

can by looking at the potential scope of the bill.

I am also concerned about this bill's potential financial impact on our States. Just last month we passed a bill to curb unfunded Federal mandates on unwitting States. However, upon closer analysis of this bill, I feel that there might be possibility that States will bear the impacts and financial burdens of conducting risk assessments. Many States act as the agents of the Federal Government in enforcing certain laws. This bill would require the Federal Government, or any entity acting "on behalf of a covered agency in the implementation of a regulatory program" to conduct risk assessments.

I will be offering an amendment later during the debate to solve the potential unintended consequence. It has the support of the National Conference of State Legislatures and the Governor from Arkansas.

I hope that my colleagues will support some of the bipartisan amendments that will be offered during the course of debate to eliminate some of the bureaucratic nightmares in this bill.

## BLACK HISTORY

### HON. STENY H. HOYER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 28, 1995*

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, for the last 14 years, I have been the proud sponsor of an Annual Congressional Black History Month Breakfast. Each year, it has been a privilege to hear the remarks of many distinguished guest speakers and this morning was no exception. The honored speaker for this year's breakfast was the Honorable Eric Holder, U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia. I found Mr. Holder's remarks insightful, thought provoking, and timely. Therefore, I am proud to submit his statement for the RECORD.

#### BLACK HISTORY SPEECH

(By Eric Holder)

In discussing black history we must always be cognizant of its continuing nature and we are obligated to assess where black America stands at the time of that discussion. Though I would like to talk today about the concept of, and importance of, black history I would also like to discuss the black present. The past and the present are inextricably bound and to understand either, one must comprehend both. History should be used as a tool in trying to understand a present that seems at times to be frightening and illogical. It is my belief that the seeds of our inner cities present distress are found in the manner in which this nation has dealt with its black population over the years. But we must also acknowledge that this same population has done much in recent years to contribute to its present negative condition. The study of black history is a means by which we can understand and plan for a better black future. To look forward one must also look back.

Let me start with the present. Black America today stands at a crossroads. A valiant past filled with courage and struggle is being replaced with a present replete with irresponsible behavior and an almost passive acceptance of negative actions in general and of violence in particular. Black Americans, like too many others in our society, have become all too willing to blame others for their situation. It is definitely true that

government has not done all that it could, or should, have done in the recent past. But a study of black history indicates that we have frequently had to deal with governmental indifference or outright hostility. This did not stop our striving in the past, cannot be used an excuse in the present, and must not inhibit our growth as a people in the future. We black Americans must commit ourselves to responsible behavior and do all that we can to retard the growth of the culture of violence that so grips many of our communities.

It is time for black America to come to grips with the crime and violence problem that destroys so many promising, young black lives. Put quite simply, it is time for black people to begin to identify with, and work with, the forces that are fighting to make our streets safe. The preoccupation with criminal defendants and the abject neglect of criminal victims is in some ways a moral indictment of our community. This concern was understandable in a past where people of color were systemically, routinely and legally denied the rights to which they were obviously entitled. But in a present where at least the legal impediments to equality have been largely erased, such concerns are largely misplaced. I am not naive, however. Black people must be ever vigilant to insure that all of our people, criminal defendants included, are always treated in the same constitutional manner as all other Americans. But for too long we have sought to excuse that which we know to be wrong and in the process have ignored the real pain suffered by members of our own community. The overwhelming majority of crime committed by black defendants is directed at other black people. Over 90% of the nation's black homicide victims, for example, were killed by other black people. This is truly a sad part of black history but is an aspect of our existence in this country that must be explored and honestly discussed if the next chapters in our story are to be filled with hope and progress.

We must also strive to curb other voluntary conduct that threatens the very existence of our people. The plagues of AIDS and unwed births that so affect the black community, for example, are the products of irresponsible sexual conduct. Because this conduct is voluntary it can, and should, be rather easily controlled. I understand that in things sexual and personal we must tread lightly but is it not painfully clear that by being just a little more responsible these problems could be cured? We must insure that we do all we can to reduce the rate of black unwed births in our nation that now stands at 67%—two out of every three black babies are born into this condition. In some parts of Washington that figure rises to over 80%—four out of every five babies. This plague tears at the fabric that has traditionally bound us together. It inhibits the development of the black community by stunting the growth of both the mother and the child itself. A recent study showed that women who became mothers when they were married, over 21 and high school graduates gave birth to children who lived in poverty about 10% of the time. By contrast, women who were under 21, high school dropouts and not married gave birth to children 79% of whom lived in poverty. There is little dispute that there is a direct line between poverty and the social problems that so bedevil us. As you can see, at least a part of the poverty problem is self inflicted and could be controlled by self restraint.

In the current discussion about unwed births, welfare reform and values we too frequently focus on women as if they created children without the assistance of men. We must never stigmatize the women in our

community who valiantly struggle against great odds to raise good kids and we must always love all of our children whatever the marital status of their parents. But we must recognize that this is a problem. And we must acknowledge the irresponsibility of men in this situation. When I was a judge at the District of Columbia Superior Court it was striking to me to find that virtually every young man who came before me in a criminal case did not have a man who was meaningfully involved in his life. As the United States Attorney for this city I have been struck by the way in which children have responded to the men in our office, both black and white, in our outreach efforts. We have programs with elementary schools in the city and it is in some ways sad to see our youngsters, black youngsters, cling to the men in my office for the support and guidance they should be receiving from their fathers at home. In any discussion of our situation we must focus more on absentee fathers. We cannot hope to have our young boys grow up to be good men without role models to emulate. And the best role model is not an athlete, not an entertainer and not a United States Attorney. The best role model is a father at home who devotes himself to the child he has brought into the world. An army of these kind of fathers would probably do more to cure our social problems than all the government programs we might ever devise. We must somehow force the concept of family back into the consciousness of the men who are now too willing to create children but not willing to help raise them.

Moving from a partial examination of the black present to a look into the black past one finds that the history of black America and the history of this nation are inextricably tied to each other. It is for this reason that the study of black history is important to everyone—black or white. For example, the history of the United States in the nineteenth century revolves around a resolution of the question of how America was going to deal with its black inhabitants. The great debates of that era and the war that was ultimately fought are all centered around the issue of, initially, slavery and then the reconstruction of the vanquished region. A dominant domestic issue throughout the twentieth century has been, again, America's treatment of its black citizens. The civil rights movement of the 1950's and 1960's changed America in truly fundamental ways. Americans of all colors were forced to examine basic beliefs and long held views. Even so, most people, who are not conversant with history, still do not really comprehend the way in which that movement transformed America. In racial terms the country that existed before the civil rights struggle is almost unrecognizable to us today. Separate public facilities, separate entrances, poll taxes, legal discrimination, in essence an American apartheid, all were part of an America that the movement destroyed.

In addition, the other major social movements of the latter half of this century—feminism, the nation's treatment of other minority groups, even the anti-war effort are all tied in some way to the spirit that was set free by the civil rights movement. Those other movements may have occurred in the absence of the civil rights struggle but the fight for black equality came first and helped to shape the way in which other groups of people came to think of themselves and to raise their desire for equal treatment. Further, many of the tactics that were used by these other groups were developed in the civil rights movement.

And today the link between the black experience and this country is still evident. While the problems that presently afflict the

black community may be more severe, they are an indication of where the rest of the nation may be if corrective measures are not quickly taken. For example, the rate of white unwed births has risen dramatically in recent years, continues to rise and now stands at almost 30%. The level of violence now found in once quiet suburbs is alarming and further demonstrates that our past, present and future are linked. It is not safe for this nation to assume that unaddressed social problems in the poorest parts of our country will not ultimately affect the larger society.

Black history is extremely important because it is American history. Given this, it is in some ways sad that there is a need for a black history month. Though we are all enlarged by our study and knowledge of the roles played by blacks in American history, and though there is a crying need for all of us to know and acknowledge the contributions of black America, a black history month is a testament to the problem that has afflicted blacks throughout our stay in this country. Black history is given a separate and clearly not equal treatment by our society in general and by our educational institutions in particular. [It is only given a month (the only month with 28 days!) of recognition.] As a former American history major I am struck by the fact that such a major part of our national story has been divorced from the whole. In law, culture, science, sports, industry and other fields, knowledge of the rules played by blacks is critical to an understanding of the American experiment. For too long we have been too willing to segregate the study of black history. There is clearly a need at present for a device that focuses the attention of the country on the study of the history of its black citizens. But we must endeavor to integrate black history into our culture and into our curriculums in ways in which it has never occurred before so that the study of black history, and a recognition of the contributions of black Americans, become commonplace. Until that time, Black History Month must remain an important, vital concept. But we have to recognize that until black history is included in the standard curriculum in our schools and becomes a regular part of all our lives, it will be viewed as a novelty, relatively unimportant and not as weighty as so called "real" American history.

I was invited to speak to you today because some consider me, the first black person to be named United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, a part of black history. We do a great disservice to the concept of black history recognition if we do not acknowledge that my appointment cannot be viewed in isolation. I stand on the shoulders of many other black Americans, all of whom should be widely known to all Americans: admittedly, the identities of some of these people, through the passage of time, have become lost to us—the men, and women, who labored long in fields, who were later legally and systemically discriminated against, who were lynched by the hundreds in this century and those others who have been too long denied the fruits of our great American culture. But the names of others of these people should strike a resonant chord in the historical ear of all in our nation: Frederick Douglas, W.E.B. DuBois, Walter White, Langston Hughes, Marcus Garvey, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Joe Louis, Jackie Robinson, Paul Robeson, Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin, Maya Angelou, Toni Morrison, Ralph Bunche, Rosa Parks, Marion Anderson, Emmet Till. These are just some of the people who should be generally recognized and are just some of the people to whom all of us, black and white, owe such a debt of gratitude. It is on the broad shoulders that I

stand as I hope that others will some day stand on my more narrow ones.

Black history is a subject worthy of study by all Americans. To truly comprehend this country you must have knowledge of its constituent parts. Black Americans have played a pivotal role in the development of this nation. Perhaps the greatest strength of the United States is the diversity of its people. But an unstudied or misunderstood diversity can become a divisive force. An appreciation of the unique black past, acquired through the study of black history, will help lead to understanding and compassion in the present, where it is so sorely needed, and to a future where all of our people are truly valued.

#### TRIBUTE TO LASHAUN QUARLES

##### HON. JACK QUINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 28, 1995*

Mr. QUINN. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased and proud to rise today to salute LaShaun Quarles, an eighth grader who attends St. Aloysius School in Cheektowaga, NY.

LaShaun was chosen as the first place winner of a Black History Contest which I sponsored to help commemorate Black History Month. Students throughout the congressional district were encouraged to highlight some of the important contributions African-Americans have made to our Nation.

LaShaun chose Marcus Garvey as a figure whom she believes is vitally important to the history of the United States. A panel of judges found LaShaun's essay to be most inspirational and knowledgeable.

LaShaun's admiration for Marcus Garvey and appraisal of his principles is worthy of our attention. I commend her essay to you and ask that it be placed in the RECORD.

WHY MARCUS GARVEY IS IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES

(By LaShaun Quarles, St. Aloysius, Grade 8)

Marcus Garvey was a man who founded a most significant movement in African American freedom. Garvey traveled around the world forming the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and teaching African Americans that black is beautiful.

I found Garvey's principles to be interesting. I learned a great deal from them. One of Garvey's principles includes "never spend all of your earnings." It is very important to save a little of what you earn. I have observed a number of young African Americans spending a great deal of money on clothes, Nikes, etc. We need to begin to save a portion of our money towards our education and future. Reading about Garvey has encouraged me to save even more of my money.

Another one of Garvey's principles is to "have pride in your race." In a world where black is often hated, he taught us that black is beautiful. Not having pride in your race destroys our self-esteem and confidence. We as people must learn to love and appreciate ourselves and recognize the beauty of being African. Garvey was against skin bleaching and hair straighteners. He felt that God made us dark skin with coarser hair for a reason, and that we should keep ourselves looking natural. I realize that some young people within my community need to have more pride in their race and not be concerned about changing their physical appearance. If you choose to change something about yourself, it should be because you want to and not because you feel your friends will have more respect for you.

Good character is a good principle also. Back in the early 1900's when Caucasians met an African America, they would automatically think that the person was bad news, but if you have a good personality, it will usually come naturally for a person to like you. I realize that you should always take time to know a person before passing judgement. As I look within my community, I realize that some kids judge people based on how they look or how they are dressed. We will often find better friends if we look for a good character.

Another principle that Garvey talked about was "obey the rules of society." This is an important principle because so many people do not obey rules. Many young African Americans go to jail because they broke a law. We have rules in society for a reason, if there were no rules, there would be no order in society. We have rules in school, and they are there so that we may be more disciplined and prepared for life.

"Never stop learning" is another principle that Garvey stressed. I realize that it is necessary that I stay in school, if I am to reach my goal of becoming a lawyer. I hope that all young people continue their education. With education, kids most likely will not resort to selling or using drugs, because they would realize the negative consequence of their actions.

Reading about Marcus Garvey has encouraged me to continue to have high self-esteem and pride in my race, not so that I may hate other races, but respect them as human beings with feelings. Marcus Garvey was a courageous man, and he not only helped me to discover the principles that I will use to guide my own life, but it teaches me about my African American heritage and about America itself. I think it is very crucial for us to know the heroes of our history.

#### TRIBUTE OF CHIEF WILLIAM "BILL" BAKER

##### HON. JULIAN C. DIXON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 28, 1995*

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, March 10, 1995, family, friends, and colleagues of Chief of Detectives William "Bill" Baker will pay tribute to him at a retirement dinner in his honor at the Hotel Intercontinental in Los Angeles. This affair will follow—by 4 days—Bill's official retirement from the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department where he has served with great distinction for nearly four decades. I am honored and pleased to have this opportunity to salute Bill and to share with my colleagues in the House of Representatives a brief retrospective of his outstanding career.

During his exemplary career in the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, Bill has held a variety of assignments, including commander of the court services division; technical services division; field operations region II; and the detective division. As a commander, he commanded field operations region II, and as a captain, he directed operations at the West Hollywood, Altadena, and Lennox Stations. Other assignments have included an investigative position in the narcotics bureau as well as patrol assignments at the Lennox and Firestone Stations. In addition, Chief Baker served as sheriff's department's civil service advocate.