organized voter registration and civil protests like the 1964 demonstration at the New York World's Fair to protest black conditions in that city. In 1966, Jim Farmer resigned from CORE and a leadership role and went on to continue his work in civil rights in other ways. As president of the Center for Community Action, he championed adult literacy. His service with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was noteworthy for programs increasing black employment in the agency under President Richard Nixon. Later he would direct the Council on Minority Planning and Strategy here in Washington.

The gentleman from Georgia, several other Members of Congress and I have written the President to ask that the Medal of Freedom be awarded to this great American who was among the class of the great civil rights leaders of the 1960's. He is, Mr. Speaker, today blind. He has lost the use of both of his legs. And yet with the indomitable determination for which he was known in his younger years, he continues as a distinguished professor of history and American studies at Mary Washington College in Fredericksburg, VA.

This is a very distinguished American. He helped originate the nonviolent approach that saved our country from race war. One of the originators of this approach among the young people, I must say, Mr. Speaker, was the gentleman from Georgia, who perhaps more than any man in America suffered physically for his commitment to nonviolence. But he would be the first to note his gratitude to a man who was his senior and the leader of us all because we were young whippersnappers learning from the likes of Jim Farmer.

Few if any countries have solved so serious a problem, so deep a problem as American racism nonviolently. Martin Luther King, Jr., was not the only apostle of nonviolent resistance and peaceful approaches to breaking down racial barriers. He is only the best known. One of the very best known of course continues to serve in this Congress, and that is the gentleman from Georgia. But the fact is that in these days, when we decry violence in our country, we would do well to look to the leadership of those who were willing to die for nonviolent change.

The moment of civil rights triumph may be a distant memory to some.

After all, we are a generation removed, but certain ideas never lose their currency and one of those ideas is equality. Another of those ideas is racial harmony. And Jim Farmer stood proudly for both and would stand proudly for both today. The President of the United States, Mr. Speaker, has said that race relations is one of the priorities of his second term and well it might be.

Mr. Speaker, we ought to be worried about race relations in our country today, so many of us are comfortable, the smaller the group. The fact is that when the gentleman from Georgia and I were young troops in the nonviolent armies of the South, I think it fair to say that there was greater communication often across racial lines than there is today. We are not nostalgic about the past, but there are some parts of the past that I would like to recall. One way to recall and to pay a debt the country owes is for President Clinton to award the Medal of Freedom to an American hero, a man who suffered for it, a man who stood on principle and a man who taught America that its gravest social problem could be solved and could be solved nonviolently.

The life of Jim Farmer recalls us to first principles, brotherhood and sisterhood, if you will, racial equality and racial and ethnic harmony. These are great American principles. They have had their ups and they have had their downs, but they are and must remain with us in perpetuity. I thank the gentleman from Georgia for his great generosity in yielding to me.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] for those very moving words. We are grateful for her leadership, for coming here tonight to recognize Jim Farmer.

Mr. Speaker, we really did not hear a lot about nonviolence as a part of the early civil rights movement until the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. But that was actually almost 15 years after the use of Gandhian principles in the struggle for civil rights. Jim Farmer, this brave warrior, did it first.

When Jim Farmer graduated from the School of Theology at Howard University in 1941, he went to work for a pacifist organization in Chicago, the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Farmer had been studying the nonviolent techniques and teaching of Gandhi. He marveled at the success of Gandhi's 1930 salt march to the sea. He suggested to the Fellowship of Reconciliation that they find ways to use Gandhi techniques, civil disobedience, direct action, and nonviolence in the battle against segregation. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, better known as FOR, did not take his suggestion. It did not attempt to discourage him but said that it would not sponsor such activity at that time. So Jim enlisted some of his friends, an interracial group, mostly graduate students at the University of Chicago, and they founded what they

called CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality.

One evening after a CORE meeting, Jim and a white friend stopped by the Jack Spratt Coffee Shop. Farmer wanted to order a doughnut. He was told that he could not be served. Farmer told the waiter that he was violating State law by refusing to serve him. The waiter said, fine, that doughnut will be \$1. The usual selling price was 5 cents.

The next day Farmer came back with about 20 of his friends. The whites in the group were served; the blacks were not. But no one would eat until everyone was served. They very calmly explained that it would be rude to do otherwise. The result was that they all ended up sitting there all day.

For 3 or 4 days they came back to Jack Spratt Coffee Shop first thing in the morning and tied up almost every seat for almost all of the day. It did not take Jack Spratt long to give in and serve everyone. Farmer sent them a nice letter thanking them for changing their policy. This was our Nation's first nonviolent sit-in. That was April 1942, 55 years ago this month.

Gandhi's technique of civil disobedience, direct action, and nonviolence has worked. Jim Farmer was right. Fifty years ago, in 1947, Farmer led CORE members in a challenge to the practice of segregated seating on buses traveling interstate. The U.S. Supreme Court had ruled the year before that blacks could not be forced to ride in the back of the bus. On what he called the journey of reconciliation, they traveled through Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and West Virginia. Some members of that group included Bayard Rustin. Three were arrested and they served 30 days on a chain gang in North Carolina for having violated local segregation laws. But in 1961, Farmer organized the Freedom Ride. He came here to Washington on May 1, 1961; 13 of us, 7 whites and 6 blacks, Farmer, like myself, who was one of the original freedom riders. In May 1961, we left Washington, DC to travel throughout the South.

Some of us pretended during those workshops to be white and some said horrible things and beat others of us up. We discussed what we could expect on the freedom ride. We resisted violence. We practiced being nonviolent. We prayed. We prepared ourselves for the worst. Three days later, we set out on the Freedom Ride on May 4, 1961.

Officials in the southern States knew we were coming. Jim had sent them letters in advance. Virginia and North Carolina took down their white-only and colored-only signs that had been hanging in the bus station. We had no problem there. South Carolina was a different story. When we arrived in a little town called Rock Hill, there were young men waiting for us. They would not allow us to enter the waiting room. I explained to them my rights under a Supreme Court decision and they clubbed each one of us.

But Farmer had trained us well. My eyes, like others', were on the prize.

Nothing could stop me or the others. We were on a mission.

When we got to Birmingham, Bull Connor, the chief of police, had his officers put newspapers on the bus windows so that we could not see out. When we arrived on the scene, he ordered the troopers to take us into protective custody. They put us in jail where we stayed until the next day.

We went on a hunger strike. You see, that was one of the techniques of nonviolence Jim Farmer had taught us. The media attention would be focused on our hunger strike, and Bull Connor would not want to risk our getting sick or starving on his watch. By going on a hunger strike, we were going to force Bull Connor to change his behavior, to change whatever plans he may have had for us and treat us differently than he may have otherwise. It worked.

But the next day, Bull Connor drove us 150 miles to the State line and told us to get out. We walked and walked until we found a black couple that took us in and fed us. We called fellow students in Nashville, and they came to pick us up and took us back to Birmingham to resume the ride. I guess Bull Connor must have thought these young people are like fleas. We can get rid of them. But that is what Jim Farmer taught us. Go on, get under their skin.

Mr. Speaker, James Farmer, this good and decent man, taught us how to practice the philosophy and the discipline of nonviolence. Jim Farmer was one of the big six of the civil rights movement, and with each of us Jim was scheduled to speak at the March on Washington in 1963. But rather than coming to the March on Washington, he was arrested and placed in jail in a parish in Louisiana. And he stayed there with the people rather than coming to speak at the March on Washington.

Mr. Speaker, let me close tonight by saying, James Farmer is not in good health tonight. But he is still teaching at Mary Washington College where he is a distinguished professor of history and American studies. He continues to inspire his students and all those who are blessed as I was to come in contact with him, to set goals, direct action, to be creative, to have a vision, and keep the faith.

Mr. Speaker, as a nation and as a people, we are more than lucky, but we are blessed to have had this man in our midst to lead American people toward the creation of a truly beloved community, toward the creation of an interracial democracy. So we are doing the right thing here tonight, Mr. Speaker, by honoring this great man, James Farmer.

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, 55 years ago, James Farmer had the tenacity and passion to organize and lead the first sit-in at the Jack Spratt Coffee Shop in Chicago, IL. This director of the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE] during the height of the civil rights movement is still around to tell what it was like at the helm.

Farmer's determination grew from an early incident. At the age of 3½, he learned about racism for the first time when he was denied a Coca-Cola because of the color of his skin in Holly Springs, MS. From that day forward, he was burdened with a desire to bring about racial harmony and equality.

James Farmer is the last of the "Big Four" civil rights movement leaders. The other three coleaders of the civil rights movement of the 1960's are not around to tell their stories and give their historical perspective on America. The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Whitney Young of the Urban League are now deceased.

However, James Farmer is still with us. Referred to as a "young Negro aristocrat", Farmer was born in Texas, where his father was the first black person to earn a Ph.D. degree. Today, he is 77 years old, blind and he has lost the use of both legs.

As we approach a new millennium, Americans and the world are still trying to bring about racial justice and understanding; a philosophy Farmer espoused when he began training an interracial group of 13 young people in the nonviolent techniques of Gandhi. To ensure that this history is never lost, it is fitting that Mr. James Farmer be awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his meritorious contributions to our society.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to add my voice to those of my colleagues in appreciation of and respect for a quiet hero, Mr. James L. Farmer. During the turbulent 1960's, he rightfully earned his place as one of the "Big Four" in the civil rights movement along side the other giants: Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Though famous for founding the Congress for Racial Equality, James Farmer was an unassuming, modest man. For that reason, many Americans—African-American as well as white—are unaware of the invaluable contributions he made to the civil rights movement, and, even more importantly, to the fulfillment of America's underlying principles and goals for all of its citizens. We call on President Clinton to honor James Farmer by awarding him the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Sadly, few who are familiar with photographs of James Farmer taken in the sixties when he orchestrated the first Freedom Rides would recognize him today. At 77, he is blind, suffers from severe diabetes, and has been forced to undergo several amputations. Even now, he is hospitalized, recovering from the latest operation to remove his left leg above the knee.

By where James Farmer's body may be weak, his achievements remain as strong as any man's. He continues his life-long work, teaching a popular civil rights course at Mary Washington College in my State. And the textbook for that class is his autobiography. The achievements of the civil rights movement are in large part the achievements of James Farmer. And the time is right to honor his achievements. Let him just this once feel the applause, receive the accolades, and hear the words of thanks from a grateful nation.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join in paying tribute to one of our Nation's heroes in the battle for racial equality. A man of unwavering faith and steadfast devotion to his

people and his Nation, James Farmer has devoted his whole life to the cause of racial harmony and individual justice. James Farmer is a man of vision who infused a generation of black Americans with the spirit and strength of nonviolent protest against the scourge of racism and injustice. Through countless contributions and endless personal sacrifices, James Farmer has played a critical role in profoundly changing the course of our Nation's history.

Mr. Speaker, I am personally grateful to Farmer for the support and inspiration he gave to me and to so many others at a critical time in the history of the civil rights movement. Farmer founded the Congress on Racial Equality. CORE was the catalyst for challenging and overcoming the entrenched segregation and racism that incarcerated black Americans and sentenced all Americans to a nation of unfulfilled promises, lost to its once cherished vision of freedom and equality. It was unfortunate that Farmer was unable to address the Great March on Washington, his remarks had to be read by someone else because he was jailed in Plaquemine, LA.

James Farmer was a founding father of the 20th century civil rights movement. In the beginning, there were only a handful who committed themselves to banishing segregation and building a colorblind nation. Although their numbers were few, their dedication was enormous. In just a few short years Farmer saw his followers grow from dozens to hundreds to thousands; under his leadership the Freedom Riders rose up and changed the direction of a nation.

Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to have worked with CORE in the 1950's and the 1960's. It was my privilege to be among those sent to jail for our peaceful protest at the Jefferson Bank in St. Louis. And, it has been a privilege to have spent my career fighting for equal rights and social justice. James Farmer has been a source of courage and strength to me and to thousands of others. All who cherish racial harmony are grateful to James Farmer for his wisdom and guidance and devotion. James Farmer is a man of peace and good will. He will be forever appreciated and celebrated for a life service to his people and his Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I salute James Farmer and urge President Clinton to award this outstanding American the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

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#### DRUG ABUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HASTERT] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. HASTERT. Mr. Speaker, tonight I want to take some time and talk to you and the House about a very serious problem that faces this country, not only facing this country but it is facing many nations across this planet, and that is drug abuse.

Many times we see drug abuse in the guise of our children having OD's, being in the emergency room, finding problems in schools, drug gangs that are popping up across this country, especially in big cities and in towns ad-

joining big cities. We see the drug problem in OD's of kids in our neighborhoods, children, but it also is in corporate America, it is also in people who do work in blue collar areas.

We have worked in this country to make sure that people who fly airplanes and drive trucks and maneuver trains down the tracks certainly are drug free. We have worked hard to make sure that we have drug free workplaces in this country. And certainly the Federal Government and many, many State governments have worked to make sure their workplaces are drug free as well.

But, Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from the Second International Symposium Against Drugs in Switzerland, and what I learned there was truly disturbing. At the same time it was heartening to meet with doctors and world leaders engaged in the fight against drug abuse, drug-related crime, and international drug trafficking.

America and Europe are both under siege directly from international drug traffickers and internally from well-financed drug legalization movements. In Switzerland, legalizers give away 100 percent pure heroin, and between 300 and 5,000 needles a day, plus heroin cigarettes which Swiss legalizers claim are compassionate because these cigarettes, Mr. Speaker, do not contain tobacco.

Proponents of drug legalization are, at best, a dangerous and misguided crowd. For many it is an elaborate game, a way to retaliate against those who condemn their own drug using behavior. For others legalization is a means of achieving other ends, undermining moral values and democratic institutions, turning profits on an expanded population, creating new industries around the maintenance of addiction, and, in a few cases, even yearning to justify a tragic loss to drug abuse.

Whatever the motivation, drug legalization is wrong headed and destined to hurt those societies which indulge the instinct to experiment with the most vulnerable segments of their population, including their children.

So let us be clear about legalization, Mr. Speaker. The promoters of legalization forget the basic facts. They forget, for example, that drug use and abuse always and everywhere follows drug availability. They forget that there will always be more users trying drugs when there are more drugs to try.

This is clearly the experience of the United States. Between 1992 and 1995, the administration experimented with reduced drug interdiction. The result was more drugs inside our country and more kids trying those drugs. In 1994, there were three-quarters of a million more teenagers using drugs than in 1992, a reversal of the 1981 to 1992 downward trend in drug use.

By contrast, between 1985 and 1992, when the United States was firmly committed to halting the inflow of drugs, casual teen drug use fell dramatically. Regular drug users fell by 80