

Federal Government are closed. Spending authority is suspended for 9 Cabinet departments and 38 agencies, commissions, and boards, which have responded by closing virtually all functions.

Prior to 1982, the Federal Government had never closed. This is now the 12th closing in 14 years. Recall that the British arrived in Washington in 1814. They burnt the White House. They burnt the Capitol. We still did not close down the Federal Government. In the 1930's, in the midst of the worst depression we have ever had, we kept the Federal Government open. We now have an army in the Balkans. They deserve a better example.

One critical service forced to close is the Passport Office of the Department of State. Last night, the Senate passed a continuing resolution attached to H.R. 1643 and the majority leader's back-to-work bill, S. 1508. Both of these measures would reopen our passport offices. But, apparently, the House may balk at approving these eminently reasonable and logical measures. Accordingly, I rise to introduce legislation to reopen the Passport Office. Last year 5.3 million Americans applied for passports. This year the agency expects a record 5.6 million applications. Today, the Washington Post reports that the Government closing has created a backlog of 200,000 passport applications. This is no way to begin a record-breaking year at the Passport Office.

Speaking of the backlog of passport applications is perhaps too callous. All of these applications were submitted by citizens who expect that the Federal Government will provide them with a passport so they can travel to other countries to conduct business, study, visit family and friends, and vacation. Two hundred and fifty constituents have contacted my office seeking assistance; however, the passport office will only issue passports in cases considered life or death emergencies. One man was unable to attend his daughter's wedding in London because his passport had expired and could not be renewed. Another who is employed abroad fears losing his job if he cannot get his passport renewed. For years, we badgered the Soviet Union to grant more passports to its citizens. Now we are denying them to our own.

Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ratified by the U.S. Senate on April 2, 1992, recognizes that "Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own." This is a binding international obligation of the United States, yet we have now taken action which violates that covenant.

A 1- or 2-day delay might be considered a nuisance. For this to continue for 3 weeks leads to incalculable waste, as people are forced to cancel plans and seek refunds for reservations. This is not just. Closing passport offices and other large swaths of the Federal Government erodes the confidence of all Americans, disrupts the lives of those

who rely on Government services, and discourages Federal workers. Clearly we have entered an Orwellian realm in which employees are paid not to work so that negotiations to save money can continue.

The Founders of our Nation were astute students of government. They searched history to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of various political systems as they debated and later formed our own Government. They perceived how government power is derived from the consent of the governed. They perceived how government power is derived from the consent of the governed. In the Declaration of Independence they reveal their insights:

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, . . . Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes;

Governance is a covenant between the people and their leaders. Perhaps not since secession has that covenant been so trampled. The closing of the Government ought never have begun. Now we should end it without further delay. At a minimum, we should reopen our passport offices.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 912

At the request of Mr. KOHL, the name of the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ROCKEFELLER] was added as a cosponsor of S. 912, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to the eligibility of veterans for mortgage revenue bond financing, and for other purposes.

S. 1453

At the request of Mr. BURNS, the name of the Senator from Texas [Mrs. HUTCHISON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1453, a bill to prohibit the regulation by the Secretary of Health and Human Services and the Commissioner of Food and Drugs of any activities of sponsors or sponsorship programs connected with, or any advertising used or purchased by, the Professional Rodeo Cowboy Association, its agents or affiliates, or any other professional rodeo association, and for other purposes.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

THE ROAD TO MOUNT RUSHMORE IS A BALANCED BUDGET

• Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, Mount Rushmore, set in the heart of the Black Hills National Forest, was created as a shrine to America's de-

mocracy. As a powerful American symbol, it is the jewel of the National Park System. Like all other units of the National Park System, Mount Rushmore was forced to close as part of the Government shutdown on December 15, 1995.

However, thanks to the extraordinary dedication of one man, Mount Rushmore will remain illuminated for all to see during this dark period preceding fiscal responsibility. Mr. Art Oakes has graciously donated funds to ensure that the monument is able to remain lit for the more than 2 million visitors it receives each year.

I share with all Americans the frustration that the Federal Government remains partially shut down. It is clear that Americans want a balanced budget and are willing to shoulder the burden to get it done.

Mr. Oakes has shown us just how dedicated Americans are to a balanced budget. He is willing to give up his own hard-earned money to help Mount Rushmore through this shutdown crisis. He recognizes that Mount Rushmore is not just a park, but a symbol of what America represents—both to other Americans and to tourists from overseas.

Today, my wife Harriet and I would like to show our support for Mr. Oakes' efforts by donating \$200 for continuing the nightly illumination of the Mount Rushmore monument.

As many of you may know, Mount Rushmore was designed in 1927 by Gutzon Borglum, the son of Danish immigrants. The monument is a shrine of American Presidential heroes: George Washington, Father of the Nation; Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence; Theodore Roosevelt, conservationist and trustbuster; and Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator and preserver of the Union.

More than 65 years later, Mount Rushmore is still one of the most powerful symbols of America. It represents the freedom of democracy, the melting pot country which offers the hope of a better life. Yet how can we continue to promise a better life if our President refuses to agree on a plan to balance the budget?

We need a balanced budget. The American people want and deserve an end to shamelessly wasteful spending programs. Washington must operate under a budget where we live within our means—as people in my home State of South Dakota do every day.

I feel passionately that we must give the dream of America—represented by Mount Rushmore—back to our children. We can do that only if Bill Clinton agrees on a balanced budget. I want the National Park Service and the rest of the Federal Government back at work and fully functioning. This will happen if Bill Clinton agrees on a balanced budget. It is that simple. Bill Clinton should stop stalling and start leading. He should support our goal of a balanced budget. ●

CONGRATULATIONS TO
CONGRESSMAN KWEISI MFUME

• Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I am most pleased to join with the citizens of Baltimore and Maryland in expressing warmest congratulations to Congressman KWEISI MFUME upon his appointment as president and chief executive of the NAACP. Those of us privileged to have worked closely with Congressman MFUME are convinced that the NAACP, the African-American community, and all Americans of goodwill will be well served by this appointment. It is an inspired choice.

KWEISI MFUME's accomplishments compellingly demonstrate the quality, strength, and determination of his character. Against great odds, Congressman MFUME overcame what would be considered for most people insurmountable obstacles in shaping his life and career. In his first elected office, he established an outstanding record for public service as a member of the City Council of Baltimore. This was followed by service in the U.S. House of Representatives where as chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, he led that group with exceptional effectiveness and vision.

It is very encouraging that the NAACP Board of Trustees has called upon Congressman MFUME's leadership at such a critical time in the history of the organization and of the civil rights struggle. He brings to this demanding responsibility unique dimensions of perception and experience. His long-time grassroots involvement has equipped him with a special understanding of needs of individuals and community groups, while his proven and tested national leadership gives him a unique knowledge of the realities and demands of the public and private sectors. These insights and experiences will greatly benefit the NAACP.

Congressman MFUME's appointment further solidifies the historic and productive relationship between Baltimore and the NAACP, whose national headquarters is located in our city. He follows in the footsteps of other distinguished Baltimoreans who were critical to civil rights progress: the late, great Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, who led the relentless effort which finally brought down the legal structure of segregation; Clarence Mitchell, Jr., the NAACP's chief Washington lobbyist, whose legislative genius was critical to the passage of every landmark piece of civil rights legislation and, Dr. Lilly Jackson and Ms. Enolia MacMillan, two courageous leaders of Maryland's NAACP who inspired their counterparts throughout America.

Congressman MFUME's presence will be deeply missed in the Congress. But, like another esteemed colleague, former Representative William Gray, now the President of the United Negro College Fund, he is continuing the struggle for justice and equality in a newer arena.

I salute the NAACP for this outstanding appointment and pledge to

continue working with its members and new leader in the continuing struggle for an America which provides opportunity and fairness for all its citizens. I ask to have printed in the RECORD several articles from the Baltimore Afro-American, the Baltimore Jewish Times, the Baltimore Sun, the New York Times, and the Washington Post describing the achievements and life of this extraordinary man and the great challenges which lie ahead for him.

The articles follow:

[From the Baltimore Afro-American, Dec. 16, 1995]

NEW HOPE AT THE NAACP

It borders on the ironic that after a nationwide and lengthy search to find a new leader for the much beleaguered NAACP, the right candidate—and some would say the perfect candidate—came from the same city where the association has its headquarters—Baltimore.

In selecting Rep. Kweisi Mfume as its President/CEO the NAACP—to use an apt description—has struck oil. Rarely has the naming of an individual to such high profile position been greeted with such an unanimous chorus of approval, from the President of the United States, to the man and woman in the street.

If ever things were meant to be, then probably it was meant to be that Mr. Mfume would be called upon to resurrect the nation's oldest and largest civil rights organization, and that he would respond at the cost of giving up a seat in the U.S. Congress to which he could have been reelected as long as he wished.

A more qualified candidate—and here we are not simply talking about what appears on paper but what's inside—would be most difficult to find. It is as if the man and the job were waiting for each other.

There are the challenges ahead for Mr. Mfume of eliminating the \$3 million plus debt, rebuilding staff, redefining the role of the NAACP, rebuilding bridges of understanding that his immediate predecessors destroyed, and above all, restoring the faith of people in the NAACP.

This is a tall order, but we believe Mr. Mfume is the right person, in the right place, at the right time, to fill it.

He can not do this however, unless the African American people, who have always been the rock on which the NAACP stood, rally now to its support.

Either through donations, or memberships, or a combination of both, it is imperative that all of us join Mr. Mfume in a grand and glorious campaign to set matters right at the NAACP.

Without it, we would indeed be in dire straits.

[From the Baltimore Jewish Times, Dec. 15, 1995]

MFUME'S ADVANCEMENT

Rep. Kweisi Mfume's decision last week to leave Congress and assume the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is an important development for a black community that needs strong and farsighted leadership to fight the unprecedented attack on the civil rights advances of the past half-century now underway in Washington. It also is welcome news for a Jewish community that remains concerned about the decay of our cities, and rising signs of black anti-Semitism.

Rep. Mfume's story—his rise from a life on the streets and the kinds of social problems that have become epidemic in our cities—is

legend in Baltimore. And he has become, as described by Baltimore Jewish Council Executive Director Arthur C. Abramson "a strong and supportive friend of the Jewish community." (See "A Friend, In Deed," on Page 22.)

His tenure as chair of the Congressional Black Caucus was not without controversy; it was Rep. Mfume, after all, who suggested a "covenant" between the influential congressional group and Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. But he also helped give the caucus a new prominence and ability to help shape the national agenda.

These are discouraging times in Congress—for Democrats and black legislators, in particular. The civil rights agenda is under assault; important social programs that have helped keep stabilize cities despite growing poverty and growing despair are being decimated.

Rep. Mfume faced an extraordinary choice; stay in a safe congressional seat, and fight from within to head off the most sweeping Republican cuts—or work to rebuild an organization that was once the towering giant of the civil rights movement, but which has failed to adjust to the harsh realities of the 1990s.

Rep. Mfume's decision for the latter reflects his deep commitment to his people and to a nation that can no longer afford to turn a blind eye to the agony of our cities.

Rep. Mfume, who has worked closely with Jewish leaders over the years, can provide the soul for a revitalized alliance that should benefit both communities.

Kain Y'hee Ratzon, Rep. Mfume.

So may it be.

[From the Washington Post]

A FIGHTER IN THE PUBLIC ARENA—IN MFUME, NAACP HIRES A DIRECTOR IT HOPES CAN PUSH IT TO RECLAIM ITS HISTORIC LEADERSHIP

(By Hamil R. Harris and Michael A. Fletcher)

In choosing Rep. Kweisi Mfume as its new leader, the NAACP reached out to a former street fighter and seasoned politician to take on a daunting array of internal and external challenges facing the historic civil rights organization.

NAACP officials hope Mfume (D-Md.), who was named president and chief executive officer Saturday, can bridge the divide between blacks and whites, battle the increasingly powerful congressional conservatives and heal the internal divisions that have crippled the organization in recent years.

"The organization needed a jolt of electricity, and he is exactly the man to give it to them," veteran civil rights activist Roger Wilkins said yesterday. His uncle, Roy Wilkins, headed the NAACP for years.

Mfume "is a man who understands the streets. He also has operated in the highest policy spheres in the United States. He is smart, he is tough, and he has integrity," Wilkins said. For Mfume, the job offers a chance to broaden his role as a national black leader by reaching out to a new generation of activists while reassuring the old guard of the civil rights establishment, who form the core of the NAACP's support. He has pledged to work to recruit young people and others who have seen the NAACP, the nation's oldest and largest civil rights organization, as elitist and increasingly irrelevant.

"The time is now for a new generation to join the NAACP," Mfume, 47, said during his acceptance speech Saturday. "While we value maturity and experience, we must learn to cherish youth. . . . I reach out to the current generation and say to you in the clearest terms that it is all right to come back home to the NAACP." Baltimore

NAACP member Kobi Little, 24, welcomed Mfume's comments. He is suing the organization because youth members, ages 17 and younger, are barred from voting in branch and national elections. "I think it will mean good things for the organization," he said.

Mfume is in his fifth term representing Baltimore's predominantly black 7th Congressional District in the House. In 1992, he was elected and served for two years as chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, when it enjoyed the peak of its power working with a Democratic president and a Democratic majority in Congress. He plans to resign from the House and assume his new post Feb. 15. "We are at the crossroads of tremendous change in our nation," Mfume said. "Despite the gains made by African Americans, racism continues to divide our country and polarize our people. We can stand by and watch in the comfort of our own circumstances, or we can step forward and dare to lead."

Mfume has scored his first victory by uniting the fractious NAACP board behind his selection, which was unopposed, despite some board members' previous plans to challenge the search committee's candidate. The challenge "never materialized," said board member Joe Madison, who was a finalist for the job. "I'm just ecstatic about the choice and relieved that someone of the stature of the congressman would step up and take the job."

Mfume said he plans to reach out to the NAACP's historic allies in the corporate and white communities. He also plans to make a "long list" of courtesy calls on national black figures, including Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan.

Mfume's selection won cautious praise from Jewish activists who traditionally have supported the NAACP but have been alarmed in recent years by its overtures to Farrakhan, whose rhetoric has been denounced as antisemitic.

Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, hailed Mfume's selection yesterday. He said, "We need the NAACP to be strong and active and to be a major voice for civil rights, for unity, and to fight discrimination."

But he added: "I will have a problem if he looks to Farrakhan for leadership. I hope and believe he will not." Born Frizzell Gray in West Baltimore, Mfume—in the words of poet Langston Hughes—didn't ascend to power on a crystal staircase. He dropped out of school and fathered five sons by four women by age 22.

Gray hung out on street corners, got into fights and drifted between menial jobs. But he changed his life as radically as he changed his name. He said the name, which is of African derivation, translates as "conquering son of kings."

Mfume received a degree in urban planning from Morgan State University and became a talk show host on the college's radio station. Mfume championed issues of the poor and the disenfranchised and won a seat on the Baltimore City Council in 1979. NAACP board member and civil rights activist Julian Bond was on the search committee that selected Mfume. Bond said that what is at stake now is the very survival of the NAACP—"its future, its very existence."

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 15, 1995]
BIG CHOICE FOR KWEISI MFUME—AND THE NAACP

(By William Raspberry)

Every now and then someone will make a choice that, however little you might have anticipated it, immediately strikes you as brilliant—even obvious.

That's my reaction to the NAACP's selection of Kweisi Mfume to be its new leader.

The 47-year-old Baltimore congressman was nowhere on my list of candidates for the job; I'd simply never thought of him in that connection. But as soon as I heard that he'd been chosen, I could only think: Yes!

Clearly, it's a brilliant choice for the troubled organization as it wrestles with the difficulties of changing directions without losing its fundamental character. Mfume is young enough, savvy enough and "street" enough to deal with the young people his predecessor, the Rev. Benjamin Chavis, tried to reach during his foreshortened tenure. As a fifth-term congressman, former chair of the Congressional Black Caucus and widely respected civic and political leader, he is experienced enough and solid enough to instill confidence in the rest of his potential constituency.

Nor, now that I think of it, is it a bad choice for Mfume himself. He may have been close to the limit of his political influence and patience, given the country's tightening purse strings and rightward movement. The NAACP leadership gives him a shot at leadership on a new, higher, more effective level.

But even brilliant choices are not guaranteed success. If Mfume will permit a word of caution from an admirer:

The NAACP is, in some ways, two organizations—one devoted to a glorious past of fighting Jim Crow, school segregation and laws calculated to limit black advancement; the other groping for relevancy at a time when so many of black America's problems (though arguably spawned by racism) are perpetuated and exacerbated by our own inappropriate choices and behavior.

Kweisi Mfume is also two men—the one accepting the traditional view that racism is our number one problem, the other bold enough to see the need for blacks to change their behavior, no matter what white people do or fail to do.

Which Mfume is taking charge of the NAACP? His acceptance speech of last Saturday offers a small clue. "We are at the crossroads of tremendous change in our nation," he said. "Despite the gains made by African Americans, racism continues to divide our country and polarize our people. We can stand by and watch in the comfort of our own circumstances, or we can step forward and dare to lead."

A guaranteed applause line, that. And yet I hear myself asking: Lead where? For if he is talking about leading a fight against racism, I fear he is missing the boat. Racism has not disappeared from American life; far from it. But I really do believe that it is no longer the main barrier to black progress—particularly among those of us most in need of progress. Does Mfume?

Like most of us, I suppose he is of two minds. The recent settlement of cases involving discrimination at Denny's restaurants, the humiliation of two innocent black teenagers by security people at the Eddie Bauer's outlet in suburban Washington, the race killing of two civilians by white supremacist soldiers from Fort Bragg, N.C.—all these things and more counsel vigilance against racism. Mfume understands that.

But he understands something else: that lasting change must come from within. It wasn't racism that made Mfume (then known as Frizzell Gray) a violent, street-running dropout who fathered five sons by three women—all "without benefit of clergy." And it wasn't the defeat of racism that helped him to turn his life around.

He's not sure precisely what it was. But he does know that once he made the decision to get himself together, to make something of himself, he had lots of help and advice from people who had it to give. There is something deeply inspirational about his journey

from irresponsible street bum to respected leader who, by the way, took the trouble to build a relationship with his sons.

Which experience should guide his efforts to reach out to young blacks, as he has vowed to do: the humiliations of racism or the power of decision? They may be equally authentic, but, as his own life teaches, they are not equally effective at producing.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 11, 1995]

MFUME: NOT JUST LEADER, A SAVIOR TO N.A.A.C.P.

(By Steven A. Holmes)

WASHINGTON, December 10.—When Representative Kweisi Mfume walked into a hotel conference room here to interview with the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on Saturday, the group broke out into spontaneous applause. It was perhaps the first time in more than two years the full board had found anything to cheer about.

For an organization mired in debt and increasingly accused of being archaic and out of touch, Mr. Mfume, who was named on Saturday as the N.A.A.C.P.'s president and chief executive officer, is viewed by many within the civil rights group as a savior. So much so that the descriptions of him that flow from some quarters lapse effortlessly into hyperbole.

"In our new president we have the brilliance of Dubois, the eloquence of Martin Luther King, the toughness of Thurgood Marshall, the caring of Ms. Bethune and Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth," A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., a retired Federal Judge said, comparing Mr. Mfume to a pantheon of icons of the anti-slavery and civil rights movements.

While neither Mr. Mfume nor anyone else could be such a giant, he clearly provides skills, outlook, visibility and a personal story that could help revive the ailing organization.

Born Frizzell Gray in Baltimore in 1948, Mr. Mfume spent his early years under the hand of an abusive stepfather who, until Mr. Mfume's mother divorced him, beat his wife and belittled his stepson. When Mr. Mfume was 16, his mother died of cancer, leaving him feeling alone and abandoned.

For several years, Mr. Mfume went through what he later called his "lost years," dropping out of high school, hanging out on the tough streets of the city's west side, where he was known by his nickname of Pee Wee, and fathering five children out of wedlock by four different women.

"I came out of a disjointed family structure," Mr. Mfume said in a speech last year. "I grew up in the worst possible conditions. I became homeless after my mother's death, hit the streets and dropped out of school, flirted with every temptation that was around, became a teen parent before my time, felt left out and victimized."

But Mr. Mfume grabbed hold of his life. He earned a high school equivalency diploma, attended Morgan State University, a historically black college in Baltimore, and later gained a reputation as a disk jockey and radio talk show host. Along the way he took a new name (pronounced Kwah-EEE-see Oom-FOO-may), which in a Ghanaian dialect means "conquerer of kings."

"It's different," Mr. Mfume once said of his name. "So is Zbigniew Brzezinski."

After seven years as a member of the Baltimore City Council, Mr. Mfume was the surprise victor of a 1986 Democratic Primary to replace retiring Representative Parren J. Mitchell. In the heavily Democratic district, the win virtually guaranteed election to Congress. He has been reelected four times, often gaining more than 80 percent of the vote in the general election.

As a Representative, Mr. Mfume made his mark as Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus from 1992 to 1994, a time when the number of blacks in the House shot up to 40 from 26.

With new-found strength because of its increased size, the caucus under Mr. Mfume flexed its muscles as never before. It pointedly chastized President Clinton for bowing to criticism and withdrawing Lani Guinier, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania Law School, as his nominee for Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights.

The caucus also pressed Mr. Clinton to use American troops to restore ousted Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power, one of the few groups to do so publicly for what was considered by many to be a hopeless cause.

Mr. Mfume's tenure as head of the caucus was not without its missteps. In 1992, he angered Jews and some members of the Caucus when he declared that the group had entered into a "sacred covenant" with the Nation of Islam.

In the face of criticism and in the wake of an anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic and anti-white speech by one of Mr. Farrakhan's aides, Khalid Abdul Mohammed, Mr. Mfume disavowed any association with the group and spent much time mending fences with Jewish leaders in Baltimore.

As a five-term Representative from Baltimore, where the N.A.A.C.P. is based, Mr. Mfume brings political acumen to the civil rights group, the country's oldest but one whose political relevancy has been questioned in recent years. He has shown an ability to raise money, a skill badly needed for a group saddled with a \$3.2 million debt. As a former Baltimore street tough who turned his life around, he also lends credibility to a message of personal responsibility for black youths.

"The time is now—right now—to restore the financial, spiritual and political health of this historic, American institution," Mr. Mfume said at a news conference following the board's decision. He added, "And my job is to provide the leadership that will make that happen."

His career has been free of scandal, a stark contrast to the recent history of the N.A.A.C.P. In the last two years, the organization has fired its executive director amid charges of sexual discrimination and harassment and replaced a board chairman who was accused of financial improprieties.

With his handsome looks, smooth manner and current girlfriend—an actress, Lynn Whitfield, who won an Emmy Award in 1991 for her portrayal of Josephine Baker in a cable television movie—he brings a measure of glamour to an organization sometimes seen as frumpy.

At his news conference on Saturday, Mr. Mfume spoke of the need for the N.A.A.C.P. to maintain a commitment to coalition politics with whites and others. In doing so, he appeared to be trying to assuage the concerns of some whites and blacks who had been put off by the attempts by Benjamin F. Chavis Jr., the former executive director, to align the organization with Mr. Farrakhan, who preaches a black separatist ideology.

"It is easier to accomplish things when you maximize the number of people who you have working with you and working for you," he said in an interview.

As a condition of taking the job, Mr. Mfume wrested concessions from the N.A.A.C.P. board, which since the mid-1980's has taken much power and control from the organization's chief executive but has fallen short in raising money and in debating and formulating policy.

Rather than report to a 64-member board, Mr. Mfume will deal with a smaller execu-

tive committee and have the authority to hire and fire staff, a power that had been stripped from the top executive. And to denote who will be in charge, his title will be president and chief executive officer, not executive director.

The need to symbolically change the position back to president—something, although small—was powerful in terms of what is said about the position," he said in an interview.

One unknown question, however, is Mr. Mfume's administrative skills. As member of Congress, and before that, the Baltimore City Council, Mr. Mfume has never had to run an organization as large as the N.A.A.C.P. But officials of the organization say they are not overly concerned.

"If that becomes a problem, we could get him a manager," said one board member who spoke on condition of anonymity. "Because he brings so much else, if he's weak there, we could prop him up."

[From the Baltimore Sun, Dec. 10, 1995]

MFUME TRANSFORMED HIMSELF

MATURING: AS HE PROGRESSED FROM THE BALTIMORE CITY COUNCIL TO THE U.S. CONGRESS, KWEISI MFUME DEVELOPED INTO A POLISHED CONSENSUS BUILDER

(By Tom Bowman and Karen Hosler)

"We are going to change," Rep. Kweisi Mfume declared yesterday after being chosen to head the NAACP.

He could have been talking about himself. Kweisi Mfume, 47, began his political career as a dashiki-clad political activist on the Baltimore City Council. But when he arrived on Capitol Hill, he quickly transformed himself into a polished consensus builder.

Battling Mayor Donald Schaefer and Council President Clarence H. "Du" Burns, he first ran in 1979 on a campaign to "beat the bosses," advocating for the poor and the powerless.

After two terms on the council, he decided in 1986 to make a run for the seat of Rep. Parren J. Mitchell, a retiring civil rights legend who served 16 years in the House. Defeating a Republican, St. George I. B. Crosse III, in a bitter contest for the 7th District seat, he embarked on a bridge-building effort, forging a relationship with Governor Schaefer.

The dashikis gave way to finely tailored dark suits. The once-angry voice took on a measured and mellifluous cadence. "I'm the same fighter, but the arena has changed," he explained once. "Sometimes I will do it by compromise, sometimes I will do it through confrontation."

He reached out to all his constituencies, from Catonsville to West Baltimore to Charles Village to East Baltimore and Hampden. Some white areas in the district had felt snubbed by Mr. Mitchell.

The new congressman set up town meetings with his neighboring Democrat, Rep. Benjamin L. Cardin, and followed his predecessor, Mr. Mitchell, to the House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee.

But Mr. Mfume became more adept at dealing with the opposition than was the often-acerbic Mr. Mitchell. "Mfume's style is, 'You'll like me and respect me,'" Daniel P. Henson III, the city housing commissioner, said several years ago. "Parren's style was, 'You may not like me, but you'll respect me.'"

On the Banking Committee, Mr. Mfume matured into a skilled legislative craftsman. He was instrumental in saving programs that aided minority businesses. And he embraced issues outside the traditional black agenda, from high-technology development to business tax breaks.

Within two years, he became a leader in the Congressional Black Caucus, which elected him one of two vice chairmen.

"He's serious. He's thoughtful, He's a consensus builder," Rep. Mike Espy, a Mississippi Democrat, said in December 1992, when Mr. Mfume was elected chairman of the Black Caucus.

With his elevation to caucus chair and the election of a Democratic president, Mr. Mfume found his profile rising in Washington. President Clinton desperately needed the votes of the 39-member Black Caucus to get his legislative agenda through Congress.

As head of the group, Mr. Mfume proved a tough negotiator and a shrewd bargainer, often holding out for concessions from Mr. Clinton on programs such as the tax credit for the working poor. The man who once had a popular radio talk show on Morgan State's WEEA now became a fixture on the nationally televised Sunday TV talk shows.

The Black Caucus, under Mr. Mfume, provided Mr. Clinton with critical votes for his crime bill, despite deep-held opposition to death penalty provisions.

Mr. Mfume's term as caucus chairman had its stormy moments. He made many of his more traditional colleagues uncomfortable by reaching out to the Nation of Islam and its chairman, Louis Farrakhan, who has a history of making inflammatory remarks about Jews and other groups.

But after Republicans took control of Congress this year, the Black Caucus members were mere voices in the wilderness. Because the caucus members are among the most liberal in Congress, few found any common ground with the ruling Republicans.

Mr. Mfume found himself in an unhappy eclipse. Once surrounded by reporters every time he left the House floor, the Baltimore Democrat could recently be seen ambling alone past the press-mobbed Republican leaders.

No longer in the majority party, he would become the 20th House Democrat to leave or announce plans to do so. Five others have switched to join the GOP.

When Mr. Mfume assumed the leadership role in the Black Caucus three years ago, Mr. Espy offered words that would apply today as Mr. Mfume assumes the leadership of the NAACP.

"He has a professional style, which we need," Mr. Espy said in 1992. "It will be difficult. I know he's up to the job." ●

FDA REVIEW OF OLESTRA

● Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I rise to comment on the decision currently before the Food and Drug Administration regarding the Procter & Gamble Co.'s petition for its food additive, olestra.

Olestra is a fat-free food additive invented by the Procter & Gamble Co. This synthetic cooking oil and the decision by FDA are the subject of this week's Time magazine cover story.

The scientific issues under review by FDA are fascinating and I commend FDA for its management of the review by the Food Advisory Committee.

The Procter & Gamble Co. undertook its efforts to better understand fat in the human body in the 1950's and developed olestra in the 1960's. In 1971, Procter & Gamble began the approval process at FDA.

More than two decades later, olestra has not yet been approved. Nobody is faulting the FDA; approval of olestra has posed unique and unprecedented scientific questions that had to be researched. Accordingly, the FDA has approached this unprecedented food additive with appropriate prudence, and