

GENERAL LEAVE

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on my special order in recognition of the life of Betty Shabazz to be given today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia?

There was no objection.

RECOGNIZING THE LIFE OF BETTY SHABAZZ

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I come forward this evening to lead a special order in recognition of the life of Betty Shabazz.

Betty Saunders was the adopted and only daughter of loving parents, who grew up in Detroit, MI. She died on June 24, 3 weeks after being burned over 80 percent of her body. Her grandson, Malcolm, has been convicted of the arson and has since been judged to have been mentally disturbed.

I come forward this evening to speak of a woman who in a very real sense was two women. Betty Shabazz was her own woman, and inescapably and memorably, Betty Shabazz was the widow of a great man, Malcolm X. The two identities are inevitably related. Each side, gracious and strong, fed the other side of this remarkable woman.

I want to begin by saying some words about Betty, and later on I want to say some words about Malcolm X, because many have no clear vision of who Malcolm became, and in honoring Betty, we inevitably honor this man who transformed himself.

I knew Betty well. On one level she was simply a friend, one of the girls. On the level where she is remembered best, she of course was the widow of Malcolm X. But at the level that I find most remarkable, Betty Shabazz was all Betty, not Malcolm, because Betty, like Malcolm, redefined herself from the wife of a great man who was tragically assassinated, to herself, a self-made woman.

There is, of course, Betty the mother. There is a kind of primacy that was attached to being Betty the mother. When you raise six girls, when your husband is struck down and assassinated before your very eyes, when you and four children are in the ballroom where that act occurs, you are inescapably, first and foremost, a mother. When you are pregnant with twins who are then later born, there is a very special primacy to being a mother.

Yes, she went on to get her doctorate and to become an associate professor at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn, NY, and ultimately to become an adminis-

trator in that college. This is the kind of transformation aspect of her life that, in many ways, is shades of Malcolm.

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Betty met Malcolm in New York, having come there to study nursing. She described the courtship as an old-fashioned courtship. I wish we had more of those today. Malcolm loved children, and he particularly loved his children. I must say that during their what turned out to be a short marriage, Betty was pregnant most of the time.

Malcolm was assassinated on February 21st, 1965, with four of those six girls by her side. She threw herself onto the children when she heard the bullets, and then she ran to Malcolm, by which time he was already dead.

How do you go forward after something like that? Unlike the two other civil rights widows, with whom she became friends, Betty was left without any protection. Myrlie Evers, the extraordinary wife of Medgar Evers, who has since become chair of the board of the NAACP, was left with the protection of our largest and oldest and best-known civil rights organization, the NAACP. Coretta Scott King, when Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated, was left with the protection of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and, as it turned out, of much of the Nation, for whom King was recognized as a very special martyr and a very great man. But as for Betty, it was members of the Nation of Islam who were ultimately convicted of the assassination of her husband. She was left with no organizational protection.

What did she do? She did what such women often do, only she did it in her way. She raised these girls, got more education, and went on and got a career. The country and the world did not hear much of Betty Shabazz during this period. I cannot imagine who could have heard much of Betty Shabazz, doing what she was doing during this period. She lived a very private life. She was particularly keen to protect these children, and, of course, she had to live and move forward.

I had a forum at the Black Caucus Weekend last year where I invited Betty Shabazz, my old friend, to be one of the speakers, because it spoke to issues about which she had been identified. And this very gracious and remarkable woman was anything but self-assured about coming to this forum and speaking at this forum with women whom she regarded as more practiced at such pursuits.

I remember that Betty said when she finally got herself so that she could see the movie Malcolm X that the young actress who portrayed her was far more self-assured than Betty felt she was during this period. There was a kind of inner assurance and inner conviction, an inner self-esteem that came out during the forum, and that was part of the very essence of Betty Shabazz.

Ultimately, in addition to her professional stature, Betty was to become a human rights advocate of very special stature.

I want to say something further about her husband, the man who transformed himself from a petty criminal to a major league thug to a black Muslim and finally to an orthodox Sunni Muslim who embraced universal brotherhood, because I think we ought to be clear who Malcolm became. There is lack of clarity on that in this country, because only then can we understand Betty Shabazz.

But before I go on, I see that I have been joined by my good colleague, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. JOHN LEWIS]. It is very fitting that JOHN should come forward first, for he and I worked together in the very same civil rights movement for which the civil rights martyrs became so well-known and admired in this country, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and Medgar Evers.

I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. JOHN LEWIS].

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my good friend and my colleague, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON], for calling this special order tonight. I know some time ago the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia had planned to hold a special order, but because of the schedule of the House, we are doing it tonight.

So Mr. Speaker, I join my colleague in paying tribute to a noble spirit, Dr. Betty Shabazz. I felt a profound sense of loss when I learned of her death. Betty Shabazz stood tall as a wife, a mother, and a friend.

As a matter of fact, I knew Malcolm and got to know her husband fairly well. I first met him on the night of August 27th, 1963, 34 years ago, here in the city of Washington on the eve of the march on Washington. The last time I saw her husband alive was in Nairobi, Kenya, in October 1964, at the New Stanley Hotel.

Malcolm and Betty together represented something deep and good about the very best of America. Betty Shabazz stood tall as a wife, as a mother. She stood tall as a woman of courage, pride, and with a great sense of dignity.

As I said before, at the age of 28, Betty Shabazz suddenly lost her husband, Malcolm, to an assassin's bullet. With few resources, she began to raise her six daughters. With determination she pursued and achieved a doctorate degree in education. With a deep sense of compassion and an abiding faith, Betty Shabazz continued Malcolm's work.

On February 21, 1965, I say to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia Ms. ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON, my friend and colleague of long standing, I remember very well, we were driving back from Macon, GA in south Georgia on the way to the city of Atlanta, and then on our way to Selma, when we

heard on the radio that Malcolm had been assassinated by an assassin's bullet.

As the gentlewoman stated so well, Betty was pregnant with twins as she witnessed the murder of her husband. Just a week earlier the family home had been firebombed, and as the wife of a controversial public figure, worry and concern for the well-being of her family had become part of Betty's life.

So on this day, we are here to honor the life of a remarkable woman, an extraordinary person. Ghandi, the great teacher of the philosophy and the discipline of nonviolence, once said that there was a soul force in the universe which, if permitted, would flow through us and produce miraculous results.

In the life of Betty Shabazz we can find that soul force, a power to transform tragedies into great victory. By her quiet and courageous example, Betty Shabazz fought tragedy with love and compassion. She did not become bitter or hostile after the murder of her husband. Instead, Betty picked herself up and raised six lovely daughters. As their mother, she got involved in their lives. She passed on to them the great legacy of their father.

Betty not only had the ability but also the capacity to grow and to learn. Perhaps that is why she became an educator. That is why she had the capacity and the ability to reach out to others. She had the ability and the capacity to inspire. That is why I think we are here today. In her professional life as an administrator of Medgar Evers College in New York City, Betty Shabazz encouraged young people to study and to strive for their very best.

I would say to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON], Betty Shabazz touched so many with her strength and kindness. I know on so many occasions she made me laugh. Being with Betty was always joyful, sharing funny stories or something we saw in the audience, or something we read about or something we saw during the Congressional Caucus weekend. I will never, ever forget her sweet and wonderful smile; just being in her company, being in her presence.

I have a photograph of Betty with Mrs. King and Dr. King's sister, Christine King Farris, and they are all smiling, sharing some story. Sometimes we never know how powerful, how influential a person is until we miss them or do not see them. Maybe we will never know.

Betty, through her courage, was able to supply all of us with faith and hope. She had the ability to be able to see good or goodness in all humankind. With one more river to cross, I wanted Betty to survive, to beat the odds. Even as she struggled to overcome and to recover from the extensive burns on her body, she held onto life longer than many had expected.

Yes, this is the life of a remarkable American woman, of a beautiful woman with iron will and strong deter-

mination. Betty Shabazz has left us. I would like to think that she is now in a better place, and at long last she has been reunited with her beloved Malcolm. Tonight our hearts and our sympathies go out to her family and her friends. We will all miss her, but the great example of her life leaves us sweetly blessed with a profound sense of hope.

So tonight I say to you, Betty, thank you. Despite great challenges, defeats, and difficulties, you, Dr. Betty Shabazz, walked through life with soul force. You had the ability, you had the capacity, to produce great results. You will be missed. As a Nation and as a people, we will not forget your gifts to all of us and to all humankind.

Again, I want to thank my friend and my colleague, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] for bringing us together tonight to participate in this special order.

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Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LEWIS] for his eloquent words concerning Betty Shabazz.

I see that I have been joined by other Members, and I am pleased to recognize at this time the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. MEEK], who will now speak to us, and I am pleased to receive her words at this time.

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON], my sister and my esteemed colleague, for giving us the opportunity tonight to speak about a great woman, and to help America understand the place that this great woman will have in the history of this country.

Dr. Betty Shabazz, Mr. Speaker, was a woman of honor, a woman of integrity, and a woman who will set an example for all of America's children.

On February 21, 1965, Dr. Shabazz and her four young daughters witnessed the brutal assassination of her husband and their father, Malcolm X. This violent, terrifying incident thrust her into the national spotlight. We all remember Brother Malcolm. We all remember his wife, Betty Shabazz. And that is why we are here tonight, to pay special honor to Mrs. Shabazz.

She spent the next 32 years of her life preserving the legacy of Malcolm X. Through these efforts we came to know and admire Dr. Betty Shabazz, for in the process she established her own legacy. While we mourn the passing of our beloved friend and sister, we also celebrate her life and reunion with her husband in a strange twist of fate.

Malcolm X unknowingly prepared Dr. Shabazz for her life's work. Throughout their short but wonderful marriage, Malcolm urged her not to hold grudges. Brother Malcolm's advice Mrs. Shabazz took to heart. At the same time Dr. Shabazz found the strength she needed to help her children through the crisis of the loss of their father and to nurture and fortify them for life's uncertainties.

By example, Dr. Shabazz rejected bitterness as she embraced the principles of ethnic unity, universal peace, and nonviolence. She touched thousands of lives through her work as an educator and administrator. She was a quiet but effective healer of the breach between perceived conflict in ideologies. That is why it is so important that the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON], our sister, called us here tonight, so that America will never forget Dr. Shabazz.

It was not her way to challenge other's memory of her husband. She chose instead to live the beliefs she and her husband shared. Although tragedy haunted their family, Dr. Shabazz remained strong in her convictions. Her life was a living testament to her strong belief in self and family values.

We talk about family values; Dr. Betty Shabazz lived them. Goes by an old dictum which I love to follow: I would rather see a sermon than to hear one any day. She did not preach family values; she lived them.

She believed in education as the linchpin of self-determination. Her early training as a nurse complemented her care and her spirit as a care-giver. Her passion for learning inspired her as she achieved academic excellence. She earned a bachelor's degree in public health. Her master's course work was in early childhood education.

In 1975, Dr. Shabazz received a doctorate in education, and after that she joined the faculty of Medgar Evers College where she served until her death. Betty Shabazz passes on her love of learning to her six daughters. They are also women of achievement in their own right. She believed in family, she loved her daughters, and she lived life. Indeed, her love for life and children fused at the moment of this tragic episode.

We cannot pay homage to Dr. Shabazz without mentioning the troubled life of her grandson, for even as she lay dying, her love and care reached out to him. I would say to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia, and my colleagues, that I am certain that Dr. Shabazz would want us to remember her life by remembering the life and needs of her grandson.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Florida for her memorable words. I want to say how pleased I am to be joined at this time by the gentlewoman from North Carolina [Mrs. CLAYTON].

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I, too, want to commend my colleague, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON], for holding this Special Order and providing us an opportunity to enter brief remarks about this distinguished woman who is a woman of our history.

Mr. Speaker, I am saddened but inspired tonight. I am saddened because I stand here to say farewell to a sister friend who lived a life worth emulating. The late Betty Shabazz was a

woman of character, a woman of strength and presence. She rose above tragedy when her husband was murdered. She stood up to challenges, rose to the occasion after the death of her husband, and raised her children with dignity and pride.

Those words have been often stated tonight and will be said again. I am saddened at the loss of this special woman, this special woman of history. I am happy, however, to have known of this woman and to be alive to have this woman demonstrate what strength and character really is.

Not better words can be said than those spoken by the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. MEEKS]. It is certainly better to see the sermon than to hear ideology spoken.

Dr. Shabazz died this summer the victim of an unfortunate circumstance, but until the end she showed courage, grace, and class to the victim and her family. She was an extraordinary woman. After her husband's death, she lived quietly, raising her six daughters, giving them the value of family and the emphasis of education by showing that she, too, would go on to school earning a doctor's degree. She served as a college administrator, and as her children grew up, became more active in the community and the world as a participator in democracy.

We have lost a great human being, a mentor, a mother, a grandmother, and a friend. But we also have missed her spirit, a spirit of self-confidence and worth and value. We will always remember her strength, but we also will remember her courage and her love for her children, yes, and her grandson. Commitment to love all who had been given to her caring, nurturing arms to raise and to be a mother and a grandmother, and a committed sister friend. We say fare you well.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, those were very special words, and I thank the gentlewoman from North Carolina [Mrs. CLAYTON], my wonderful colleague, for coming forward to make them here this evening.

Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased at this time to be joined by another wonderful friend and colleague, the gentlewoman from California, [Ms. MILLENDER-McDONALD].

Ms. MILLENDER-McDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] for bringing this Special Order tonight so that we would have an opportunity to really speak about a dear friend, an outstanding woman, a woman of character, a woman of dignity.

Yes, on June 23d, we lost one of the greatest leaders in the fight for social justice, Dr. Betty Shabazz, and I join tonight with my colleagues in sending my deepest sympathies, as I did during those dark days and dark moments after her demise, to the entire Shabazz family.

Despite the third-degree burns which covered over 80 percent of her body,

and numerous painful skin grafts, she endured. Dr. Shabazz held on with strength and determination, those qualities that have continued to sustain us during these difficult days ahead.

So I am so proud tonight to be able to participate in this evening's function to offer the rightful homage to one of our greatest political and social activists to have graced this earth.

I rise tonight not to focus, though, on the tragic loss of Dr. Shabazz, but rather on the tremendous gains that we as a society have made due to the unyielding dedication and determined leadership of Dr. Betty Shabazz.

Throughout her 61 years of life, Dr. Shabazz embodied an extraordinary balance of intellect and compassion, coupled with grace and composure. Dr. Shabazz grew up in Detroit and studied at Tuskegee Institute, New York's Brooklyn State Hospital School of Nursing and the Jersey City State College in New Jersey, while helping her children to accept the absence of their father.

In 1975, she received a doctorate in education from the University of Massachusetts, and later became the Director of Institutional Advancement and Public Relations at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn, NY. Throughout her academic career, and long afterwards, Dr. Shabazz served as a spokesperson and tireless advocate for the homeless, the poor, and for civil rights.

She educated children and adults on dealing with racism and civil rights, and built very strong relationships with the Hasidic rabbis and other Jewish leaders to address the violence and tensions dividing communities throughout this country.

On top of all of her work to advance social justice, Dr. Shabazz raised those six daughters of hers all on her own and she never asked for pity, she just exemplified her pride.

She was a leader with a powerful and contagious compassion for making a difference. She was also a team player and knew how vitally important it is that we all work together to resolve racial tension and inequality in this Nation.

The pain and sorrow that fills all of our hearts when we think of the tragic death of Dr. Betty Shabazz is overwhelming, but I ask my colleagues, and all within the sound of my voice, to join me in recognizing and honoring the wonderful ways in which Dr. Shabazz has enriched all of our lives as an inspiring role model and as a friend. Let us continue to impart her fine work to generations and for the generations yet to be born.

Yes, Dr. Betty Shabazz dedicated her life to social justice and had a tremendous impact on the young since the death of her husband, Malcolm X, some 30 years ago. While we mourn her passing, let us not forget, more importantly, how blessed we were to have had someone of this esteemed caliber touch all of our lives in such an unforgettable way.

The legacy of Dr. Betty Shabazz will live on in all of our lives.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from California for those very warm and wonderful words of tribute to Betty Shabazz.

There may, indeed, be other Members coming to the floor, and while I await them, I think I would like to deepen my own remarks, because we speak of Betty Shabazz, a woman who carved out her own identity in a most memorable way. And yet we also say and remember that this was the widow of Malcolm X. Because of confusion concerning who Malcolm X was and, therefore, in a great and important sense who Betty Shabazz was, I feel an obligation to say a word about the legacy of Malcolm X that Betty Shabazz carried with such grace.

It is according to what generation we live in and what we saw as to who we may understand Malcolm X to have been. It was his very capacity to transform himself that leaves me wondering when I hear people say Malcolm X, which Malcolm are they talking about?

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Are they talking about the Malcolm who transformed his life and who in so doing should be an inspiration to us all that we can all become something else, something better, something different? It takes enormous will to be able to say at the end of 5 years, I am something different from who I was 5 years ago, because I have made myself something different.

If we think about the extraordinary transformation of Malcolm X, then I think there will be a greater capacity for us to imagine the transformation of our country and the transformation of many in our country who seem stuck where they are.

Let me say to you that Betty transformed herself, and in a real sense, when you see a great man like Malcolm, you ought to understand that a great man does not choose a little woman. He chose a woman who also was capable of transforming herself.

I have to say, if I was left in this world with four babies and two more I was about to bear, I am not sure I could have transformed myself. It would have been doing good just to hold on.

This is a woman who said, hey, I, too, can make myself what I need to be. And what a model she had for self-transformation.

Make no mistake about who Malcolm X was before we met him, Malcolm Little, the petty criminal who became the serious felon and who, while in prison, became converted by the Black Muslims and finally left them. Each and every time Malcolm X had to say to himself something that is very hard to say, who am I? Is this who I want to be? Can I be something else?

I ask you to consider, how many people do you know who have become something truly different from who they once were? How many people do

you know who have improved themselves? How many people do you know who live by principle so that they are willing to risk their very lives for principle? When Malcolm X converted, he became an orthodox Sunni Muslim and so did Betty Shabazz. He broke with the Nation on matters of principle at the risk of his life. He came to accept universal principles of human rights, brotherhood and sisterhood.

I do not always know who we are remembering when we remember Malcolm X. The Malcolm X on the T-shirt, which Malcolm X is that brother? Yes, it will be the Malcolm X of black nationalism. I think he would have continued to stand for that, but that sense of nationalism would have been for him the motivating force to continue to bring justice to his people, for he had also embraced orthodox Sunni Muslim religion and spoke openly and often of universal principles of brotherhood. This is a man who learned, was willing to say when he thought he had been wrong, and to move on.

I have to tell you, I ask you, even among great men or women to find me examples like that. Here is a great man, Martin Luther King. But he was born into the tradition that he came to represent and he represented the best of that tradition. He was born into a family of Baptist ministers which led him to get a wonderful education which led him to study philosophy. All of this was growing into something. That is very different from becoming somebody different, from leaving behind somebody who you were, recognizing and taking responsibility to say that was the wrong person, that is not who I want to be, and becoming somebody else.

Very few of us can become somebody else while growing, as a matter of principle. That is what Malcolm El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz did, and when you wear those T-shirts, do understand that you are not wearing T-shirts of the man who spoke of white devils because Malcolm, who became a Sunni Muslim, said that is not who I am anymore. I am Malcolm El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz who embraces the notion that we must become one people.

That is who he was, and I have had many a conversation with Betty Shabazz about that Malcolm. This was the last and the final Malcolm, and that is the Malcolm who deserves our greatest respect. That is the Malcolm whom history will remember now, not only as a revered leader of my own black community but as a far more universal figure, standing for universal principles and standing for the strength of character to change who he was.

Oh, do I wish I could put aside some of my habits and tomorrow wake up and say, Eleanor, that part of Eleanor is not anymore, I can say with assurance that there is a new Eleanor here. That kind of strength of character I find simply awesome.

I have to tell you that at the memorial service that I attended for Betty

Shabazz, I found that legacy living and I found that legacy of principle living in Attalah, the eldest daughter, the eloquent Attalah. This girl has Malcolm in her. And let me indicate how and why. There came a point in the service, to show you how universal a figure Malcolm has become, Governor Pataki was there, Mayor Giuliani was there, all of the prominent politicians of New York were there. Mayor Koch was there. He talked about a street, a grand avenue named for Malcolm.

There came a point in the service when they recognized the politicians in the audience and they would stand up and say something or at least be recognized. When they recognized Mayor Giuliani, there was some boos in the church. At that point, others in the church began to clap so as to drown out the boos, and it was all over.

When it came time for the daughters to come forward, all six of them, it was only one who spoke for them, the eldest. I know about that obligation; I am the eldest of three daughters. Attalah stepped forward, extemporaneously to speak for the remaining family. And she obviously had thought about what she was going to say. And the question of the boos, I can tell you, had been dealt with. But this girl had Malcolm's principle in her. She felt the necessity to say that that had been wrong. I was never so impressed in my life.

She did not have to get in that. She did not have to take the chance that there were some in the audience who thought maybe you should boo Giuliani and so you might turn them off. She did not have to get in it. She got in it. As an aside, she said, and by the way, it is wrong in this service to boo the mayor or anyone else. She had to say it. It was a matter of principle for her. Teach girl, I thought. That is what Malcolm would have done. Malcolm would have said, hey, silence is not a moral act. The moral act is to say, that was wrong and I am going to take the consequences. I am going to stand up and say it.

That is Malcolm. That was Attalah. That legacy is in her. It was in her with great eloquence. This is family I revere for the way in which their values have been spread across their family. These values feed on one another. I don't know where they come from. I cannot say Attalah got this from Malcolm. She was such a little girl. I do not know that Betty got her sense of universal brotherhood from the final Malcolm. I do not know that. All I know is that in families those things just come together and that is what being a family is all about. I hope we all regard ourselves as part of that family as well.

Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentlewoman from Texas [Ms. JACKSON-LEE], another very good Member of this body.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia. The words will be few but heartfelt, only

because as I have listened to your passion and compassion and those of my other sisters, as I hope the Speaker will tolerate briefly and indulge us just for a moment, because this is such a special occasion. As the moments tick by, I hope he will allow those who have come to the floor to complete this tribute.

But in listening to you, sometimes it is appropriate to offer the benediction but for the fact that others continue to come to pay tribute. I will simply say a few points because I knew the honorable and cherished Dr. Betty Shabazz as an admiring watcher, if you will, of her eloquence and love of life.

Interestingly enough, from a distance, unlike the knowledge and personal friendship that you possessed, I watched her stateliness, her regalness, and her capturing the audience wherever she went in her most humble and honest way.

She taught at a college in New York. A good friend of mine had the pleasure of being on campus as a faculty member with her, Sheryl Williams. I called her Sheryl Williams. And on the occasions that we had to speak together, there was always an endearing comment made about Dr. Betty Shabazz.

My fellow sisters are right that Dr. Betty Shabazz was part of a family, Malcolm, the children, the sisters, the daughters, so Dr. Betty Shabazz was a wife, a mother, noble, queenly, an educator, a nurturer. She certainly was a grandmother, proudly so, something she did not rebuke; and I believe that it is true in life and, yes, in death.

She showed up places and she was a bright star and clearly she provided a light for us. I hope that as she now watches us, and as Dr. Betty Shabazz sleeps on peacefully, that we will take to heart the partnership that she had with Malcolm X, one who did believe in humankind; and that those who wish to emulate and imitate this dynamic offering to this Nation and this world, Dr. Shabazz and Malcolm X, that they will imitate the realness of who they are, people who reached out in obstacles and adversity and fought against the tide.

And so my tribute tonight is to recognize that I have many miles to travel to be able to capture the bright and shining star still remaining here given to us by Dr. Betty Shabazz, and likewise I have many miles to travel in order to capture the spirit and the dynamic strength of Malcolm X. But my commitment to you, to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia who has expressed such deep and abiding friendship; as I see the chairwoman of the Black Caucus, who likewise shares that relationship, that we will not stand and allow the clock to be turned back, the light to be darkened, the daughters of Malcolm and Dr. Betty Shabazz to be forgotten or ignored, the grandchildren that represent so many who may have lost their way to be abandoned by us.

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As we continue our service in the U.S. Congress, our commitment will be to lift up the bloodstained banner, but lift it up with the understanding that Dr. Betty Shabazz lived, Malcolm lived, the family lived, and they will live on through us. I thank the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia for her leadership on this special order.

Ms. NORTON. I want to thank the gentlewoman from Texas for those remarkable words about Betty Shabazz. If I had to bet money, I would have been willing to do so that the next speaker would have to come to the floor this evening. It is my very special pleasure to recognize at this time the gentlewoman from California [Ms. WATERS], who is at the same time the chairwoman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, I thank very much the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON]. I thank her for taking the time to organize this tribute to Betty Shabazz. She is one of the busiest persons in this House. Not only does she have the regular legislative duties, but given all that is going on in the District, I know the hours that she is spending working with the very serious problems that are confronting this District and this Nation. I want to tell her, for her to have time to get us to stop and focus and do this tribute is more than admirable. I admire her stamina, and her courage, but I also deeply respect the fact that she decided no matter how busy she is, that our dear friend and sister Betty Shabazz deserves the attention of this House, of this body. I thank very much the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia.

Mr. Speaker, let me just say that she and I both attended the memorial services for Dr. Betty Shabazz in New York. We were there and we watched as people came from all over this Nation to pay tribute to Betty Shabazz. We watched our friends mount the podium there and talk about their relationship with her. We watched people she has worked with both in the political arena, in academia, step forward to tell us about their very special relationship with this remarkable woman. When I was there, I talked a little bit about Betty Shabazz, my friend that I have worked with, that I have known, that I have spent time with, that I have exchanged all kinds of information with, about our families, et cetera. But I could not help but think about how long it took me to meet Betty Shabazz, even though I had met Malcolm many years ago.

Of course, I and the Nation met Malcolm X as he came forth with his brilliant oratory and presence to help make this Nation think about who we are and what we are doing, to help draw attention to the injustices of our own society, to help us to articulate our pain, to force legislative bodies to pay attention. He did all of that, this magnificent man with this brilliance

and this kind of presence that many of us have never witnessed before.

And so I met Malcolm X and I can recall being in Los Angeles, going to wherever I would hear he was going to be, to listen one more time. I was finding my own self in those years, coming to grips with not only my philosophy about life but about what I really felt about what I had learned, my experience growing up in St. Louis. And so I met Malcolm X, I listened to him. I was profoundly influenced by him, carried away with his brilliance, with his ability to articulate what I was feeling so often. But I never asked, and what about his family? What about his children? What about his wife? It was only after Malcolm's death did I meet and get to know Betty Shabazz.

Too often we see leaders, we see people in high visibility roles, and somehow we think about them without thinking about them in relationship to their families, their children, their home environment. After I met Betty Shabazz, I understood why Malcolm could comfortably do what he did. In order to be the leader that Malcolm X was, he had to have tremendous support and understanding. This was a woman who was with one of the most controversial leaders of our time. This was a woman who knew that her life and the life of her children were in danger. Their house was set afire. This was a woman who knew that even though her husband had evolved to a point where as some describe him as more international, more wanting to bring people together, there were people who did not feel the same way as I felt and many, many others felt about Malcolm X. But this was a woman who loved her husband. This was a woman who raised the babies. This was a woman who knew that at any point in time, her husband could be killed, her house could be burned, she could be killed, but she believed in Malcolm X and they believed in each other. He loved Betty Shabazz and Betty Shabazz loved Malcolm X.

And so, even though I had not met her, I did not know her, it became very, very clear to me after meeting her why Malcolm X was able to do and be in the manner that he was. And so this Betty Shabazz that I met was not a woman with her head hanging down, it was not a woman who had been scarred by the assassination of her husband, it was not a woman whose very life, existence and ability to thrive, this was a woman, a very wise woman, who, of course, felt the deep pain of having lost this brilliant man that she loved, but this was a woman who had counseled with her husband, had talked through the possibility of his death. This was a woman who witnessed her husband's assassination with her babies but was not destroyed by it. This was a woman whose wisdom goes far beyond that which most of us hope to be able to achieve.

She suffered the pain of the loss of her husband, she mourned his death,

and she went on to do and be what Malcolm would want her to do. Not only did she find a way to raise the children, she went back to school. This is a woman who got a Ph.D. This is a woman who not only became the professor, the teacher, the leader; she spread out in the overall community, in this country, and went on to become a speaker, a leader, someone who joined with her sisters to try and make life better for others. This was a woman who said to me once, "Maxine, I came out to Los Angeles, and I had an opportunity to speak with these young men, some of whom were in gangs, some of whom had left the gangs, but they sat with me, and I had an opportunity to talk with them and tell them about Malcolm, and what Malcolm would have them do." And she said, "I'm coming back again. I'm going to come back to talk with them. Because I think it is important for me to share what I know." So this woman, raising children, teaching, being available to the many groups and organizations who demanded of her time, not only did I see her all over this country at the many Malcolm X celebrations that go on, we sat and talked about these celebrations and her role and her responsibility. She never tired of responding to the request.

I would often see her at the Congressional Black Caucus dinners. We hold these Congressional Black Caucus weekends, and she would always come, and we would joke, "Well, she won't be with us at this Congressional Black Caucus weekend." But she will certainly be remembered.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia and the other members of the Congressional Black Caucus for helping me to select Betty Shabazz as one of the awardees. I as the chairwoman of the Congressional Black Caucus will be presenting awards to Betty Shabazz, posthumously, and to Coretta Scott King and to Myrlie Evers, 3 women who have lost their husbands, 3 women whose husbands were the civil rights leaders recorded in history never to be forgotten, 3 women who stood by their husbands, who raised the children while their husbands were shot down in America, but who did not go away, who did not vanish, who did not become so devastated that they did not continue to play a role in American life. They are all speakers, they are all heads of organizations, they are all teachers, they are all keepers of the flame of the faith. And so we are going to award them the chairwoman's award at the Congressional Black Caucus weekend. We are going to say to them, thank you for being who you are. We are going to say thank you for persisting in the quest for freedom, justice and equality despite what was done to your husbands. We are going to say to Coretta Scott King and to Myrlie Evers, we love you, we love you and we want you to know that. We want to use the most important platform that we

have in the Congressional Black Caucus, and to Betty, who we will not be able to say it to because she is gone now, to her children who will be there and Attalah, her daughter, who will accept the award, we want them to know that we loved their mother, and that we hold her in the highest of esteem, and we hope that this small token that we are able to present that evening from all of us will speak to our love for them. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for allowing us the opportunity to focus some attention from this House on Betty Shabazz.

Ms. NORTON. I thank the gentlewoman for those remarkable remarks. This special order would not have been the same without her.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, I simply want to thank not only the chairwoman of the Congressional Black Caucus but the other Members and friends who came forward at a time when many of us are thinking through ways to transform ourselves into better people, to transform our country into a better place, and when I, I must say, Mr. Speaker, am trying to think of a way to transform my own city into a united city that will regain its own human rights and that will reform its own agencies at such a time I find great inspiration in the life and work of Malcolm X and in the life and work of Betty Shabazz.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a great woman and humanitarian, Dr. Betty Shabazz. Her family lost a mother, grandmother, or sister but the world lost a friend and a symbol of inspiration to all of us. In her death, Dr. Shabazz leaves a legacy of dedication to family, a quality that is much praised but little practiced. Her impact will be felt for a period much longer than we realize right now.

Her much recognized qualities of perseverance and determination were first publicly recognized after her husband's death on February 21, 1965. Betty Shabazz, left with no source of income to provide for her four young daughters and the twins she was pregnant with, was determined to raise her children and did so alone. Along with taking care of six children, she completed her nursing school education and went on to earn bachelor's, master's and doctorate degrees. Dr. Shabazz lived the dictums of self-reliance, discipline and education as espoused by her husband, Malcolm X.

Our prayers are with the family in this hour of grief. I ask my colleagues to join me in remembering the many contributions Dr. Shabazz has made to our country and to the world.

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TRIBUTE TO BETTY SHABAZZ

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PAYNE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, let me also add my accolades to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia, Delegate NORTON, for calling this very im-

portant Special Order. It has been already said about the outstanding work that she does here in the District fighting for the people of the District, as she fought for people here in the entire United States of America when she had a tremendous, important administrative position years ago, and she continues to do that work.

And to the chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus, Ms. WATERS from California, she continues to lead the caucus in unprecedented times. We are so proud of the outstanding work that the caucus has done, and I would just like to, as I was in my office working, and I turned to this channel and saw that this Special Order was being done, I was unaware of it but felt it was extremely important to me to come over and to say a few words.

I knew Betty Shabazz very well, because living in Newark, NJ, she was not far away, and about a month before the tragedy I had the opportunity to be in her company three or four times. First, we had a meeting in Mount Vernon, the Constituency for Africa. Mayor David Dinkins was there, Congressman RANGEL, Mel Foote called in from the Constituency of Africa in Mrs. Shabazz's hometown, and of course the first person to speak after the invocation was given at the church was Doctor Betty Shabazz, because she not only worked for people in this area and in this country, but worldwide, and she was loved by everyone.

I know Dr. Edison Jackson, who was the president of Medgar Evers College, he was the former president of Essex County College in Newark, NJ, where I live, and the wisdom of President Jackson to see the worth of a Betty Shabazz, to have her lead the light for that great institution named after, as has been mentioned, Medgar Evers, another person who was taken away from us, and his wife Myrlie Evers carried the torch, and so it is unique; as a matter of fact, the college that Dr. Edison Jackson at Essex County taught at before going to Medgar Evers after leaving California on Martin Luther King Boulevard. Doctor Shabazz, it is altogether.

I would just like to say that then she came over to Newark about 2 weeks before the tragedy and spoke out at community meetings. She was always there, grass-roots people. She would come to the caucus and go to all of the sessions and rush around because everyone wanted to see her.

And so we have lost a tremendous person. It is unfortunate that tragedies take people. This week we are hearing the tragedy of the great Princess of Wales taken away unnecessarily, and once again Dr. Betty Shabazz.

So I think that we have to remember and we have to always be aware of the fact that we all have to do more in our own way. She was a great person.

I, too, attended the memorial service and David Dinkins and Basil Patterson and Percy Sutton did such outstanding jobs as they brought this community together.

I once again would like to simply thank the gentlewoman from the District here, and I appreciate having the opportunity to address the House.

GOOD NEWS FOR AMERICA

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

Mr. NEUMANN. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight to talk about good news for America.

I just had a wonderful opportunity during the past month to see lots of folks all across Wisconsin, and it was very educational for me and, I hope, for some of the folks we saw that they picked up on some of the good things that have happened here in the last month or thereabouts out here in Washington.

The one thing that struck me, though, as I talked to more and more of our families across Wisconsin and our senior citizens across Wisconsin and some of our young people, college age students across Wisconsin, they did not really realize that the tax cut bill has been signed into law, so I would like to begin this evening by pointing out that the tax cut bill, along with the first balanced budget since 1969 and restoring Medicare, has all been signed.

It is done. The ink is dry. The President signed it. It has passed the House. It has passed the Senate. First balanced budget since 1969, taxes coming down for the first time in 16 years, and Medicare restored for at least a decade. That is what was accomplished before we left for recess in August.

The other thing I learned is that not very many people really understood what was in the tax cut bill, and I would start talking to people and I would say, "Well, the budget is balanced, that's the most important thing we could do, and that was our responsibility, and that's done, and at the same time we've reduced your taxes."

And they go, "yeah, sure, but that affects somebody else."

And then we would start through it, and the first question would be: Do you have children? And this is so important. If you have children age 17 or younger for virtually all families out there, 550,000 Wisconsin families alone, you are eligible to keep \$400 more for each one of your children in your own home next year instead of sending it to Washington.

We should make this very clear. This is not somehow a gift from Washington to the people. This is money that the people get up in the morning, they go to their jobs, they work hard, and they earn the money, but instead of sending it to Washington, they keep it in their own homes to spend on their own families and the way they see fit. That is the first part of the tax code.

And I am going to put this a little different so folks have a handle on how important and significant this is.