

the total exceeds a certain threshold, why is it that we suffer a discount to the deductions we would otherwise get by virtue of our investments?

Why is it that once we pass this threshold, that the money we pay for property taxes no longer is worth dollar for dollar on our income tax returns? Why is it that the money we pay for maintenance on real estate or investment advisory fees no longer is worth dollar for dollar on our income tax returns what we paid for it?

That is at the heart of the marriage tax penalty. That is, when two people get together in marriage and their incomes exceed a certain level, then the expenses that they confront, whether it be for education or home ownership or investment for their retirement security or what have you, charity, what have you, those contributions, if you will, something that we support, education, investment, real estate ownership, those contributions no longer enjoy the same valuation as someone who is below that income level, that threshold.

What we need to do is to bring equity to that situation. That is what this is all about is giving not only those two young men but every young man and woman in the country who is considering their prospects for the future and the reality that at some point or another they are going to meet Mr. Right or Ms. Right and they are going to get married, that is what this is all about is giving those young people the opportunity to get together and enjoy all those things that at least my wife and I have enjoyed and hundreds of thousands of other couples have, too, and to have no financial disincentive for doing it.

It is not the role of government to place financial disincentives in the way of young people looking to get married, or those who already are. That is why I support this so wholeheartedly. That is why I encourage Members' votes. That is why I applaud the President for coming at least as far as he has, and I encourage him to come all the way.

The gentleman from California (Mr. HERGER) has done great work for bringing this to this point. I thank the gentleman for the opportunity to come down here and visit with him.

Mr. HERGER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. OSE) for his work on this, and I thank him for his articulate statements. I thank him very much for joining us.

Mr. Speaker, this is really, I believe, what it is all about: Are we as Americans going to allow a tax that basically tells a young couple, a man and a woman who want to get married, that we are going to penalize them an average of \$1,400 for just getting married?

What are we telling them? Are we really encouraging them, to say if they are not married and they live together, they are not going to pay this? Is this

the message we want to send them? It certainly is not.

Mr. Speaker, tonight we have laid out the reasons why the marriage tax penalty must be reformed. This tax unfairly penalizes married couples, particularly those with low to average incomes. Providing marriage tax relief could result in up to \$1,400 in savings per family currently affected by this tax.

I say that this is something we need to do. Last year Congress passed marriage penalty relief. Regrettably, President Clinton chose to veto our tax relief bill.

Mr. Speaker, we are offering it again. We will be hearing it in committee, marking it up, H.R. 6 tomorrow. We are urging President Clinton to do the right thing. Just last week the President indicated a willingness to work with Congress on the marriage tax penalty issue. Mr. Speaker, we welcome this commitment and look forward to working with the President on this issue, one that should go beyond party politics. It is an issue of common sense and fairness for American families, the backbone of this great Nation. If we can change our Tax Code to make their lives better, then it is our obligation to do so.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank all of my colleagues who joined me here tonight to express their commitment to passing the marriage penalty relief.

#### HERITAGE AND HORIZONS, THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN LEGACY AND THE CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY, AN IMPORTANT THEME FOR BLACK HISTORY MONTH

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. REYNOLDS). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN).

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman so much for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, today is February 1, the first day of Black History Month. We thought it will be a good time for us to open up some discussion of what we consider to be a very, very important theme for this year's celebration. The theme for the year 2000 is heritage and horizons, the African-American legacy and the challenges of the 21st century.

Mr. Speaker, as I think about this theme, I think about two quotations, the first written by George Santayana, who wrote that "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." I think all of us remember the past of this great Nation. It is a past that is very checkered.

All of us are aware of the history of the African-American experience in

these United States, having arrived here as a people in 1619, at a time when they were considered to be property and brought against their will to serve out an existence of 244 years in slavery. That is ten generations.

In 1863, our Nation brought an end to that institution. So for the past 137 years, African-Americans have lived an existence in our Nation as free people, albeit at one point upon the institution of freedom we were only counted as three-fifths of a person.

When I think about that 137 years since 1863, Mr. Speaker, I think about another quotation that I want to use to lay the foundation for what I would like to say here this evening. It is a quotation from Winston Churchill, who says that, "If we open up a quarrel between the past and the present, we shall find that we have lost the future."

So we come tonight not to open up a quarrel between our past and our present. Instead, we come to celebrate a very appropriate theme. We come to understand and appreciate and embrace our past. Just as importantly, we must acknowledge and celebrate the accomplishments of today, and address the challenges which we face in this new century, in this new millennium.

As we prepare for African-American history month celebrations, I would hope that we will focus on critical issues that cry out for solutions. I would hope that all of us as Americans will look to the future with renewed hope.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to celebrate a portion of South Carolina in this august body. South Carolina has engraved on its great seal the Latin words "dum spero spiro." Translated, that means "As I breathe, I hope." It is with that sort of hope that I come tonight to call upon our citizens the Nation over to think about the challenges that we face as a people, as a Nation, as we celebrate this great history, this great legacy that African-Americans have in our Nation.

I want to mention a couple of things before yielding the floor to my good friend, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS), that I would hope that we will begin to think about as we think about this legacy.

One of the challenges I think that we face this year as we lay the groundwork for this new millennium has to do with the judiciary. We still have in our Nation a problem with fair and proper representation of African-Americans in the judicial arena.

For instance, South Carolina is located in the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

□ 1845

It is one of five States, the other four being North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, and Maryland. There are 14 or 15 judges that sit on that court. And as

I speak, there are four vacancies on that court. One of those vacancies has been there since 1991, 9 years. And in that 9-year period, we have had four nominations of African-Americans to that court. Four nominations, three different African-Americans. In all four instances, those nominations have not been considered by the other body.

Now, four vacancies, four nominations, no consideration. That might not be all that important but for one thing. That is in the long history of this great Nation there has never been an African-American to sit on the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. There is something wrong with that picture. I do not think one has to be a rocket scientist to figure out what is wrong.

As I speak, there is a nomination pending in the other body. It has been there for more than a year, yet no consideration being given to that nomination.

We think that this year will be a good time for us to break with that past. This year would be a good time for us to shut down the quarrel that currently exists between our past and our present so that we will not run the risk of losing our future.

Mr. Speaker, if we look beyond the symbolism of judicial appointments and look at the meting out of justice, we find other threats to the credibility of our judicial system. One of them is something we call mandatory minimums.

Now, the problem I have with mandatory minimums, and the challenge that it offers for the future, is the fact that many of the offenses that carry the most egregious mandatory sentences are offenses that have historically been looked upon as being those offenses that are more often the antisocial behavior of African-American offenders. Now, the problem with this, Mr. Speaker, is that in an instance such as drug crimes, if we look at the drug of cocaine, we will find that crack cocaine carries a 100-to-1 disparity in sentences over powder cocaine.

The scientists have told us that there is no scientific difference between the two. So then the question must be asked why is there such a big difference in the sentences for the two?

All the studies have indicated that there is only one difference between these two drug offenses. One of them is that in the instance of crack cocaine, it is more often African-Americans, and powder cocaine, more often white Americans.

Here is the problem with that. If we were to look at the penalties for 5 grams of powder cocaine, one will get a probationary sentence and be charged with a misdemeanor. But 5 grams of crack cocaine is a 5-year mandatory jail sentence and a felony.

Now, what has been the result of this discrepancy? As I stand here tonight, in the States of Alabama and Florida

over 31 percent of African-American males have permanently lost the right to vote. Permanently, over 31 percent. In five other States, that figure is over 25 percent. And in six other States, 20 percent. Some of the experts have predicted by the year 2010 at the rate we are going, 40 percent of African-American men in this country will be permanently without the right to vote.

We think that the time has come and one of the challenges for us this year in this new century, this new millennium, is for us to revisit this issue and remove this impediment to citizenship because it is unfair and we ought to correct it forthwith.

Mr. Speaker, let me give one other example about this, and then I will yield the floor to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS). Let us take the instance of a 16-year-old who makes the mistake and is arrested for possession of 5 grams of crack cocaine. Even if that 16-year-old pleads guilty to avoid, as happens so often, a jail sentence, he or she has just pled to a felony and will have permanently lost the right to vote in at least 17 of our states. Which means that at 36, 20 years later, if this young man grows up and for 20 years lives an impeccable life, genuinely regrets the mistake, attempts to raise a family and raise children, at 36 in 17 of our states he or she will not be able to vote and would not be able to be a full citizen ever again under our current laws.

We think there is something wrong with that. One of the challenges that we must face up to this month, this year during African-American History Month, is to look at these kinds of discrepancies.

We have these kinds of discrepancies in the health care field as well. We have them in housing and education, employment and the census. And I call upon all Americans, as we pause this month to celebrate African-American History Month, let us not use it for vacations. Let us not use it to recite poetry, though poetry is great. Let us not use it solely to celebrate the great heritage, the great past that so many have left to us. But let us use this month to accept the challenges that are out there ahead of us.

Let us join hands, black and white, young and old, rich and poor, of all walks of life and let us celebrate African-American History Month of the year 2000 by accepting these challenges and doing what we can to get these challenges that form so many impediments to a full quality of life for so many of our citizens removed from our national psyche.

Mr. Speaker, with that I yield the floor now to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS), whose history we all are proud to celebrate, but whose service here in this body and whose future I think is worth all of our participation.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, let me thank my friend, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN), a wonderful human being, a great leader as head of the Congressional Black Caucus, for helping to organize this special order tonight. We thank the gentleman for his very kind words, as well as the other participants.

Mr. Speaker, I want to take a brief moment as we celebrate and commemorate African-American History Month to pay tribute to a group of young people. Mr. Speaker, on this day 40 years ago, history was made. February 1, 1960, four young black men, Joseph McNeil, Ezell Blair, Franklin McCain and David Richmond, all freshmen students at North Carolina A&T College, took seats at an all-white lunch counter in a little 5 and 10 store in downtown Greensboro, North Carolina. They ignited what became known as the sit-in movement. They changed our Nation forever.

The sit-ins spread across the south like wildfire. In Nashville, Tennessee, we had been having what we called test sit-ins for several months. We had been studying the philosophy and discipline of nonviolence. We would go into a store and ask to be served, and if and when we were refused, we would leave. We would not force the issue. We would not cause a confrontation. We would go to establish the fact that we would be denied service because of the color of our skin.

Every single day during the month of February for many of us as young black college students, we would sit in or sit down at lunch counters in an orderly and peaceful fashion. Doing our homework. Not saying a word. Someone would come up to us and put a lighted cigarette out in our hair or down our backs, pour hot water, hot coffee or hot chocolate on us. Beat us and pull us off the lunch counter stools. We did not strike back because we had accepted the philosophy and the discipline of nonviolence.

The number of students who wanted to participate in the sit-in grew. Most of them had not prepared as we had, so it was my duty and my responsibility as one of the students to draw up the basic "do's and don'ts" of the sit-in movement that read like: Do not strike back if abused. Do not lash out. Do not hold conversations with floor walkers. Do not leave your seat until your leader had given you permission to do so. Do not block entrance to stores outside and aisles inside.

□ 1900

It went on to say, "Do show yourself friendly and courteous at all times. Sit straight. Always face the counter. Report all serious incidents to your leader. Refer information seekers to your leader in a polite manner. Do remember the teachings of Jesus, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King, Jr.: Love and non-violence is the way."

These were the do's and don'ts of the sit-in movement that every student that got arrested in Nashville, Tennessee, on February 27, 1960, had a copy of. The fact is that no matter how well you had prepared, no matter how much you planned what you would do and would not do, in the end you had to hand it over to what we called the spirit. You just had to let the spirit take control. That is why the song came along during the height of the movement, the song we would sing over and over again during this sit-in movement and later, "I am going to do what the spirit says do. If the spirit says sit in, I am going to sit in. If the spirit says march, I am going to march. If the spirit says go to jail, I am going to jail. I am going to do what the spirit says do."

During the sit-in movement in 1960, in February, 40 years ago, so many young people, 16, 17 and 18 years old, grew up. They grew up while sitting down on lunch counter stools by sitting in, by sitting down, and by standing up for the very best in American tradition.

As we celebrate African American history month, we pay tribute to the hundreds and thousands of young people that changed America forever. Tonight, Mr. Speaker, we pay tribute to the young people, young students, black and white, who were born only with a dream, who had the raw courage to put their bodies on the line. We all salute them tonight for their work, for their commitment and for their dedication to bringing down those signs that I saw when I was growing up in the American South that said white men, colored men; white women, colored women; white waiting, colored waiting.

We live in a different America, in a better America because these young people, these young children made history. So tonight, Mr. Speaker, I would like to take the time to yield time to the gentleman from the great State of Illinois, the city of Chicago (Mr. DAVIS).

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. I was just thrilled to listen to him give that history, that great and glorious history of which he was such an integral part and provided so much of the leadership for.

I could not help but smile, both internally and externally, thinking about how meaningful that period was to those of us who were indeed teenagers at the time, to those of us who had the opportunity to simply take an idea, not really knowing where it was going to take us or what would happen as a result of the action, but simply an idea that, as the gentleman indicated, four freshmen college students would sit down, and because of the fact that they sat down, America ended up standing up.

So I just want to commend the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) for

being a part of the leadership of that movement, but then never stopping and understanding that it was the movement that undergirded him and prepared him for the continuation of the great work that he has done for the rest of his life. I am just pleased to be associated with him, and with my other colleagues who kick off Black History Month, African American History Month, in this manner.

I also want to reinforce the comments that were made by the chairman of the caucus, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN), whose leadership has been impeccable during this past year. And as he begins this year talking about the unfulfilled dreams, the unmet needs, I was listening to his wise counsel as he suggested to all of us throughout America that in addition to looking at the past, in addition to reflecting in the accomplishments that have been made, that in addition to just looking at the great academicians, athletes, entertainers, builders and developers and other heroes of African American life, those who have contributed so richly and so greatly to this country, that in addition to looking at that, in addition to looking at what Frederick Douglass taught us, that struggle, struggle, strife and pain are the prerequisites of change, rather than just talking about it, that we really need to use this month to be engaged in it.

We really need to be making sure that all people who are not registered to vote in African American life make absolutely certain that, in honor of Black History Month, that in honor of Martin Luther King and Medgar Evers, that in honor of Jim Farmer, all of the others, that we make absolutely certain that during the month of February we make sure that we are registered to vote and that all of those who will receive census forms, rather than reciting the creation that James Weldon Johnson wrote, or rather than talking about the great portrait of Langston Hughes, or rather than just reminiscing about the tremendous music of Duke Ellington, that in addition to that, we make absolutely certain that everybody fills out their census form and sends it in so that each and every person in our community will in fact be counted, so that nobody can be missed, so that we will never be three-fifths of a person again.

So it is just a joy, it is a pleasure, and it is a delight to be here with the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) and the rest of my colleagues who use this evening to be so didactic, to be so informative, to be so inspirational, and to be so accurate and correct as we kick off the beginning of Black History Month, and I thank the gentleman and yield back to him.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend and my colleague for those very moving words and thank

him for his participation, and I thank him for keeping the faith and for keeping his eyes on the prize.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Well, we have had some great role models. My father is 87 years old, and we just moved him to Chicago from Arkansas, where he was living alone. And we were chatting the other day, and he said to me that in spite of how far we have come, we still have a long way to go. And I think he was absolutely correct. So I thank the gentleman.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. There is still history to be made.

Mr. Speaker, what I would like to do now is to yield to my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from the great State of North Carolina, from the city of Charlotte (Mr. WATT).

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. JOHN LEWIS), and what I thought I would like to do in tribute to this Black History Month celebration and in tribute to the wonderful four gentlemen who sat in at the Greensboro lunch counter is to read some excerpts from a publication called "Weary Feet, Rested Souls."

Before I do that, I just find it so ironic that we could be here in the chamber with people like the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) and kind of take for granted that he is our friend and our colleague and never really think of him as a hero, yet understand how heroic the things that he did to make our being here possible, how historic and heroic those things are.

I feel much the same way about my good friend Franklin McCain. Franklin McCain and I have been good friends for a long time. I did not know him when he was one of the four participants at the Woolworth sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina; but not long after I moved back to Charlotte in 1970-71, I met Franklin McCain. We turned out to be in the same fraternity, and our friendship has grown. His wife and my wife both worked in the school system there in Charlotte. We never think of Franklin McCain as a hero either, but we know that the things that he and the three colleagues of his who started the sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina, did were heroic, and we pay tribute to him. And I would like to do it in this way, by reading some excerpts.

On February 1, 1960, after a late-night discussion, four black freshmen from North Carolina A&T University decided to try to get served in the sprawling Woolworth store. A half hour before it closed, they bought a few small items then sat down at the counter and waited. One asked for a cup of coffee. There was no violence, no arrest, no media, and no service. When the store closed, they got up and walked out, peacefully, just like the gentleman from Georgia described earlier in his comments.

Just as the somber-faced foursome left the building, a Greensboro News and Record photographer took the only surviving photograph of this historic event. The first three of these four had been members of the NAACP youth group in Greensboro, which had been active since the 1940s. On the left was David Richmond, wearing a beret. Next to him was the person that I now know as a friend and colleague, not as a hero or a superhero, next to him was Franklin McCain, the tallest of the group.

And Franklin I would characterize as a gentle giant. He is about 6-4, 6-5, but he is about as nice a guy as a person would ever want to meet. He would not harm a fly.

Wearing a soldier's cap, Ezell Blair, Jr., was carrying a paper bag in one hand. And Joseph McNeil from Wilmington, North Carolina, wore a white coat.

From the beginning, the Greensboro sit-ins electrified those who looked for a way to demonstrate discontent with segregation outside the courtroom.

□ 1915

The following day, on February 2, 32 men and women, mostly from North Carolina A&T University, visited the Woolworth's store with similar results to the day before. The next day the sit-ins had filled 63 of the 66 seats at the counter.

Dr. George Simkins, a former constituent of mine until they changed my congressional district and again a person who I never think of as a hero but as a wonderful person and constituent now, was the President of the Greensboro NAACP and he called on CORE for advice about how to keep the campaign going.

With CORE's help and the media spotlight, news of the sit-ins spread like concentric ripples on a still pond. Floyd McKissick, who later headed CORE, led sit-ins in Durham on February 8. "CORE has been on the front page of every newspaper in North Carolina for 2 days" exulted an organizer traveling to colleges and high schools in Greensboro, Raleigh, Chapel Hill, and High Point.

Lincoln's birthday brought the first demonstrations in South Carolina, led by 100 students in Rock Hill. The next day, CORE led a sit-in in Tallahassee, Florida. By the end of March, the sit-ins had spread to 69 southern cities. Woolworth's national sales showed a 9 percent drop from the previous March as a result of the boycott and the commotion caused by the sit-ins. These efforts produced the first wave of agreements to integrate not just Woolworth's itself but all the main downtown stores.

By July, Greensboro and 27 other border State cities had adopted integration in some form. By spring 1961, 140 had come around. Pledges to desegregate hardly brought calm to Greens-

boro. In spring of 1963, more than a thousand protesters led by North Carolina A&T student council president Jesse Jackson, again a person that we know and respect but never think of as a hero, marched each night, raising the arrest totals to more than 900.

On May 19, CORE president James Farmer held a march of 2,000 to the Greensboro Rehab Center, then serving as a makeshift jail. Swayed by these massive turnouts and boycott of Greensboro businesses, the city agreed to a bi-racial commission and marches were suspended. Greensboro was slow to implement changes, however, prompting 500 exuberant students to occupy the area in front of city hall.

The following week, 50 Greensboro restaurants, motels, and theaters abolished the color line in exchange for an end to street demonstrations.

I bring this to a conclusion with this kind of fitting note.

Woolworth's closed its doors here in Greensboro in 1993. The final meal at the counter was attended by all four original protesters, and the management reverted to its 1960 menu prices as a "tribute" to the four of them. Today plans are afoot for a three-floor museum created by a nonprofit group called Sit-in Movement, Inc. A portion of the counter, now shaped like four successive horseshoes, ringed with turquoise and pink vinyl seats, will remain on street level in the back. Portions of the original counter are in the Greensboro Historical Museum as part of an exhibit, but one section of the original remains in the store.

Outside on the sidewalk are bronze footprints of the four original protesters, people that we never think of as heroes but who laid the groundwork for us to be able to sit at lunch counters and share, in an integrated setting, food and camaraderie and in a special way pave the way for us to be here as Members of this body and pave the way for me to be here as the representative of the part of Greensboro North Carolina where these sit-ins commenced 40 years ago today.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) for leading this special order. And more so, I thank him and Franklin McCain and people that we never think of as heroes for the heroic actions and steps that they took to make it possible for us to be here and make this tribute today.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I say to my friend and my brother, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT), I think it is so fitting and appropriate for him to be standing here as a representative of the great State of North Carolina because so much did take place in North Carolina, not just the sit-ins in Greensboro that got spread throughout the State and around the South, but a few months later in Raleigh, North Carolina, at Shaw University the founding of the

Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee, where many of the young people gathered under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., where we really did come together to learn more about the philosophy and the discipline of nonviolence.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would continue to yield just for an afterthought. Because on the Martin Luther King holiday, we had a wonderful tribute in Charlotte in which I read part of Lincoln's words to the backdrop of our Charlotte symphony orchestra; and during the reading, they were showing on a television screen kind of excerpts from the sit-ins, and later that night as I was taking my mother home, she said, You know, I saw your brother in those clips that they were showing. I said, You saw my brother? What do you mean you saw my brother? It turned out that my oldest brother, who was about the same age as Franklin McCain, was a student at Johnson C. Smith University and participated in the original sit-ins in Charlotte, and he was right in the front of the sit-in clippings that were shown on that evening.

I certainly never thought of my brother as a hero of sorts. But it is amazing the heroic steps that people like my colleague and Franklin McCain and even my brother took in those trying times. And we of the younger generation that have a little bit more hair than the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) thank him so much for everything that he did.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his kind words and thank him for participating in this special order.

Mr. Speaker, what I would like to do now is to yield to my friend and colleague from the great State of Brooklyn, New York (Mr. OWENS).

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia for yielding to me. I, too, would like to congratulate him on launching Black History Month in the very appropriate way that he is launching it.

For years we have seen Black History Month take on different meanings for different people and great emphasis has been on the factual reciting of various achievements by blacks, people of African descent because of the fact that in history books and in the popular culture all of the facts of our positive achievements have been left out, and in the schoolbooks they have been left out.

I, as a librarian in the Brooklyn Public Library, working with many teachers to try to get together a united effort to get the Board of Education of the great City of New York to have a more inclusive curriculum with respect to black history, just to get the facts out was always so difficult.

Facts are just the beginning. And, of course, the facts are very important.

The details of some of the kinds of things that the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT) has just recited are still unknown. The details of the development of the whole movement is not known.

I did not know that 400 to 500 students eventually sat down in Greensboro and made the whole city of Greensboro respond across the board, the hotels and stores, everybody. I did not know that fact, and I followed it pretty closely.

The important thing that I would like to add to the dialogue tonight is the fact that what those students did and what the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) did as a member of the Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee did was to set in motion a process which was the real legacy of the civil rights struggle and of the people of African descent in the United States that ought to be highlighted and carried forward during every Black History Month, and that is the legacy of resistance, you know, resistance to oppression.

The victims resisted and they resisted nonviolently and they resisted en masse. And there was a whole chain reaction of events that led to successful resistance that the whole world now has copied. We do not realize how unique it was.

I was born in Memphis, Tennessee, raised in a city right between Arkansas and Mississippi. The brutality of the oppressive class at that point, the oppressive white leadership at that point, the brutality that you confronted when you tried to do anything, the danger of being lynched, the danger of being brutalized was so very real until most people do not realize what those students did when they went up against established order.

They had to summon up a great deal of courage, and my colleague, of course, repeatedly had to summon up a great deal of courage against very violent attacks. The violence and the brutality was such that when I graduated from Morehouse College in 1956, I left the South defeated, feeling that nothing much was ever really going to change.

I am so happy that those who came after us just 4 years later in 1960 were proving that that was not the case, that if students stood up, they could set in motion a whole series of events which not only electrified a mass movement in Greensboro, in Nashville, all over the South, but it came north.

I was an old man with kids in 1963, but as a member of Brooklyn CORE, we led a movement which had 800 people get arrested protesting discrimination in the employment industry. And of course, it went all over the country. And beyond that, we must realize it went all over the world, that when the Berlin Wall fell, they were singing "We Shall Overcome" in the streets of Ber-

lin. When the Czechoslovakian people celebrated the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, they were in the street are singing "We Shall Overcome."

The whole pattern and whole message has gone out to the whole world. Victims do not have to accept it. The victims can resist. The victims can resist with nonviolence, and they can organize in such a way to prevail. That is the greatest legacy that the descendants of the American slaves have left to the world, the legacy that the victims can resist, the victims can overcome.

Singing "We Shall Overcome" is quite appropriate. When we do it with nonviolence, when we resist, we are able to overcome. I salute the gentleman and all of my colleagues for getting this Year 2000 celebration of Black History Month off to a great start, emphasizing that legacy which is so important and which we have contributed not only to ourselves and to this Nation but to the entire world. We shall overcome.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. OWENS), my colleague and associate, so much for his leadership. I thank him for all he did as head of CORE in Brooklyn and for being here tonight to participate in this special order.

It is appropriate for him to mention the theme song of the movement "We Shall Overcome." After the 1960 effort, 5 years later, the President of the United States, President Lyndon Johnson, came and spoke to a joint session of the Congress when he introduced the Voting Rights Act and he said, "We Shall Overcome" several times. He said it to the Congress, but he said it to the nation, "We Shall Overcome."

So we have come a distance, we have made a lot of progress since February 1, 1960.

It is now, Mr. Speaker, my pleasure and delight to yield to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), my good friend from the city of Newark.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, let me first of all commend the gentleman from the great State of Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) for calling this special order highlighting the Greensboro sit-in that began on February 1, 40 years ago. I rise to join my colleagues in honoring this very important and historical day in history.

□ 1930

Let me begin by asking, What is a patriot? Usually the term "patriot" evokes images of our first President, George Washington. As a young boy, every class that I went to in my elementary and secondary schools in Newark, New Jersey, had a picture of George Washington. He was the patriot, he was the father of our Nation.

If you were to ask me what a patriot is, however, I would certainly say

George Washington was one, but I also would think of the four particular young men who we have been talking about tonight in 1960: Ezell A. Blair, now Jibreel Khazan; Franklin E. McCain; Joseph A. McNeil; and David L. Richmond. These were young men who were patriots, also, because they sparked an American revolution of their own. As we think of these two images, they may seem unrelated, but they are in fact joined by the underlying principle of their actions, liberty, freedom and fairness.

These young men were in search of more than just food and beverages. Their hunger and thirst was much deeper. They wanted to drink from the fountain of equality and freedom and were therefore attacking the social order of the time. The first day there were four; the second day 20. What ensued was that thousands started. As they say, "If you start me with 10 who are stout-hearted men, then I'll soon give you 10,000 more." Of course today we have to be gender sensitive, so I would paraphrase it by saying, "Start me with 10 who are stout-hearted men or women and I'll soon give you 10,000 more."

They used to say, "It is better to build boys than to mend men." We have a difficult time making it fit, but I say men and women, too. But let me say that these four young men started a revolution.

So in a world full of images and symbols, I can think of nothing more powerful than the idea of these four young men, because it is said that nothing is as important as a dream whose time has come. As these men sat silently and calm at Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960, it showed the courage and image that embodied a movement that changed the face of America.

As I conclude, Frederick Douglass once said, in 1857, "Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation are men who want crops without plowing the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its waters. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

I conclude again by saying that we are thankful for those young men at that time. I also participated in Newark by us supporting them in those days, picketing Newark's Woolworth's store. I know recently Woolworth's announced the closing of 500 or so stores. I was just wondering whether that lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, was one of those that finally closed.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank my friend and colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey, for those kind and moving words.

I yield to my friend and colleague from the great State of Iowa (Mr. GANSKE).

Mr. GANSKE. I thank my friend from Georgia for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, between 1882 and 1968, thousands of black men and women and children were hanged, burned, shot or tortured to death by mobs in the United States. Of those crimes, only a handful ever went to a grand jury. In New York City at this moment, there is a photo exhibition in which 60 small black and white photographs are on display. The name of this exhibition is Witness. It is at the Roth Horowitz Gallery. I am looking on page 17 of the latest New Yorker Magazine which shows one of the photographs from this exhibit. It shows two men, James Allen and John Littlefield, two black men, who in August 1930 were lynched. It shows them hanging from a tree. It shows a large crowd at their feet. There are 13- and 14-year-old young girls in this crowd. Some of them hold ripped swatches of the victims' clothing as souvenirs. This photograph became a souvenir and 50,000 of these postcards were sold at 50 cents each.

I thank the gentleman for having this special order tonight. Here in Washington, we have a Holocaust museum. It would be my sincere hope that this photographic exhibit of 60 small photographs comes to Washington and travels around the country. I think every American should see this as part of a very tragic part of our American history.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. I want to thank the gentleman from Iowa for bringing that to our attention. I have seen the exhibit. I have seen the book. It is very, very moving. It makes me very sad sometimes to think that in our recent history that our fellow Americans would do this to other Americans. Some of these photographs makes me want to really cry. It is very painful to see. I think that is a wonderful suggestion, to bring this exhibit to Washington, let it travel around America, because we must not forget this part of our history. Just maybe we will never ever let something like this happen again in our own country.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank all of my colleagues for participating in this special order.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL GLOBAL ECONOMY AND PATIENT PROTECTION LEGISLATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHERWOOD). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. GANSKE) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. GANSKE. Mr. Speaker, tonight I want to talk about two issues. First I want to talk about the international global economy, and then I want to say a few words about patient protection

legislation, just so I will not disappoint any of my colleagues.

While the international global economy is no longer a vision of the future, it is here, it is a reality, we are now establishing the rules that govern this economy; and the outcomes of these debates will have a direct impact upon my State of Iowa as well as on the country as a whole.

Our country and my State have benefited greatly from the growing international marketplace and American efforts to reduce tariffs and trade barriers. For example, my home State of Iowa's exports increased nearly 75 percent over 5 years to \$5 billion in 1998. Export sales from Des Moines alone totalled nearly half a billion dollars in 1998. This growth was a two-way street. My State has attracted more than \$5 billion in foreign investment. This level of international trade and investment supports thousands of jobs in Iowa and across the country, and it greatly benefits our economy in general.

Over the past 30 years, we have made significant progress in breaking down barriers to trade. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT; the World Trade Organization, or WTO; and the North American Free Trade Agreement have been effective in promoting the development of free trade. Yet we need to do much more. I have a book in my office published each year by the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative entitled "National Trade Estimate Report on Foreign Trade Barriers," not exactly something that you want to read if you want to stay awake late at night. The 1999 edition is more than 400 pages long, but those 400 pages detail the impediments that still exist to fully achieving a free international economy. America as the largest economic force in the world will benefit greatly if we eliminate those barriers.

So tonight I want to talk about some of the trade issues Congress may be addressing this year and how they tie into the goal of expanding market access and promoting free trade.

One of the first things Congress could do is to enact sanctions reform. The United States uses trade sanctions to apply economic pressure against countries to force them to modify their policies. Our trade sanctions against Cuba are an example. Often, these sanctions prohibit the export of food and medical products. These sanctioned markets currently buy \$7 billion in agricultural commodities each year from the international community. That is \$7 billion in agricultural commodities that they are not buying from us. The Department of Agriculture estimates that rural communities lose \$1.2 billion in economic activity annually as a result of these unilateral sanctions. For this and other reasons, we need to end unilateral sanctions on food and medicine, except in cases of national security.

First, they do not work. Our allies freely supply these products to the sanctioned states, undermining our efforts and taking away potential markets. Second, withholding food and medicine from civilians because we disagree with their governments' policies, in my opinion, is less than civilized. And, third, these unilateral sanctions punish America's farmers and further depress commodity prices by denying access to significant international markets. When our Nation's farmers are struggling for survival, that is not acceptable. By exempting agricultural and medical products from unilateral sanctions, we can provide our farmers with additional market opportunities and provide a humanitarian service to people living under those oppressive regimes.

Another tool we can implement to promote free trade is fast-track negotiating authority. Fast track allows the President to negotiate international trade agreements and then bring those agreements to Congress for an up-or-down vote without amendments. This authority is authorized for limited periods of time. Beginning in 1974, fast track was extended several times, until its most recent expiration in 1994. Armed with that fast-track authority, Presidents were able to assure our trading partners that they have the necessary authority to negotiate trade agreements and that Congress will not change the conditions of those agreements.

It was under such authority that two multilateral trade agreements were reached under GATT, including the Uruguay Round which produced great dividends for U.S. farmers, U.S. interests and established the WTO, the World Trade Organization. Fast track also helped America reach free trade agreements with Israel in 1985 and Canada in 1988, as well as the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, in 1993. But in 1994, authorization for fast track expired; and it has not yet been reauthorized.

Now, last year President Clinton announced in his State of the Union address that he would again seek renewed fast-track authority. Unfortunately, that was followed by a rather anemic and unsuccessful effort by President Clinton in 1998. So today, we still do not have fast-track authority.

I believe that if we wish to continue making substantial improvements and advances in promoting free trade and if we want to shape or have input in the current negotiations of WTO, we need to reauthorize fast-track authority. In this year's State of the Union address just last week, President Clinton spoke about nearly everything, except fast-track authority.

□ 1945

I hope the President and Vice President put full White House support behind an effort to reauthorize fast