

the average American worker is very well placed.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. If I could, gentlemen, our time is just about expired. We will have to wrap it up here, but I do want to thank my colleagues for participating tonight.

I want to say, in part, with the spirit of what transpired in Hershey, PA, that we do look forward to an honest and civil debate about the great issues facing this country, and nothing can be more important than stopping the business of mortgaging our children's future and, in the end, it provides real benefits.

Not only is it the morally right thing to do to balance the budget, but it is the economically smart thing to do. I think if we work together and have a civil debate, then I think we ultimately can succeed in that.

Important now is that we all begin to speak the same language. If the President is speaking OMB and we are speaking CBO, it is going to make that job even more difficult. So in the next several weeks, what we hope to do is try to get the White House and the Congress to at least be speaking the same language.

Then we can have that civil debate and, ultimately, I think we can reach an agreement during this Congress which will be historic, which will leave a legacy that we can all be proud of and ultimately lead to a stronger economic growth, more jobs, better jobs, and the ability of more American families to have the American dream.

So again I want to thank my colleagues for joining me.

TRIBUTE TO ARNOLD ARONSON, A GREAT CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER

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

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and to include therein extraneous material on the subject of my special order this evening.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute this evening to one of our Nation's greatest civil rights leaders: Arnold Aronson. Arnold Aronson has been active in civil rights for nearly 60 years.

In 1941, he, along with A. Philip Randolph, mobilized a campaign that led to President Roosevelt's Executive order which banned discrimination on the basis of race, creed or national origin in war-related industries. This Executive order established the first Fair Employment Practice Committee.

In 1941, Mr. Aronson headed the Bureau of Jewish Employment Problems,

a one-person agency located in Chicago. Discrimination against Jews at that time was overt and widespread. Help wanted ads specifying gentile only were commonplace, and employment agencies accepted and filled orders in accordance with such specifications.

Rather than attempting to deal with the problem as it affected Jews alone, he decided to attack employment discrimination per se, no matter the victim. Accordingly, he organized the Chicago Council Against Religious and Racial Discrimination, a coalition of religious, labor, ethnic, civil rights and social welfare organizations. As council secretary, Arnold Aronson directed the campaign that led to the first municipal Fair Employment Practices Commission in the Nation.

In 1943, he organized a statewide coalition, the Illinois Fair Employment Council, and initiated the campaign for a State FEP legislation.

In 1945, he became program director of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, a coalition of national and local Jewish agencies. He developed policies and programs for Jewish agency involvement on issues of civil rights, civil liberties, immigration reform, church and State separation, Soviet Jewish immigration and support for Israel.

In 1946, Arnold Aronson became secretary of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, a coalition which was headed by A. Philip Randolph, and together they directed campaigns for Federal civil rights legislation in the 79th and 80th Congresses.

In 1949, he became the secretary of the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization, which was chaired by Roy Wilkins, and together they organized a lobby in support of President Truman's proposed civil rights program.

Around this same time, Mr. Speaker, Arnold Aronson and a few men, a small group, set out to professionalize people who were working in civil rights and allied fields by establishing the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. The name of that group has since been changed, and today it is called the National Association of Human Rights Workers.

Arnold Aronson held many offices in that organization, including a term as president. In fact, it is my great honor to have been one of his successor presidents in this organization, and I was pleased to meet with them in Shreveport, LA, 3 weeks ago, and look forward to their annual meeting in October of this year.

□ 2000

During Arnold Aronson's term as president, he established the Journal of Intergroup Relations, which continues to the present time and is an organization to which I very often contribute.

Mr. Speaker, I think that Arnold Aronson's lasting legacy, although he has been involved in every major civil rights effort in this century, is his en-

during legacy with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights which he co-founded with NAACP President Roy Wilkins. In 1950, he and Mr. Wilkins convened over 4,000 delegates from all over the country to urge the Congress to enact employment, antidiscrimination, and antilynching laws.

Along with Martin Luther King, Jr., Arnold Aronson was one of the 10 organizers of the 1963 March on Washington. During the Leadership Conference's first 13 years, Arnold Aronson served as its secretary and directed the day-to-day operations of the organization. Along with NAACP Washington bureau director Clarence Mitchell, Aronson and the Leadership Conference coordinated the successful lobbying efforts which resulted in the passage of the 1957 and 1964 Civil Rights Acts, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and the 1968 Fair Housing Act.

Arnold Aronson's lasting legacy, I believe, is summed up in a quote of his, and I would like to quote it. Arnold Aronson once wrote: The struggle of civil rights cannot be won by any one group acting by or for itself alone, but only through a coalition of groups that share a common commitment to equal justice and equal opportunity for every American.

Mr. Speaker, Arnold Aronson's life is a model for us all. I consider it a privilege to have known him and to have worked with him. I am honored to join with my colleagues this evening in saluting this giant on today, his 86th birthday. Happy birthday, Arnold Aronson, and we thank you.

Mr. Speaker, joining with me in this special order this evening are Congresswoman ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON, Congresswoman SHEILA JACKSON-LEE, and Congressman JOHN LEWIS.

It is my pleasure at this time, Mr. Speaker, to yield to Congressman JOHN LEWIS.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleague and friend from the great State of South Carolina for yielding. I want to thank the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] for organizing this special order in honor of our friend Arnold Aronson. It is fitting and appropriate that we gather here on the floor of the House of Representatives to pay tribute to this great man on this, the occasion of his 86th birthday. I want to personally wish Mr. Aronson a happy, a very happy birthday.

As Americans, we owe a debt of gratitude to Arnold Aronson. We live in a better country, a better society, and a better world because of the work of this civil rights pioneer. I would not be here, I would not be a Member of Congress but for the hard work, dedication, and commitment by Arnold Aronson and others like him.

These were people who took up the cause of equal rights and civil rights long before they became politically popular, before they became the fashion of the day. Arnold Aronson was one of the original founders of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and

for this he should be commended and remembered. But Mr. Aronson was more than that, I can tell you. He was the glue that held the civil rights movement together.

I remember many meetings during the 1960's, many meetings here in Washington during some heated discussion, sometimes heated debates. It was always Arnold Aronson that held us together. In order to have people and individuals, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] will remember, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. CLYBURN] and others, to have an A. Philip Randolph, a Martin Luther King, Jr., a Roy Wilkins, a James Farmer, a Bayard Rustin, and the young people from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and others in the same room, it was a great deal to try to control.

This man, this good man, was a soldier of conscience, a warrior in a non-violent crusade to bring equality to America. While the civil rights climate ebbed and flowed in the course of his 60-year career, Arnold Aronson stood like a mighty oak planted by the bank of the river. He never swayed, he never wavered, he never faltered. He knew what was right and he worked every day to make that vision a reality.

Under his day-to-day leadership as secretary of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Arnold Aronson lobbied and fought successfully for the passage of the 1957 and the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and the 1968 Fair Housing Act. To this day he remains an active member of the Leadership Conference. Due in part to his leadership and his ability, his capacity to build a coalition, the Leadership Conference today includes 180 viable organizations and groups and fights against all forms of racial, religious, national origin, gender, and sexual orientation bigotry and discrimination.

Tonight, Mr. Speaker, I want to note in particular the vital and historic role that Mr. Aronson played in uniting the black and Jewish communities in the struggle for civil rights. It is a bond and a friendship that continues to this very day. For example, in my city of Atlanta and many other cities, there is a black-Jewish coalition working together due in large part to the road paved by our friend Arnold Aronson.

As I said when I started, it is more than fitting and appropriate that we gather here today. Few Americans have done more to bring us together, more to unite us as a nation and as a people than has Arnold Aronson. My late mentor, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., talked during the 1960's of building a beloved community, a nation at peace with itself, where people were judged not by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. Arnold Aronson has done as much as any man in this Nation to help build that beloved community. For that he will always be, in my heart and in the hearts of millions of others, beloved.

Thank you, Mr. Aronson. Thank you for your hard work.

Mr. CLYBURN. I thank the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LEWIS] for his statement.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Texas [Ms. JACKSON-LEE].

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. I thank my esteemed colleague from South Carolina both for his leadership and his long service in the area of human and civil rights.

Let me thank the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] for her wisdom in organizing this tribute. Mr. Aronson, as one of the newer members of this Congress, let me thank you for giving me the opportunity now to serve a very diverse constituency in the U.S. Congress from the 18th Congressional District in Texas. I rise today to commend and support this special order recognizing Mr. Arnold Aronson, one of the Nation's greatest champions of the civil rights movement.

This special order fittingly comes on Mr. Aronson's 86th birthday and I tip my hat to you. Arnold Aronson has long been seen as a key figure in the history of this country's struggle for civil rights. The well-documented story of Mr. Aronson's legacy to the chapters of this Nation's civil rights movement have been chronicled by countless historians. Since the New Deal era, Arnold Aronson has spoken on behalf of this Nation's disenfranchised by advocating unity and not division.

I might say to you in a city that one might study and give rise to whether there would be opportunities for Jewish-black coalitions, let me say that I have had the privilege in the city of Houston to serve a number of years in a very thriving and ongoing dialog between the African-American and Jewish community.

Out of that very bond grew a young man by the name of Mickey Leland who served in the U.S. Congress and was one of my predecessors in this position. Mickey Leland was infused with the energy of bringing communities together and particularly worked to join the black and Jewish community.

In tribute to you, Mr. Aronson, let me say that we still have in Houston today a Mickey Leland kibbutz program that sends young men and women to Israel from the inner city African-American and Hispanic and Asian communities in order to bring about a lasting coalition.

Let me say that your words spoken so early on the struggle for the civil rights movement cannot be won by one group alone has carried many of us forward, recognizing that we are all in this same leaky boat together and we must rise together or certainly sink together.

Mr. Aronson was noted as one of the most noted founders of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, known in the 1950's as the Leadership Conference. Let me applaud not only the coalition but the friendship of Roy Wilkins and Arnold Aronson wherein this coalition was born. It is so very impor-

tant that at the time that Mr. Aronson made the commitment to continue work with the Leadership Conference, he was not just sitting by with idle time. He was working full time as program director of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, a coalition of major Jewish organizations.

Mr. Aronson began his struggle against discrimination in 1941 as head of the Bureau on Jewish Employment at a time when open discrimination against Jews was widespread. Help wanted ads specifying gentile only were commonplace and employment agencies accepted and filled orders in accordance with such specifications. Instead of regarding discrimination only as a Jewish program as one might have expected, he had a broader view of the true magnitude of the problem, and following his conscience, he formed the Chicago Council Against Religious and Racial Discrimination, a coalition of religious, labor, ethnic, civil rights and social welfare organizations. He coined the phrase coalition. He did not speak it, he lived it, and in tribute to him, it is continuing.

Mr. Aronson, countless generations will come to know and can appreciate the benefits that your life's work has brought to the unity of this Nation. Thank you for your dedication and commitment during those early steps in the civil rights movement that began the road to making the Constitution of this country extend its rights and protections to all of its citizens.

Finally, in closing, let me add that as we continue to try to forge coalitions, a name that comes to mind certainly is Dr. Martin Luther King. As the previous speaker noted his words, let me say that in those days of the Montgomery bus march and boycott, those were days that were both light and dark. One of the statements that Dr. King noted is that the history would recall that there were great people who decided to do the right thing and that what would be written is that they decided, first of all, never to turn back.

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We thank you, Mr. Arnold Aronson, on this your 86th birthday for having the greatness of mind and conscious to be able to say we will never turn the clock back, and it is this day that we write of you and give tribute to you as a great American. The history books will recall your greatness as well.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend and support this special order recognizing Mr. Arnold Aronson, one of this Nation's greatest champions of the civil rights movement.

This special order fittingly comes on Mr. Aronson's 86th birthday. Arnold Aronson has long been seen as a key figure in the history of this country's struggle for civil rights.

The well documented story of Mr. Aronson's legacy to the chapters of this Nation's civil rights movement have been chronicled by countless historians. Since the New Deal era Arnold Aronson has spoken on behalf of this Nation's disenfranchised by advocating unity and not division.

He said,

The struggle for civil rights cannot be won by one group acting by or for itself alone, but only through a coalition of groups that share a common commitment to equal justice and equal opportunity for every American.

Mr. Aronson brokered his words into a coalition of Mr. Roy Wilkins and Mr. Aronson wherein the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights was born.

Mr. Aronson was one of the most noted founders of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights known in the 1950's as the Leadership Conference.

Summoned by Roy Wilkins, chairman of the event and Arnold Aronson, secretary, 4,269 delegates from 23 States, which included 291 brave souls from the South, representing 58 national organizations, converged on the Capital to take part in what its conveners called the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization.

The actions of Mr. Arnold Aronson and Mr. Roy Wilkins was in direct response to a report issued by President Truman's Citizens Committee on Civil Rights, in 1947, titled "To Secure These Rights," it was felt that the findings of the report could leave no Member of Congress in doubt regarding the scope and substance of racial injustice. The Truman committee found that the sensational news stories of lynching, Klan attacks, and race riots, the Truman committee found were only the most shocking manifestations of a strain of prejudice that was everywhere in American society.

This strain of prejudice permeated not only the broad areas of employment, housing, education, health care, and voting; but in many parts of the country, it infiltrated the most ordinary aspects of life, so that to be black in America was to experience daily humiliation.

Black youngsters were barred from amusement and national marble contests. Black shoppers were often unable to try on suits or dresses in department stores or eat at the lunch counters like other customers. Black travelers had to suffer the indignity of segregated seating sections, waiting rooms, rest rooms, and drinking fountains and had to often spend long, exhausting hours on the road before finding a place to stay or even a place to relieve themselves. Such conditions prevailed not only in the South, but even in our Nation's Capital.

The Congress had not enacted any civil rights law since 1875, and it appeared that it would take much more than the meeting of those delegates to change that fact.

But Mr. Aronson was not deterred and on December 17, 1951, as secretary of both the council and the mobilization, called representatives of the cooperating organizations together to plan another Washington meeting: a Leadership Conference on Civil Rights to be held in February of the following year to campaign mainly for a revision in the Senate rules that would allow a simple majority of that body to limit and close debate.

It was under the Leadership Conference name that the coalition continued from then on.

For the next 13 years the Leadership Conference was housed in a desk drawer and filing cabinet in Mr. Aronson's Manhattan office. The conference like many just causes had no money. Through the dedication and commit-

ment of Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Aronson the organization survived these lean years.

At the time Mr. Aronson made the commitment to continue work with the Leadership Conference he was working full time as program director of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, a coalition of major Jewish organizations.

Mr. Aronson began his struggle against discrimination in 1941 as head of the Bureau of Jewish employment at a time when open discrimination against Jews was widespread.

Help wanted ads specifying "Gentile only" were commonplace and employment agencies accepted and filled orders in accordance with such specifications.

Instead of regarding discrimination as only a Jewish problem he had a broader view of the true magnitude of the problem. Following his conscience he formed the Chicago Council Against Religious and Racial Discrimination, a coalition of religious, labor, ethnic, civil rights, and social welfare organizations.

As the council secretary, Aronson directed the campaign that led to the first Municipal Fair Employment Practices Commission in the Nation.

In 1943, he organized a Statewide coalition, the Illinois Fair Employment Council and initiated the campaign for State fair employment practices legislation.

The first fair employment practices legislation was passed in the State of New York in 1945. In the ensuing decade, at least a dozen States enacted fair employment practices laws with Aronson serving as a consultant in several of the campaigns.

From 1945 to 1976 he served as program director for the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, which is a coalition of national and local Jewish agencies. Mr. Aronson developed policies and programs for Jewish agency involvement on issues of civil rights, civil liberties, immigration reform, church-state separation, Soviet Jewish immigration, and support for Israel.

He was clearly a man ahead of his time.

In 1954, he organized the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, and Interreligious Coalition with the heads of the National Council of Churches, the Synagogue Council of America, and a representative of the national Catholic Welfare Conference as cochairman and himself as secretary. The purpose of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation was to provide an opportunity for clergymen who were under fire for speaking out in support of the Court's decision in Brown might, under the cloak of anonymity, might be able to get together with colleagues and civil rights leaders who were similarly situated for an exchange of views, experience, and for mutual reinforcement. In the few years it was in existence, the organization was able to save the pulpits of several men who had been threatened with dismissal and, in other instances to find places for clergymen who had in fact been fired for voicing support of desegregation.

Mr. Aronson, countless generations to come can know and appreciate the benefits that your life's work has brought to the unity of this Nation. Thank you for your dedication and commitment during those early steps in the civil rights movement that began the road to making the Constitution of this country extend its rights and protections to all of its citizens.

Mr. CLYBURN. I thank the gentlewoman from Texas for her statement

and thank her for her service to her constituents and to our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. LOWEY].

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a giant in the civil rights movement. Arnie Aronson is one of the true champions of civil rights in this country. As one of the founders of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Arnie has been a lifelong crusader for civil rights. Over the years Arnie has avoided publicity, but his lack of publicity does not diminish how indebted we are all to him.

Arnie turns 86 today, and I can think of no better place to honor him than on this House floor, where some of his toughest battles were fought and won. Arnie's championship of human rights in this country has shaped the Nation's policies since the Roosevelt administration. From Roosevelt's Executive order barring discrimination in war-related industries, to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, to the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1968 Fair Housing Act, Arnie has helped coordinate the efforts to pass every landmark civil rights legislation this body has considered.

Arnie also devoted his life to uniting the Jewish and African-American communities in the struggle against discrimination. The strong ties that exist between these two communities today are a testament to Arnie's hard work.

I think Vernon Jordan said it best when describing the impact Arnie's work has had. He said, "You have the gratitude of countless millions who may never have heard of your name but whose lives are better, whose prospects are brighter and whose dreams are coming true, thanks to you."

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to stand today in honor of Arnie Aronson. His commitment to racial justice has touched all of our lives and the lives of many others who will never know his name but benefit from his legacy.

Happy birthday, Arnie.

Mr. CLYBURN. I thank the gentlewoman for her statement.

Mr. Speaker, I would like now to yield to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] who organized this special order for this evening and thank her for having done so.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I first want to say how indebted I am to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. CLYBURN]. After I organized this special order it became necessary for me to leave the House, and on very short notice he was willing to conduct this special order. He is a most appropriate gentleman to conduct it, and I very much thank him for the grace and skill with which he has done just that.

Mr. Speaker, I am not sure that the best way to celebrate your 86th birthday is listening to a bunch of Members of Congress, but leave it to Arnold Aronson, always at work, to spend his 86th birthday just that way.

Now, you know there is a cliché about unsung heroes. But in a very real

sense Arnold Aronson gives that phrase new meaning largely because he never sought the credit and the praise that is rightfully his in a movement where people are not exactly shy in stepping forward to claim credit. It is not every good man who is honored on his 86th birthday. It is certainly not every good man that brings Members of the House for a special order of indebtedness to his work.

But Arnold Aronson deserves that, and he deserves more, and the fact is that he will probably not get a lot more. He will probably not get a lot more because in a real sense he has lived a life in which he has not sought a lot more. It is up to those of us who know his work and appreciate his work to spread the word of his work, and not only, I might say, to do tribute to his work because in a very real sense the work of Arnold Aronson deserves recognition today because it deserves repeating today and because there are too few willing to stand in the exact place where he stood, hoisting the flag of the principles that make him a great American.

I come before you this evening with particular humility as a former chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, as a child of the civil rights movement. I know my own personal indebtedness to Arnold Aronson. I know quite well that the agency that it was my great honor and privilege to chair, the law I came to administer did not simply pop up on the lawbooks one day as this House decided to do the right thing.

What is too little appreciated today is the kind of work and the kind of atmosphere in which that work had to be done. What is too little appreciated today is what it was like 56 years ago, when Arnold Aronson was there with A. Philip Randolph and where our country was at war, proudly marching off to war, with an army segregated to the core and thinking not one thing about it, marching off in peace and freedom to fight a war against the ultimate bigotry in a segregated army, and there were very few who understood that irony or even understood that it was wrong to step forward then. If you were white or if you were black was to separate yourself from the great masses. Blacks were deprived of every conceivable right. Whites, even those who knew the difference between racial right and racial wrong, seldom had the courage to act on what they knew.

Arnold Aronson has never lacked that courage. We did not get here by ourselves. We got here marching behind others, and Arnold Aronson stands among those at the front of that line.

The agency I came to chair, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, had its origins in the Fair Employment Practices Committee, which Arnold Aronson, working with such stalwarts as A. Philip Randolph, helped to achieve. Even the beloved Franklin D. Roosevelt did not step forward because it occurred to him that maybe

black people working in the war industry ought to have equal opportunity in jobs. Somebody had to suggest it to him. And in fact there were a small band of great men who did so, and history will remember them:

Joseph Rowell, Bayard Rustin, Clarence Mitchell, Arnold Aronson.

There are names of the 1990's, but we had best remember the names of the 1940's if we want to know truly how we got here.

Arnold Aronson wrote some of the most compelling reports of the period, the reports, the documents that made people especially those in high places, like President Truman, understand that it was time to move forward. One of the most compelling of those was to secure these rights drafted indeed by Arnold Aronson.

Today, when we are trying to get more funds for the EEOC, it perhaps seems impossible to believe that the idea of a permanent FEPC, or Fair Employment Practice Committee, was a radical idea. Money for it? The point was should there be any such committee at all.

As late as 1950 Arnold Aronson was at the forefront of those struggling for a permanent FEPC. Even the wartime experience, so successful, had not led to a permanent agency, and we were not to get one until 1964, when Arnold Aronson, unbroken in his work in the movement, helped lead the march on Washington that got finally a permanent FEPC, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The fact is that as late as the 1950's Arnold Aronson was working with Roy Wilkins to get an antilynching bill; that is what they called it when I was a child and perhaps even when my colleagues were children. They called it antilynching bills. It operated at that level of terror. We did not call it civil rights acts in order to keep people from engaging in violence, and it was at the raw level that Arnold Aronson and his colleagues were trying to convince people that you should not lynch people. That was not self-evident. That was not evident to most Americans. Somebody had to stand up and keep saying it and not relent and find ways to make it come true in a country born in racism, determined in its racism.

And what was the cry for an antilynching statute was to develop into the success of the 1960's, and when the 20th century closes its eyes and bids farewell and they name the half dozen pieces of legislation that made this century and made this country, the laws which Arnold Aronson helped achieve, particularly in the 1960's, will be numbered in that group.

In 1961, Mr. Aronson wrote the pioneering work *Federal Support of Discrimination*. That is what it was all about, Federal funds, the great might and weight of the Federal Government in support of discrimination. Somebody had to make this country face that fact, that the greatest support for discrimination came from the greatest country on the face of the Earth.

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Somebody had to do it without hanging back and without dropping the ball and had to do it from one decade to the next, because even today the work is not done, and the work has been left to those who refuse to lay down their swords and retire, but recognize that they had to go forward into yet another decade, and that was Arnold Aronson.

When I was in law school and I would come down in the summers to Mississippi, to the March on Washington, to New York where it was being organized, to wherever there was work to be done, the fine hand of Arnold Aronson was always there.

He belongs to that extraordinary coterie of men to whom this country owes everything. We owe our dignity as a country; we owe the elimination of the greatest scar on the American polity; we owe it to them. We could never be a great country until that scar was wiped away and the great civil rights laws finally achieved, in no small part out of their personal labors, and especially the labor of Arnold Aronson wiped away that scar and helped us to emerge finally as a great Nation.

Let me finally say something about an issue that needs to be confronted as we are celebrating the life of Arnold Aronson. We live now in a country where people go off into their respective ethnic and racial corners. In a real sense there was more discourse across racial lines when I was a girl in the civil rights movement. We have lost some of the spirit that guided the times and events of Arnold Aronson, and I would ask us tonight not simply to honor him on his 86th birthday, but to try to reclaim and recapture the moral authority of Arnold Aronson. He had that authority because he knew no prejudice, first and foremost; because he lived the word that we were all created equal.

So today the great alliance between African-Americans and Jews needs to come alive again, needs to come alive again if we are to remember from whence we came and who were there with us when nobody else was there.

I have to say it, Mr. Speaker. The one thing I cannot understand is black anti-Semitism, because the one group of people who were always there with African-Americans were American Jews. I cannot understand it, and we need to confront it, and we need to remind people how we got there.

Arnold Aronson, for most of his life, worked for the National Jewish Community Relations Council and worked in that capacity for full rights for American Jews and American blacks. If indeed we mean to finally finish this struggle, we can only finish it if we rededicate ourselves to the principles that made it a great struggle. If it is only about our rights, it is about nobody's rights. It means nothing if we take on the very mantle of prejudice that we are ourselves so long have criticized others for wearing.

So this evening let the life of Arnold Aronson take us back to basics, to our first principles that all men and women are created equal, that if I am a black I will stand up first against anti-Semitism. If I am an Hispanic, I will stand up first against racism. The rest of you will have to stand after me. Only then and only with that resolve, only with that sense of coalition and moral authority will we complete the work so valiantly carried on by Arnold Aronson. He does us great honor by allowing us to honor him this evening.

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman very much for her very moving statement on behalf of our honoree this evening.

Mr. Speaker, as was said earlier, Arnold Aronson in 1943 started the move toward FEP agencies, but it was in 1945, I believe was the year, that the first State FEP agency was enacted into law, and that was in New York. It is my great pleasure now to yield time to the gentleman from New York [Mr. OWENS].

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. CLYBURN] for taking out this most appropriate special order to honor Arnold Aronson.

Arnold Aronson represents a breed that gets lost, the people behind the scenes who do all the hard work. Often geniuses at an organization get lost. The headlines never pick them up, and history is of course filled with people of this kind, and the American dream would not be realized unless there were so many Americans of this kind out there always.

They were there during the civil rights struggle in great abundance, and they are still there to some degree. They have been intimidated by some of the loud voices and intimidated by the fact that there is such cynical reporting in the media, and have not exercised their full power.

But we are the majority; we are not beggars, the people who care. I call it the coalition of a caring majority, and I often talk about it as being a natural coalition. I say that almost in desperation, a natural coalition, because what we really need is a real coalition, and we have had real coalitions, well organized coalitions.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights represents a well organized coalition, a coalition that was needed at a particular time, and if it had not been there we would have a very different scenario for American history. The civil rights struggle and the results from that struggle would be very different.

It is important, and I do not want to be redundant because I think his accomplishments have been cited by a number of speakers, but it is important that we send a message to our young people, young people of all groups, all races, but particularly young people who are African-American. There is so much cynicism, there are so many loud voices competing for their attention in

trying to divert them from a course of coalition, that we have to take this opportunity to emphasize the fact that coalitions are the only way to win in America. Mr. Speaker, we only get the majority if we are a coalition in America, if we happen to be a member of a minority.

In fact, the history of the world and the history of prejudice and of oppression shows that one of the reasons that people are oppressed is that they are in a minority. I mean there is no other reason.

When we look at all of the various reasons that oppressors give, they often say that this group was oppressed because it had an inferior education, it had bad hygiene habits, bad sex mores, it had an inferior IQ, the IQ was not high enough. We get that kind of argument sometimes. But get another argument that they were too brilliant, they knew too much, they dominated too many positions in the judiciary, they dominated too many positions in the intellectual circles, and you get the same kind of oppression because the oppressor looks for a reason behind the reason.

The real reason is that because they are in a minority and they are weak, they are fodder for demagogues. I think the senior Benjamin Netanyahu, who has written a book about the inquisition, the Spanish Inquisition, one of his conclusions is that the Jews were oppressed in Egypt, and he searched for all the reasons and found that for no other reason than they were the minority and they were weak and easy prey to demagogues, and the pattern of oppression against the Jews in other places was the same. They were just there, easy fodder for demagogues.

Any minority in any society is easy fodder for demagogues. Therefore, all minorities should always place a high premium on forming coalitions, all minorities. Certainly African-Americans in America should understand that we cannot survive without coalitions. Coalitions are our only means for survival.

Yes, we have had a lot of progress, and of course we are trumpeting and paying tribute to some of the progress that has been made as a result of some of the people like Arnold Aronson, but the message to the young people should be that this is the way it was then, this is the way it has to be now, this is the way it must continue to be. Coalitions. You win with coalitions. The caring majority in America is larger than any other group. When you put it all together, the caring majority is big, the caring majority can make America work.

Most people in America do not want to live by somebody else's sweat, they do not want to live by somebody's else's blood. They do not want to be unfair. Most people in America are ready to follow leadership that calls out the best in them. But unfortunately, the leadership that gets the high visibility, the leadership that gets the media attention, the leadership

that gets the microphone most of the time are leadership members who are calling for the worst in people.

This is true unfortunately not only in the majority, but also in some minorities. In our own minority we have had loud voices that have called for separatism, isolationism; loud voices that have gone into extremism; loud voices that have sought to tear asunder long-existing coalitions. Arnold Aronson behind the scenes was one of those people who was always working to knit together that coalition and to make that coalition effective.

Throughout history there have been a whole lot of them. White men, white women, have played a major role in the liberation of black people in America. When slaves were totally powerless, when slaves had no organization to form coalitions with, it was the abolitionists, it was the whites who had to carry the ball.

In the crucial days following the end of the Civil War, it was white Thaddeus Stevens from Pennsylvania, it was white Charles Sumner and others who had to forge ahead and against evil forces that were seeking to undermine the victory won in the Civil War, the end of slavery. They had to forge ahead and help push the 13th amendment and the 14th amendment and the 15th amendment. Whites had to do that, and whites did it, in many cases all alone.

The abolitionists formed coalitions, and those coalitions began to take root after blacks were able to organize. But we are here, and for all of those young people who think we have not gone far enough: too much lack of opportunity, too much discrimination, economic oppression now is the problem, and therefore they want to become cynical about attempting to move forward in coalition with others, I say to those young people, history unfortunately moves too slow.

History unfortunately is a captive of strong men who sometimes are evil men. History unfortunately does not realize the full potential of the human spirit, but history does move forward like an inchworm. Maybe it is a wounded inchworm sometimes, but it moves forward.

We would not be where we are today if it had not been for history moving forward. It is made to move forward because there are people like Arnold Aronson that we do not hear about. They swarm like beautiful butterflies; we do not know they are there, but we only need leadership to call them forth. And among our young people, they could be and should be part of those swarming butterflies moving together to make America great; behind the scenes, unsung, doing the hard work necessary to realize the dreams that are here.

We have a great potential in this country. We are the richest country that exists on the face of the earth. Productivity, prosperity, everything is booming forward at this point. Why are there so many people suffering? Why

are there such evil ideas being put forth? It is because so many people have given up; so many people do not recognize that when we put the coalition forward, we are the majority, we do not have to be beggars.

Arnold Aronson understood that. He understood the price we have to pay in energy and time and patience to make the coalitions work. I salute Arnold Aronson, and I hope the young people will go searching; when they do their book reports and they make their various presentations during Black History Month, as well as any other time, that they single out people who have not been highlighted in the encyclopedias enough, people who have not been portrayed on the calendars, but the people who have made history what it is in terms of the positive movement forward in America, people like Arnold Aronson. I congratulate Arnold Aronson on his 86th birthday.

□ 2045

I congratulate Arnold Aronson on his 86th birthday. I thank the gentleman for being here.

Mr. CLYBURN. I thank the gentleman for his statement. Mr. Speaker, in closing this special order this evening, I thought as I listened to the remarks being made by my colleagues this evening, I thought about the last time I shared a lunch, I believe it was in Kansas City, with Arnold Aronson and the things we talked about.

I thought about many of his successors as president of the National Association of Human Rights Workers: Dick Lexum in Michigan, Leon Russell, and Albert Nelson in Florida, Mary Snead in South Carolina, Marjorie Connor in Michigan, and many, many others.

I thought about Martin Luther King, Jr.'s letter from the Birmingham city jail. A lot of us read that letter. I try to read it at least once a year. There is a place in that letter where King spoke or wrote about people like Arnold Aronson. He wrote at one place in his letter that we are going to be made to repent in this generation, not just for the vitriolic words and deeds of bad people, but for the appalling silence of good people.

I am pleased to join with my colleagues tonight thanking Arnold Aronson for being among the good people who refused to remain silent. Because he spoke up and because he stood up, many of us are here in this body this evening, and many of us are in similar bodies all across this country. I can think of no better way to help him celebrate his 86th birthday than to have participated in this special order tonight.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I want to wish Arnold Aronson many, many more birthdays.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to applaud the work and character of Arnold Aronson. His distinguished career in civil rights spans nearly 60 years. Mr. Aronson is most noted for being one of the founders of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights in 1950 and his draft of the report "To Secure these Rights." This re-

port was later issued by President Truman's Citizens Committee on Civil Rights in 1947 and eventually became the basis for the 1957 Civil Rights Act. Mr. Aronson was also one of the ten organizers and leaders of the historic 1963 march on Washington.

Throughout his career, Aronson has worked with many organizations spanning the entire spectrum of the civil rights movement. He was program director of the National Jewish Community Relations Council and founder and president of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Education Fund. He is also noted for his attempts to rally Jewish and black communities in the interest of racial tolerance.

I salute the dedication and contributions of Arnold Aronson to civil rights.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. CLYBURN. 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 this special order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ROGAN). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

TAX AND SPEND

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. EHRLICH] for 60 minutes.

Mr. EHRLICH. Mr. Speaker, I am going to be joined by a number of our colleagues tonight on the majority side to talk about a couple of issues of great importance to the American people. The gentleman from California [Mr. COX] and I want to talk about an issue near and dear to our hearts, reform of estate taxation and the way we tax success in this country.

We are going to talk about the balanced budget, and the hope for cutting the capital gains tax rate in this country.

Mr. Speaker, what we are really talking about tonight is tax and spend: how we tax and why we spend so much in this country.

There are really two issues, when we think about it. One is how we put the brakes on government, because the nature of government is to grow always, at every level of government: local, State, and Federal. That is pretty natural when we think about it, because it is the nature of elected officials to want to please their constituents.

Unfortunately, that desire to please has given us an almost \$6 trillion budget deficit in this country, an issue we will be talking about in greater detail in the course of the evening.

How do we put the brakes on the nature of government? In Maryland, in the Maryland Legislature, the Maryland General Assembly, where I came from for 8 wonderful years, we have a constitutional requirement for a balanced budget. We are striving for that

same policy goal in this House, as Members well know.

The second part of the equation is empowering people, how we are going to empower the individual and not government. That is the logical second part of the equation.

First of all, putting the brakes to government. I am pleased to sit on the Committee on the Budget under the chairman, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KASICH]. I am pleased to sit with Members from both sides of the aisle who are serious about actually balancing the budget, what should be a noncontroversial goal in American political discourse, but it is. An awful lot of folks we represent do not understand why it is so controversial.

As I said earlier, Mr. Speaker, it is the natural inclination of people to please. It is the natural inclination of folks in public office to please. We are politicians. We run for elections. We want votes from folks. Usually we get those votes by promising people something. Unfortunately, on both sides of the aisle over the last 3 decades in this town, we have garnered votes by promising more government.

For whatever societal ill has come about, whatever real or perceived problem is high on the national agenda, politicians have promised more government because it is the easy thing to do. It is always easier to say yes than say no. It is always easier to create one more law, to put out one more regulation, to create one more agency, to pass one more statute, because unfortunately, an awful lot of us run for election on records, and those records are composed of what bills we have passed in the legislature.

We do not measure success by how we have downsized government, we measure success by how we have increased the scope of government in our daily lives. That is very unfortunate. I think a lot of the folks elected around here in the last couple of terms understand that is not the appropriate measure of what we should be doing in this town, because we simply cannot afford it.

There is a distinction between politics and leaders, between politicians and leaders. Politicians respond to the natural inclination for government to grow. Leaders will make the right decisions. Leaders will say no, because part of leadership is saying no, and that is where the Committee on the Budget is, particularly in the 105th Congress. That is what we are going to deliver to the American people, a real balanced budget with honest numbers.

The second part of the equation is, once we get government to stop growing, how do we empower people? People want to be empowered. As government loses power, individuals gain power. One, we empower people to put more money in their pockets so they can decide how they will spend their own hard-earned money.