

The sanctions by our country alone were insufficient. But, as a global community, we were sufficient. And that is where the P5+1 comes in. Listen carefully to what those countries are saying about a renegotiation, “not likely.”

So where are we? I believe we have to support this deal that was put together by these six major countries, supported by the European Union and the United Nations. This is the path that would block all paths to a nuclear weapon that Iran might be able to pursue for at least the next 15 years and beyond.

I ask my colleagues to look hard at this. Unfortunately, a lot of the newspapers are portraying this as a partisan fight. I don't believe it is. I know that many of my colleagues on the Democratic side and certainly what appears to be most Republicans, if not all, are opposed to the deal. I am certain many of them have their own reasons for that opposition.

But I think, when you take a comprehensive look at this deal, when you look at all of the elements, that is, what happens if there is no deal and Iran can immediately restart its nuclear weapons program, you go, “Whoa. That is not a good thing.”

On the other hand, if this deal holds, then Iran will be prevented from having a nuclear weapon for at least 15 years, quite probably 20 years.

Should they continue to honor the nonproliferation treaty, then it would go on indefinitely. That is a good thing. And, therefore, I support this negotiated deal and I ask my colleagues to do the same.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I have completed my time on the floor.

I notice that two of my colleagues are here to speak to the passing of one of our Members of this House who served here for many, many years.

#### HONORING REPRESENTATIVE LOUIS STOKES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2015, the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) is recognized for the remainder of the hour as the designee of the minority leader.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I would like to extend deepest thanks to Congressman GARAMENDI for sharing his time with us and, also, to Congresswoman EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON, who has been waiting almost an hour to share her memories of a very great American.

We are here this evening, Mr. Speaker, and we rise to honor the illustrious career of a dear friend and stellar colleague, the late Congressman Louis Stokes from Cleveland, Ohio.

Our hearts are heavy, but immensely grateful for his path-breaking life and legendary generous service. As the first African American Member of Congress elected to serve from Ohio, he wrote new history for America, for Ohio, every day of his life.

Rising from the public housing projects of Cleveland, he and his brother Carl became revered as they built a more inclusive and representative America. What courage and passion that required.

A proud, personable, and gracious man whose fashion and manner exuded dignity, it was actually never his aspiration to be a politician. He opted instead to serve the local neighborhoods of Cleveland, where he grew up, after returning from 3 years of service in the U.S. Army during World War II.

After using his GI benefits to go to college, Lou served in the Veterans Administration and the Treasury Department before attending law school. He loved the law. He loved being a lawyer, and he loved writing laws here.

His enlightened leadership moved America forward socially, economically, and legally. In Congress, his gentlemanly demeanor and sharp intellect allowed him to chair, again, as the first African American, the Appropriations subcommittee on Veterans, Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies.

As a much newer, younger Member of Congress, I had the great privilege of serving under him as he chaired that important committee.

He also chaired the House Select Committee on Assassinations and served on the House Select Committee to investigate covert arms transactions with Iran. His agile legal mind was evident in the investigations he conducted.

The people of Cleveland and Ohio have been blessed throughout his life and hold abiding gratitude for his extraordinary accomplishments and generous spirit. I can still hear his laugh.

I am privileged, actually, to have served with Congressman Stokes for almost a quarter century and hold lasting memories of his deep love for his wife, for his mother, for his brother, for his children, and his grandchildren.

He had indefatigable and inspired efforts to gain respect and equal justice in the law for all of our citizens. And he saw progress, great progress, in his lifetime that we have so far to go.

I witnessed his perseverance in building America's communities forward and his dedication to meeting our Nation's obligations to veterans, to advance space science, and to catapult Cleveland's health and human services to the top rung of national assets.

I have so many memories of Congressman Stokes. I can remember one time in a subcommittee he had the head of Arlington Cemetery come up, and he had these big volumes that he brought with him of who were the veterans who were interred there.

And Congressman Stokes pointed out to the entire committee, “Go down and read the roster.” And the roster said, “No name,” “No name,” “No name,” “No name.” And Congressman Stokes informed us that, in fact, those were Africa Americans who had died in service to our country, but they were bur-

ied with no name at Arlington. And he made sure that that area was especially recognized, and he was writing history for America for the first time.

I thought, wow, this isn't 1870. This was in the 1980s and 1990s. He was a great teacher.

I shall sorely miss his dogged determination, easy smile, keen and measured counsel, and persevering nature.

The last time we were together was at a Fair Housing meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, just a few months ago. Looking back on his generous attendance at age 90 and looking in really great shape, I think it was his way—he hadn't told anyone yet what was ailing him, but I think it was his way of saying good-bye.

What a gracious gentleman he was. What a gifted leader has lived among us.

I am going to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a special story that was in the Cleveland Plain Dealer entitled, “Lou Stokes—The Congressman, Leading Lawyer, and Towering Political Presence Has Died,” written by Brent Larkin, Tom Diemer, and Sabrina Eaton of the Northeast Ohio Media Group.

Though I won't read the entire article into the record tonight, let me just read a few sentences:

“We have been blessed as a family with a legacy we can always be proud of,” Lou Stokes said. “Together with Carl”—his brother—“we made a name that stood for something. What greater honor could have come to two brothers who grew up in poverty here in Cleveland?”

And he tells a story about his mother. He would always get tears in his eyes when he would talk of his mother. She had become ill at one point, and he went to visit her.

And he said, “I took her hands to give her some comfort and, when I felt those hard, cold hands from scrubbing floors in order to give me an education, I began to understand what her life was about, what her life meant.” And that piercing memory Lou carried with him every day of his life.

“Beginning in junior high school, Stokes took jobs delivering the Cleveland News, shining shoes, and working in a small factory that made canned whipped cream.”

When he was 16, a man named Isadore Apisdorf hired him to perform odd jobs at his Army-Navy surplus store on lower Prospect Avenue. Seeing something in the youngster, Apisdorf ignored the risk to his business in those days and hired Stokes as a salesman.

When speaking of his early years, Stokes always remembered to mention the kindness demonstrated to him by a man “who sort of acted like a father to me,” Congressman Stokes said.

Stokes graduated from Central High School in 1943. And with World War II raging, he joined the Army and was assigned to a segregated unit that remained Stateside, mainly in the south.

Stokes recalled a layover his unit once had in Memphis where a group of

German prisoners of war in a train station restaurant were treated better than the Black soldiers.

Louis Stokes embodied so many memories and so much progress that he helped not just Cleveland, not just Ohio, but our country and people everywhere to persevere, no matter what the odds.

I shall miss him. What a gifted leader has lived among us. I know all of the people of Ohio join me, as do our colleagues, in saying: May the angels carry him to a deserved, peaceful rest close to the heart of God.

There are other Members that wish to speak this evening. I just feel very honored to be here. I can still see Lou in the cloakroom in the back with his good friend, Bill Clay, and some of the guys. We weren't included, as women, in those conversations, but we respected them.

And he was always cordial. He always sort of stood halfway turned so he could say hello to those Members going by. He had a special gracious manner about him.

[From Cleveland.com, Aug. 19, 2015]

LOU STOKES—THE CONGRESSMAN, LEADING LAWYER AND TOWERING POLITICAL PRESENCE HAS DIED

(By Brent Larkin)

CLEVELAND, OH.—Louis Stokes, whose iconic career in public life assures him a place as one of the most revered, respected and powerful figures in Cleveland history, died Tuesday night.

He was 90.

The older brother of former Mayor Carl B. Stokes had an aggressive form of cancer, diagnosed in late June.

A proud, personable and gracious man whose dress and manner exuded dignity, Stokes never wanted to be a politician, aspiring instead to become Cleveland's leading black lawyer.

But the reluctant officeholder who came to Congress in 1969 left it 30 years later as a towering political figure both in Washington and at home.

Mayor Frank Jackson was one of dozens to publicly mourn the death of his longtime friend.

"Congressman Louis Stokes' long career in public life was a model of how to serve with dignity, integrity and honor," Jackson said. "His service paved the way for many who would follow in both public and private careers. I know full well that, but for him, I would have never had the opportunity to become mayor."

For more than three decades, Stokes, his brother, former Council President George Forbes, and former Cleveland School Board President Arnold Pinkney dominated every aspect of black political life in the city.

Now, only Forbes survives.

"The four of us had parallel careers in public life," Forbes said. "It was not unusual for some of the things we did or said to be questioned. But not Lou Stokes. If he said it, or did it, it was like a pronouncement from Sinai. It was the gospel. It was the last word. No one disagreed with him."

Stokes' resume in the House included stints as chairman of the select committee that from 1976 to 1978 investigated the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr., chairman of the House Ethics Committee, a member of the House select committee that investigated the Iran-Contra affair, and the first black to

chair the Intelligence Committee and serve on the influential House Appropriations Committee.

In Cleveland, Stokes' political muscle was the 21st Congressional District Caucus, a political organization founded by his late brother that became so powerful, its ability to influence election outcomes sometimes surpassed that of the Cuyahoga County Democratic Party.

When Stokes and the caucus urged Democrats in his district to vote against a sitting Democratic president in the Ohio presidential primary in 1980, they did just that, supporting Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy over President Jimmy Carter by a margin of nearly 2-1.

Stokes never lost an election. Nor did he forget where he came from.

And he never strayed from his commitment to expand political and economic opportunities for minorities.

In an interview at his home just a month before his death and days after he learned of his terminal illness, Stokes emotionally reminisced on his storybook life.

"I was a very blessed guy," he began. "I've been blessed with the opportunity to participate in history, to rise to opportunities I never envisioned . . . and to provide for people opportunities that, in many cases, they would have never had."

"We have been blessed as a family with a legacy we can always be proud of. Together with Carl, we made a name that stood for something."

"What greater honor could have come to two brothers who grew up in poverty here in Cleveland?"

#### HUMBLE BEGINNINGS

Lou Stokes was born Feb. 23, 1925, the first of two children born to Charles and Louise Stokes. Carl was born a little more than two years later.

Their father died when Lou was three, and Louise Stokes took an \$8-a-day job as a domestic worker at homes in the eastern suburbs. To help raise the young boys in their small apartment on East 69th Street, Louise's mother moved to Cleveland from Georgia.

Stokes spoke often and with great emotion of his mother, and her repeated lectures on the importance of an education.

"One night, she was lying in bed ill and I went into her room and sat with her," Stokes recalled during an interview last year at the Maltz Museum of Jewish Heritage.

"I took her hands to give her some comfort. And when I felt those hard, cold hands from scrubbing floors in order to give me an education, I began to understand what she meant."

Beginning in junior high, Stokes took jobs delivering the Cleveland News, shining shoes and working in a small factory that made canned whip cream.

When Stokes was 16, Isadore Apisdorf hired him to perform odd jobs at his Army-Navy surplus store on lower Prospect Avenue. Seeing something in the youngster, Apisdorf ignored the risks to his business and hired Stokes as a salesman.

When speaking of his early years, Stokes always remembered to mention the kindness demonstrated to him by a man "who sort of acted like a father to me."

Stokes graduated from Central High School in 1943. With World War II raging, he joined the Army and was assigned to a segregated unit that remained stateside, mainly in the South. Stokes recalled a layover his unit once had in Memphis where a group of German prisoners of war in a train station restaurant were treated better than the black soldiers.

After the war, Stokes attended Western Reserve University on the G.I. Bill. He

worked for a time for the Veterans Administration and Treasury Department before graduating from Cleveland State University's Cleveland Marshall College of Law in 1953.

Stokes opened up a small law office on St. Clair Avenue, and was later joined by his brother. Carl also became a lawyer and, in 1962, became the first black Democrat elected to the Ohio House.

Around this time, Stokes drew the attention of Norman Minor, considered one of the greatest lawyers in Ohio history and the greatest black lawyer Cleveland ever produced.

"I tried to be like Norman Minor in every way I could," Stokes recalled in 2014. "Carl loved politics. I didn't have that love. I loved being a lawyer."

#### MAKING HISTORY

On the night of Nov. 7, 1967, Stokes sat with Martin Luther King Jr. in the Rockefeller Building just west of Public Square, and experienced what he described as "a pioneering political event for America"—Carl Stokes' election as the nation's first black, big-city mayor.

In 1965 and again two years later, King had made numerous trips to Cleveland aimed at registering blacks to vote. Carl Stokes lost the 1965 mayoral primary by about 1,700 votes. Two years later, he beat Republican Seth Taft by about 2,500 votes.

Lou Stokes said King was "tremendously helpful" to his brother in both those elections.

Less than a month after his brother's winning election, Stokes enjoyed his own first moment of fame, arguing a case before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The case involved John Terry, a Cleveland man suspected of preparing to rob a Euclid Avenue store downtown in 1963. Terry and two others were stopped on the sidewalk by a Cleveland policeman, who frisked Terry and found a gun.

The landmark case of *Terry v. Ohio* upheld the arrest, but allowed police to stop and frisk suspects only when the officer has a "reasonable suspicion" the suspect is about to commit a crime, and may be armed and dangerous.

That same year, another landmark Supreme Court ruling known as "one man, one vote" led to Carl Stokes and Gov. James Rhodes collaborating in the creation of a new, majority-minority congressional district comprised of Cleveland's East Side and some eastern suburbs.

At his brother's urging, a reluctant Lou Stokes put his law career on hold and became a candidate. In the Democratic primary, Stokes beat 13 opponents, including George Forbes, Leo Jackson and George White.

In January 1969, Stokes entered Congress along with Shirley Chisholm of New York and William "Bill" Clay of Missouri. Their elections brought to nine the number of blacks in Congress.

Stokes immediately began to make his mark, becoming a founding member of the Congressional Black Caucus a little more than a year after taking office.

Always served well by his personality, Stokes was a tall, hard-working man with a loud, infectious laugh. His gentle nature masked a steely commitment—and, at times, he was viewed as a bit too thin-skinned. Nevertheless, among his colleagues, Stokes was always considered one of the body's most popular members.

When Tip O'Neill became speaker of the U.S. House in 1977, Stokes' career took off. O'Neill's respect for Stokes earned him prestigious and powerful committee assignments, which often translated into federal spending on projects important to Cleveland.

"We had a very special relationship," Stokes said of O'Neill during his July 14 interview. "He used to call me 'Louie, my pal.' He gave me some very tough assignments."

In 1987, Stokes had a memorable back-and-forth with Oliver North during the Iran-Contra hearings, telling the Marine Corps lieutenant colonel, "While I admire your love for America, I just hope you will never forget that others, too, love America just as much as you do—and . . . will die for America just as quickly as you will."

#### THE POWER BROKER

Back in Cleveland, the 1971 decision by Carl Stokes to leave town for a television career in New York instead of seeking a third term as mayor created a significant power vacuum within the black political establishment.

Stokes moved decisively to fill that vacuum, and Democratic leaders awarded him a co-chairmanship of the county party. But Forbes and Arnold Pinkney were becoming powerful black political figures in their own right.

For the next 10 to 15 years, the inevitable tensions that arise with power-sharing led to public disagreements and some angry private moments—with Call and Post founder and publisher W.O. Walker often serving as a mediator.

Over time, those strains disappeared. And while Forbes would eventually cement a legacy as the most powerful City Council president in Cleveland history and Pinkney twice waged competitive campaigns for mayor and became a nationally recognized political consultant, there was never any doubt who owned the magic political name.

That name at times moved Stokes and the 21st Congressional District Caucus to part ways with the Democratic Party. And Stokes was not above using the caucus as a weapon to punish and defeat candidates he believed did not deserve black votes.

The caucus' influence was often most pronounced in down-the-ballot races for judge and other offices. But in the 1977 election for mayor, one of the most competitive and dramatic in the city's history, support from the Stokes brothers probably made the difference in Dennis Kucinich's victory over Democratic Party-backed Edward Feighan.

Tim Hagan served as Feighan's de facto campaign manager. Several months after the election, he would become chairman of the county's Democratic Party.

"If Congressman Stokes was with you, it gave you unquestioned credibility with the people he represented," said Hagan. "It made the difference between winning or losing an election. Lou's endorsement was the most important endorsement a candidate sought."

There were a few stumbles, but none major. And they did little or nothing to tarnish Stokes' relationship with his constituents. [In 1983, following a late-night session of Congress, he was convicted on a minor charge of driving under the influence and also of running a red light; Stokes said he was overly tired but sober, but decided not to appeal the jury verdict.] In the early 1990s, he had 551 overdrafts at the House Bank, most for small amounts.

In 1993, Stokes reached the height of his power in Congress, joining the prestigious "College of Cardinals" when he became chair of the Appropriations subcommittee for the Veterans Administration and Housing and Urban Development. It was a position that gave Stokes enormous say in how and where tens of billions in federal dollars were spent. The Louis Stokes Cleveland VA Medical Center on East 105th Street is one of several Cleveland buildings named in his honor.

But his enthusiasm for the job would soon wane. In 1994, Republicans took control of

the House. Two years later, at age 71, Stokes had open heart surgery at the Cleveland Clinic and a tumor removed from his vocal cords.

When, in April 1996, Carl Stokes died of cancer, Stokes lost his best friend.

#### THE DENOUEMENT

By 1998, after 30 years in office, Stokes decided not to seek re-election.

On the day he announced his retirement, Plain Dealer columnist Elizabeth Auster wrote, "Stokes brought more than money home from Washington. He also brought laughter and inspiration and pride. And sometimes those are harder to come by."

Then-Cleveland Mayor Michael White said of Stokes, "Someone will fill his seat, but I don't think anyone will ever fill his shoes."

It was always a foregone conclusion Stokes' job would pass to Stephanie Tubbs Jones, county prosecutor at the time. When Tubbs Jones died unexpectedly in 2008, Marcia Fudge became only the third person to hold the seat.

In retirement, Stokes became senior counsel at the Cleveland-based law firm of what was then Squire Sanders & Dempsey. He served on several corporate boards, including Forest City Enterprises.

When asked in the July interview about the lack of civility in Washington today, Stokes said he was sometimes embarrassed to be a former member of Congress.

"I have members of Congress whom I see, on both sides of the aisle, and they tell me, 'Louie, you wouldn't want to be here now.' It's a waste of your time and intellect to be involved there now and see how difficult it is to concentrate on doing what's best for people—considering you were sent there to help people. That's gone now."

Stokes retired from the law firm in 2012, and resigned from the Forest City board last year. In recent months, he spent time assisting his daughter, Cleveland Municipal Court Judge Angela Stokes, who is contesting disciplinary charges filed against her by the Ohio Supreme Court's Disciplinary Counsel.

Besides Angela, he is survived by his wife of 55 years, Jeanette (Jay); daughter Shelley Stokes-Hammond, retired public affairs director at Howard University; daughter Lori, a television news anchor in New York City; son Chuck, editorial and public affairs director at a Detroit television station; and seven grandchildren.

Funeral arrangements are pending.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I yield to EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, who I know was a very, very dear friend of Congressman Stokes. I thank her so much for joining us this evening.

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Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to join Congresswoman KAPTUR in sharing some sentiments.

Mr. Speaker, I stand in recognition of the late Congressman Louis Stokes, a dear friend and a tremendous patriot, who dedicated his life to serving our great Nation. He was dedicated to expanding political and economic opportunities for all Americans, and he was determined to transcend the culture of discrimination and injustice.

Louis Stokes rose from humble beginnings in the local housing projects of Cleveland, Ohio, to serve 30 years in the U.S. House of Representatives. He was first elected in 1968. Reluctant to enter the political arena, Stokes was persuaded to run for office by his

younger brother, Carl B. Stokes, the first African American mayor of a major American city, elected in 1967.

Prior to serving in Congress, Mr. Stokes served as a civil rights lawyer. He was the first African American to represent the State of Ohio in Congress and was a founding member of the Congressional Black Caucus. Throughout his tenure in the House, he chaired several congressional committees and was the first African American to win a seat on the House Committee on Appropriations.

During his long tenure in Congress, he headed and participated in several major House investigations. In March of 1977, he was appointed to lead the Select Committee on Assassinations, formed to conduct an investigation of the circumstances surrounding the deaths of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

He also served as the chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and became the first African American Member of Congress to head this committee.

He was the dean of the Ohio congressional delegation. His work in the area of health led to his appointment as a member of the Pepper Commission of comprehensive health care, and he was the founder and chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus Health Braintrust. In 1981, he chaired the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

When Louis Stokes retired in 1998, he became the first African American in the history of the U.S. Congress to retire after 30 years of service. Following his service in Congress, he became a senior counsel at Squire, Sanders & Dempsey, LLP, a global law firm, and distinguished visiting professor at the Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences at Case Western Reserve University.

He also served as a vice chairman of the Pew Environmental Health Commission at the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health and was appointed by the former Health and Human Services Secretary, Donna Shalala, as chairman of the Advisory Committee on Minority Health.

As a founding member of the Congressional Black Caucus, he engineered a vehicle that would foster collaboration and strategic alliances for generations. Because of his visionary leadership, we all benefit from an organization powerful enough to engage, empower, and excite generations of African American leaders who influence the political landscape, impact the outcome of elections, and serve as strong voices for those weakened by poverty, discrimination, and lack of opportunity.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud and honored to have had the privilege of serving with this Congressman. I was inspired by his intelligence, preparation, dignity, generosity, and forward thinking.

He leaves behind a legacy that inspires not only those who served with him, but a generation of future leaders.

I am grateful for this vision that he had, his integrity, his grace, his friendship, and his mentorship.

Ms. KAPTUR. Thank you, Congresswoman EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, a long way from Cleveland, for your great service and for sharing your memories of our beloved friend, Congressman Louis Stokes.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Ms. KAPTUR. I know others want to enter material in the RECORD in memory of Congressman Stokes.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the subject of this Special Order.

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

There was no objection.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I also wanted to mention that Congressman Stokes' beautiful wife, Jeanette, who was at his side through all his years of service; his daughters, Angela, Shelley, Lori; his son, Chuck; and seven grandchildren.

What an amazing family—the Stokes family has made many contributions to Ohio and to our country, but I think Jeanette and Congressman Stokes are proudest of the children and grandchildren that they have raised. They have represented the family well during this most difficult time.

#### HONORING SPEAKER JIM WRIGHT

Ms. KAPTUR. I would like to turn to a different subject, if I might, in the remaining time.

Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago, there was a Special Order that was given on Speaker Jim Wright, and I was unable, because of duties in Ohio, to join my remarks to those of his friends and colleagues here in the Congress. I rise tonight to honor him for the leader and master of the legislative process that Speaker Jim Wright of Fort Worth, Texas, was.

He approached life with an eager and courageous mission and a true democratic heart. He loved this House. He just loved it. He just basked in its glory and its power, and he had the keenness of intellect, the balance of knowledge, the intuition, the direction, and the wisdom that comes from the long years of experience that he had at the level of Fort Worth and then the State of Texas and then, obviously, federally.

He was a veteran of World War II and had been a pilot and received the Distinguished Flying Cross. He was truly—truly—a courageous hero for our country and chose to serve then in elected life.

What I will forever remember of him was his dignity and his strength. His personal ability to also forgive those who sought to harm him and move on was an amazing trait, and I think it re-

vealed some of what he was able to bring as a negotiator and a statesman to the work here.

He was a passionate fighter for the people of our country, especially those of ordinary means who might not have their voices heard, and when he got into a topic that he loved, he was absolutely unstoppable.

He was a gifted orator. He spoke with all of his heart, and he elevated this House and the people who served in it. He loved Congress. He referred to it as a heady place to be, where Members of both political parties should cooperate to make America a world leader and to build and support a strong middle class.

His early life growing up during the Great Depression had a permanent imprint on him, and he never forgot the common person. His service in the Army during World War II instilled in him a life of service and a dedication to help those less fortunate, but also a passion for liberty.

His legislative achievements were legion. He helped create the Clean Water Act and the Interstate Highway System, and he helped guarantee benefits for returning veterans. I remember what a master he was. I believe he chaired the House Public Works Committee and rose from there.

I can still see him making the case, right at this podium here in the House, for a modern transportation bill, clinking dimes in a large glass bowl to say that we have to pay our way forward here. He understood what it took to build and maintain a great nation's prosperity. He was a terrific, terrific orator.

In foreign affairs, Speaker Wright had a contribution that one could describe as profound. He was a peacemaker. He visited the Middle East and facilitated the meeting that led to the accord between Israel and Egypt in 1977.

More than a decade later, he led a successful push for a compromise that would end the war between the Sandinista government and the Contras in Nicaragua. Over time, his approach would lead to the end of U.S. military financing and the start of democratically held elections there. How many Americans can say they have ever been involved in something of that magnitude?

In his farewell speech before Congress, Speaker Wright said: "When vengeance becomes more desirable than vindication, harsh personal attacks on one another's motives, one another's character, drown out the quiet logic of serious debate on important issues, things that we ought to be involved ourselves in, surely that is unworthy of our institution, unworthy of our American political process. All of us in both parties must resolve to bring this period of mindless cannibalism to an end. There has been enough of it."

Speaker Wright returned to Fort Worth where he donated his official papers to Texas Christian University's li-

brary and taught a TCU course called Congress and the Presidents for more than 20 years. His intention to keep the class small was simply impossible, as his enrollment grew at an increasing rate every year.

Speaker Wright always treated me graciously. Here I was from Ohio, a completely different part of the country, but I appreciate the fact that he assisted my efforts to seek a seat on the Committee on Appropriations—it took me over a decade to arrive there—since no one from our part of Ohio had ever served on it.

He saw the exclusion, and he helped me. I am so grateful to him forever for that and what I have been able to do to help the country in that position.

He and I shared many experiences and pursuits during our shared years in Congress, but one of my favorite memories is something we had in common, and that was a love of gardening and roses. He was especially fond of a gray-purplish variety of rose that he had raised to perfection. He just loved life.

Speaker Wright would often quote Horace Greeley in saying: "Fame is a vapor; popularity an accident; riches take wings; those who cheer today may curse tomorrow; only one thing endures—character."

Speaker Wright was certainly a man of great character and great talent and ability and great accomplishment.

We shall miss him greatly. May the hearts of his loved ones, his beloved wife, Betty; his four children; 15 grandchildren; 24 great-grandchildren; and his sister Betty Lee Wright be warmed by the light of his memory and the legacy of liberty he bestowed upon us all and the great affection we shall always have for him in our hearts.

May God bless the Wright family.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, Louis Stokes rose from the local housing projects to serve 30 years in the U.S. House, becoming a potent symbol for his Cleveland-based majority-black district. Reluctant to enter the political arena, Stokes was persuaded to run for office by his prominent brother and by community members he had served for decades as a civil rights lawyer.

His accomplishments were substantive and of historic proportions. The first Black to represent Ohio, Stokes chaired several congressional committees (including the Permanent Select Intelligence Committee) and was the first African American to win a seat on the powerful House Appropriations Committee.

He used his success to try to increase opportunities for millions of African Americans, saying, "I'm going to keep on denouncing the inequities of this system, but I'm going to work within it. To go outside the system would be to deny myself—to deny my own existence. I've beaten the system. I've proved it can be done—so have a lot of others." Stokes continued, "But the problem is that a black man has to be extra special to win in this system. Why should you have to be a super black to get someplace? That's what's wrong in the society. The ordinary black man doesn't have the

same chance as the ordinary white man does.”

Louis Stokes was born on February 23, 1925, in Cleveland, Ohio, to Charles and Louise Cinthy (Stone) Stokes. His father worked in a laundromat and died when Louis was young. Stokes and his younger brother, Carl, were raised by their widowed mother, whose salary as a domestic was supplemented by welfare payments. Louis Stokes supplemented the family income by shining shoes around the Cleveland projects and clerking at an Army/Navy store. He attended Cleveland's public schools and served as a personnel specialist in the U.S. Army from 1943 to 1946. He returned home with an honorable discharge, taking jobs in the Veterans Administration and Treasury Department offices in Cleveland while attending college at night with the help of the GI Bill. He attended the Cleveland College of Western Reserve University from 1946 to 1948. Stokes eventually earned a J.D. from the Cleveland Marshall School of Law in 1953 and, with his brother, opened the law firm Stokes and Stokes. On August 21, 1960, Louis Stokes married Jeanette (Jay) Francis, and they raised four children: Shelly, Louis C., Angela, and Lorene.

He devoted himself to his law practice, where he became involved in a number of civil rights—related cases—often working pro bono on behalf of poor clients and activists. He was an active participant in civic affairs. Working on behalf of the Cleveland NAACP, Stokes helped challenge the Ohio legislature's redistricting in 1965 that followed the Supreme Court's “one man, one vote” decision.

The state legislature had fragmented the congressional districts that overlay Cleveland, diluting black voting strength. Stokes joined forces with Charles Lucas, a black Republican, to challenge that action. They lost their case in U.S. District Court, but based on Stokes's written appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed with the brief in 1967. From that decision followed the creation of Ohio's first majority-black district. Later that year, in December 1967, Stokes made an oral argument before the U.S. Supreme Court in *Terry v. Ohio*, a precedent-setting case that defined the legality of police search and seizure procedures.

At his brother Carl's behest Louis Stokes made his first run for elective office in 1968. He sought to win the seat in the newly created congressional district that encompassed much of the east side of Cleveland. Stokes was hardly a typical newcomer to the political campaign. First, his brother, Mayor Stokes, put the services of his political network at Louis's disposal. Stokes won by a landslide. He won his subsequent 14 general elections by lopsided margins in the heavily Democratic district taking as much as 88 percent of the vote.

As a freshman Representative, Stokes received assignments on the Education and Labor Committee and the Internal Security Committee (formerly the House Un-American Activities Committee). He enthusiastically accepted the former assignment, believing Education and Labor would be a prime platform from which he could push the agenda for his urban district: job training, economic opportunity, and educational interests. But Stokes was less pleased with the Internal Security panel, which had lapsed into an increasingly irrelevant entity since its heyday investigating communists in the 1940s and 1950s. (House

leaders disbanded it entirely in the mid-1970s.)

During his second term in the House, Stokes earned a seat on the Appropriations Committee. During more than two decades on the committee, Stokes steered hundreds of millions of federal dollars into projects in his home state. He eventually became an Appropriations subcommittee chair, or “cardinal,” for Veterans, HUD, and Independent Agencies. Stokes was the second African-American “cardinal” ever (the first, Julian Dixon of California, chaired the DC Subcommittee). Years later, Stokes said of the Appropriations Committee, “It's the only committee to be on. All the rest is window dressing.” In addition to chairing an Appropriations subcommittee, Stokes is one of fewer than two dozen African Americans ever to chair a House committee and one of just a handful to wield the gavel on multiple panels: the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (100th Congress), the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct (97th–98th Congresses, 102nd Congress), and the Select Committee on Assassinations (95th Congress).

The growing ranks of black Members sought to create a power base, realizing—in the words of Representative William (Bill) Clay, Sr. of Missouri they “had to parlay massive voting potential into concrete economic results.” As freshman House Members, Stokes and Clay quickly developed an enduring friendship and became strong supporters of the formation of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), to promote economic, educational, and social issues that were important to African Americans. This strategy dovetailed with Stokes's perception of his role as an advocate for the “black community” in his district. Stokes served as chairman of the CBC for two consecutive terms beginning in 1972, after Chairman Charles Diggs, Jr., of Michigan resigned from the post. A centrist, Stokes was widely credited with shepherding the group away from the polarizing politics of various black factions toward a more stable and organized policy agenda.

Using his position as CBC chairman and his increasing influence on the Appropriations Committee, Representative Stokes pushed a legislative agenda that mirrored the needs of his majority-black district. He earned a reputation as a congenial but determined activist for minority issues, consistently scoring as one of the most liberal Members of the House in the Americans for Democratic Action and the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations vote tallies. He advocated more funding for education (particularly for minority colleges), affirmative action programs to employ more blacks, housing and urban development projects, and initiatives to improve access to health care for working-class Americans. In the 1980s, Stokes vocalized black concerns that the Ronald W. Reagan administration was intent on rolling back minority gains made in the 1960s and 1970s. He described conservative efforts to scale back school desegregation efforts and affirmative action programs—as well as massive spending on military programs—as a “full scale attack” on the priorities of the black community. He also was an early advocate of federal government intervention in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

From his seat on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Stokes was a par-

ticularly forceful critic of the Reagan administration's foreign policy. He gained national prominence as a member of the House Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran when he grilled Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North in 1987 about his role in funding anticommunist Nicaraguan Contras through weapons sales to Tehran. At one juncture he reminded North, “I wore [the uniform] as proudly as you do, even when our government required black and white soldiers in the same Army to live, sleep, eat and travel separate and apart, while fighting and dying for our country.”

House leaders repeatedly sought to capitalize on Stokes's image as a stable, trustworthy, and competent adjudicator—turning to him to lead high-profile committees and handle controversial national issues, as well as the occasional ethics scandals in the House. When Representative Henry Gonzalez of Texas resigned as chairman of the Select Committee on Assassinations, Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill of Massachusetts tapped Stokes to lead the panel, which was investigating the circumstances surrounding the deaths of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In 1978, Stokes's committee filed 27 volumes of hearings and a final report that recommended administrative and legislative reforms. While the panel found that the King and the Kennedy murders may have involved multiple assassins (James Earl Ray and Lee Harvey Oswald have traditionally been described as lone killers), it concluded there was no evidence to support assertions of a broad conspiracy involving domestic groups or foreign governments—an assessment that has been upheld for the past three decades. The committee did suggest that Oswald may have had an accomplice on Dealey Plaza, where Kennedy was killed in November 1963.

Stokes's chairmanship of the Select Committee on Assassinations led to his appointment by Speaker O'Neill in 1981 as chairman of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct (often called the Ethics Committee). Stokes steered the panel through a turbulent period that included investigations of Members implicated in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's ABSCAM sting and a sex scandal that involved two House Members and current and former House Pages.

During the 1990s, Stokes's seniority made him an influential voice on the Appropriations Committee. In 1993, at the start of the 103rd Congress, he assumed the chairman's gavel of the Subcommittee on VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies, which controlled one of the largest chunks of discretionary spending in the federal budget. Stokes prodded federal agencies to hire and serve more minorities. Republicans praised him for his nonpartisan leadership of the subcommittee, but when the GOP won control of the House in the 1994 elections, and Stokes became the Ranking Member of the panel, he often found himself fighting Republican efforts to trim federal spending that involved cutting welfare programs, including public housing.

In January 1998, Stokes announced his retirement from the House, noting that he wanted to leave “without ever losing an election.” Moreover, a new generation of rising black politicians Cleveland was displacing those of Stokes's generation. Among his proudest accomplishments as a Representative, Stokes

cited his ability to bring Appropriations Committee money to his district to address needs in housing and urban development and the opportunities that allowed him to set "historic precedents" as an African American in the House. "When I started this journey, I realized that I was the first black American ever to hold this position in this state," Stokes told a newspaper reporter. "I had to write the book . . . I was going to set a standard of excellence that would give any successor something to shoot for." After his congressional career, Louis Stokes resumed his work as a lawyer. He was a great American Hero—to be admired and remembered by us all.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to remember the life of a truly remarkable man—former Congressman Louis B. Stokes, who passed away last month at the age of 90.

It was my honor to meet with Congressman Stokes when I was a staffer in the office of Congressman Ron Dellums. I later had the honor to serve with him as a member of the House of Representatives as we worked to secure funding for homeless shelters in my district.

Congressman Stokes was a trailblazer.

Born in Cleveland in 1925, he loved his home city and his home state of Ohio. And he was determined to improve the lives of everyone in his community. After serving in the military, he returned home to become a civil rights attorney and work on behalf of the poor and disenfranchised.

Raised in poverty along with his brother Carl, he dreamed of a more just and equal world. He refused to allow prejudice or adversity to slow him down.

Through his life, Lou showed an unwavering commitment to the people of Cleveland, and particularly the vulnerable and voiceless.

As the first African American member of Congress from Ohio—and an original co-founder of the Congressional Black Caucus and founding chair of the CBC's Health Brain Trust—Congressman Stokes was a proud voice for civil rights and equality.

And as the first African American to serve on the House Appropriations committee—the committee on which I now serve—Congressman Stokes worked tirelessly to bring resources and opportunities to folks struggling across the country.

In many ways, Congressman Stokes was ahead of his time. He was one of the earliest and most vocal supporters of addressing the burgeoning HIV/AIDS crisis.

As a veteran, he fought to ensure every veteran had the highest possible quality services and care upon returning home. And as the chairman of the Appropriations subcommittee on Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, he worked to ensure agency services reached communities of color.

His work to combat discrimination in every form—housing, education, health care access, economic opportunity and more—continues to inspire me.

While Congressman Stokes will be greatly missed, his legacy and work lives on.

By opening doors of opportunity, and inspiring generations of leaders in Cleveland, Ohio and beyond, Congressman Lou Stokes has made our nation a more just and equal place. He was a great man and a good friend who will be greatly missed. My thoughts and prayers are with his family and my deepest gratitude for sharing this great human being with us.

## IRAN'S PAST BEHAVIOR IS AN INDICATOR OF ITS FUTURE BEHAVIOR

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2015, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. RUSSELL) for 30 minutes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Speaker, it is a psychological fact of life that, when it comes to human beings, the best predictor of future behavior is past behavior, period, end of story.

Psychologists who study human behavior agree that past behavior is a useful marker for future behavior, but only under certain specific conditions. For example, high-frequency, habitual behaviors are more predictive than infrequent behaviors. Predictions work best if done over short periods of time, based upon these behaviors. The anticipated situation must be essentially the same as the past situation that activated the behavior in the first place. Also, the behavior did not change by corrective or negative action or feedback. The person must remain essentially unchanged in their consistent behavior. The person must be fairly consistent in his or her behaviors over time.

Forensic psychologists that observe such behavior often use metaphor to warn of serious danger by referring to such individuals as "a ticking time bomb" or as one "carrying a hand grenade, and it is just a matter of when the pin is pulled."

What happens if we apply these same criteria to Iran's behavior? The result is the same. Psychologically, there is no reason to expect future behavioral change, given Iran's 36 years of bad behavior.

The record of history since 1979 is clear with regard to Iran's actions with the West and, in particular, the United States. For 30 of those 36 years, the United States has declared Iran as the most active state sponsor of terrorism in the world.

For 36 years, Iran has brutally murdered more Americans than any other terror group or state sponsor of terror. Their clerics have declared fatwas on the United States; their leaders have dubbed us the Great Satan and have called Israel a one-bomb state, with pledges to eliminate their existence.

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That brutal behavior earned them treatment, and rightfully so, as a pariah, shunned by global economy, diplomacy, and withholding international goodwill.

So what a fantastic time to accommodate a terrorist state and make a deal.

Some, such as Secretary of State John Kerry, dismiss all of Iran's reticence as posturing rhetoric. How in God's name can we be so naive at the highest levels of our Republic to believe it?

How in God's name can we judge Iran's actions worthy of fair treatment and goodwill?

Perhaps we should take the teachings of Christ as a guide when he stated:

Every good tree bears good fruit. A good tree cannot bear bad fruit, but a bad tree bears bad fruit. Therefore, by their fruits, you will know them.

Christ's words, of course, are true. Iranian deeds speak louder than words. The problem is both word and deed are reprehensible, which should cause us even more alarm.

Don't believe me? Here are the facts of Iranian actions under this regime.

1979, hostage crisis. From the moment this regime came into being, the first act was to overrun the United States Embassy in Tehran, terrorizing 66 American hostages for 444 days, most of them, and forcing abandonment of our U.S. Embassy and consulates.

1982–1992, Lieutenant Colonel William Buckley, the CIA Station Chief and Vietnam warrior, decorated for valor, is tortured and brutally murdered.

David Anderson, a reporter of great renown, was captured and held for 7 years.

American University President David Dodge was captured and held for a year.

1983, April 18, the U.S. Embassy in Beirut is bombed, murdering 63, 17 of them Americans. The entire CIA Middle East contingent is reportedly murdered. The entire operation was directed by Hezbollah and financed by Iran.

October 23, the United States Marine barracks in Beirut was destroyed by the largest nonnuclear explosion detonated on Earth by the hand of an Iranian terrorist; 241 United States Marines are slaughtered, and 100 are wounded.

During the same attack, the French barracks are destroyed by another Iranian terrorist bomb that murders 58 French paratroopers.

December 12, 1983, the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait was bombed by Iranian terrorists from Iranian-backed Hezbollah and Dawa, murdering 5 and wounding 86. Seventeen members of the Dawa are captured and arrested in connection. Iranian-sponsored terrorist acts then are perpetrated for years to come to try to negotiate their release.

1984, September 20, United States Embassy annex in Beirut is destroyed by Iranian-backed Hezbollah terrorists, murdering 22 civilians and 2 U.S. soldiers.

1985, June 14, Trans World Airlines Flight 847 hijacked with 160 hostages. Robert Dean Stetham, a United States Navy diver, is forced to kneel in front of an open aircraft door, shot in the back of the head, and dumped onto the tarmac. The remaining hostages are released, following terrorist releases from prisons in Israel and Lebanon.

1989, July 13, Dr. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, the Secretary General of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran, was assassinated by Iranian operatives, along with two associates in Vienna, where he was secretly meeting with envoys sent by then-Iranian President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani.