

today, the textbook writers would be wise to have a lesson on the career of Howard Baker. His character and example, and the policies he advanced, would be admired by all who, unlike some of us, have not had the opportunity to know this man in person. The textbook writers should wait a while longer, however, as I hope and expect that Howard Baker's life of public service continues, for the good of the Nation and the good of all of us. I heartily co-sponsor this resolution and offer my warmest congratulations to former Senator Baker, and his wife, former Senator Kassebaum.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN HISTORY MONTH

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, it is especially appropriate that this year the theme of African-American History Month should be the Niagara Movement, for 100 years ago, in July 1905, the Niagara Movement convened for the first time. It brought together a distinguished group of twenty-nine thinkers, writers, educators, attorneys, ministers and businessmen in the African-American community; among them was the Reverend George Freeman Bragg, for many years the pastor of St. James' Episcopal Church in Baltimore and the author of *Men of Maryland*, a history of African Americans in Maryland from the earliest days of the colony. Although the participants were scheduled to meet in Buffalo they were unable to find hotel accommodations in that city, and as a consequence they moved to Fort Erie, on the Canadian side of the Falls.

The Niagara Movement symbolized a "mighty current" of protest against all the disabilities and indignities of second-class citizenship to which African-Americans were subjected. It rejected the pernicious "separate but equal" doctrine set out 9 years earlier by the Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and all the political, social and economic consequences of that decision. The prospect that African-American citizens of this Nation would at last be guaranteed all the rights and protections of the Constitution had already begun to fade with the end of Reconstruction, in 1876, and *Plessy* seemed to affirm that although African-Americans might no longer be enslaved, they should never aspire to be full citizens of the Republic. Within the African-American community voices arose urging accommodation and acquiescence; the most prominent, Booker T. Washington's, counseled against seeking political and social rights.

John Hope, an academic who subsequently became one of the founders of the Niagara Movement, offered a ringing rebuttal to this advice:

In this republic, we shall be less than freemen if we have a whit less than that which thrift, education and honor afford other freemen. If equality, political, economic and social is the boon of other men in this great country of ours, then equality, po-

litical, economic and social is what we demand.

When the Niagara Movement met for the first time, it adopted a manifesto that formally rejected accommodation and courageously asserted:

We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans.

The movement faced truly daunting challenges. It was met by the public at large with alarm, skepticism and outright hostility—and on the part of the press, by a wall of silence. The annual meeting shifted from one place to another—from Buffalo to Harper's Ferry, to Boston and then to Oberlin, and in its last year to Sea Girt, NJ. Membership never numbered more than a few hundred; and plans to establish chapters in all thirty States were never fully realized. The movement's financial resources were painfully inadequate to the challenge it faced, and its efforts to organize were met by hostility and, worst of all, silence on the part of the press.

Although the movement sank into obscurity, a small number of scholars and commentators have recognized its importance. Among them is John Bambacus, whose 1972 master's thesis, "W.E.B. DuBois and the Niagara Movement," remains a valuable introduction to the subject. Today John Bambacus serves both as the mayor of Frostburg, in Maryland's Allegany County, and also as a member of the faculty of Frostburg State University, where he is an Associate Professor and Director of Frostburg's Public Affairs Institute and Internship Program.

It is clear today that the Niagara Movement was indeed the beginning one hundred years ago of the "mighty current" that became the great civil rights movement of the 20th century and transformed this Nation. And when after a few years the movement faltered, the NAACP emerged in its place.

For Marylanders, the NAACP has very special significance. It is not only that the NAACP, with a membership of some 500,000, nearly 2,000 branch chapters and hundreds of college and youth chapters, has its headquarters in Baltimore. It is not only that the NAACP has worked ceaselessly since its founding 95 years ago to ensure that African-Americans will have access to all the rights and opportunities our country offers, and that by doing so it has made our country a better place for all our people. It is not just the brilliant programs the NAACP has designed and implemented over the years—among them, the historic voter registration projects and the Voter Empowerment Program that grew out of them, the critically important economic empowerment program, and the Academic, Cultural, Technological and Scientific Olympics program that sets a high standard of achievement for

young people and challenges them to meet it.

It is also the legacy of Thurgood Marshall, who was born and raised in Baltimore, who received his high-school diploma from Frederick Douglass High School in Baltimore, and who returned to Baltimore after law school at Howard University. It was at Howard, where he was class valedictorian, that Thurgood Marshall became a member of the brilliant team that Dean Charles Hamilton Houston assembled for the express purpose of sweeping away "separate but equal" and establishing the right of African-Americans to full participation in every aspect of American life. Within a year of returning to Baltimore Thurgood Marshall joined the staff of the Baltimore branch of the NAACP. He went on to become the NAACP's chief legal officer and also director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

In that capacity he led the team that successfully argued the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education* in the Supreme Court, thereby laying the indestructible foundation for transforming the principles set out by the Niagara Movement into the reality of American life.

Marshall did not rest with his triumph in the *Brown* case. President Kennedy appointed him to the 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals, where of Judge Marshall's 112 rulings that were appealed, every one was later upheld by the Supreme Court. Subsequently President Johnson appointed him to be Solicitor General, and then to sit on the Supreme Court as the Nation's first African-American Justice. Justice Marshall's colleague on the Supreme Court, Justice Brennan, called him—

the voice of authority . . . the voice of reason . . . [a]nd a voice with an unwavering message: that the Constitution's protections must not be denied to anyone . . .

Thurgood Marshall was a leader among the brilliant and courageous members of the African-American community who dedicated their efforts—and in many cases their lives—to the fundamental principles of equality and respect that were set out in Buffalo 100 years ago by the Niagara Movement. We have come far, but yet we have far to go.

No one has put this more eloquently than Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. As we approach the end of African-American History Month 2005 we should remember what he told us nearly 50 years ago, in "Facing the Challenge of a New Age":

. . . our world is geographically one. Now we are faced with the challenge of making it spiritually one. Through our scientific genius we have made of the world a neighborhood; now through our moral and spiritual genius we must make of it a brotherhood. We are all involved in the single process. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. We are all links in the great chain of humanity.

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, today marks the end of Black History Month. Each year, we take this opportunity to

honor the heritage and extraordinary contributions that African Americans have made in building our Nation.

We have many fallen martyrs in the civil rights movement to honor: Harriet Tubman, the pioneer of the Underground Railroad; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a drum major for justice; Rosa Parks, mother of the civil rights movement; and recently deceased Shirley Chisholm, champion of political firsts; to name only a few.

Arkansas has its own heroes who turned their determination into opportunity for others and helped shape history as a result.

It is perhaps the Little Rock Nine who taught America that "separate" was not "equal." Nine black students—Ernest Green, Elizabeth Eckford, Gloria Ray Karlmark, Carlotta Walls LaNier, Minnijean Borwn Trickey, Terrence Roberts, Jefferson Thomas, Thelma Mothershed Wair and Melba Pattillo Beals—defied hatred and prejudice to attend the all-white Central High School and exercise their right to a better education.

Last year, I worked closely with members of the Little Rock Nine, as well as the former Congressional Black Caucus Chairman, Elijah Cummings, to secure funding to build a Visitor's Center at the Little Rock Central High School in time to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the school's desegregation crisis. I am thrilled Congress authorized the design funding for this project. We celebrate Black History Month every February, but the Visitor's Center is open to teach stories of the civil rights movement all-year long.

Part of this Visitor's Center will tell the story of civil rights leader Daisy Gatson Bates, who paid a personal and financial price to help the Little Rock Nine succeed. Bates also made significant strides in the courtroom and increasing public awareness through her newspaper, the Arkansas State Press, about the inequality that existed in Arkansas.

Just as Arkansans broke barriers in our schools, they also played a large role in integrating our Nation's military operations, making it the most skilled military in the world. The actions of the Tuskegee Airmen are legendary. Arkansas' own Tuskegee Airmen include: Herbert Clark of Pine Bluff, Richard Caesar of Lake Village, William Mattison of Conway, Woodrow Crockett of Little Rock, James Ewing of Helena, Marsille Reed of Tillar, Jerry Hodges of Heth, and Grandville Coggs of Little Rock.

Before 1940, African Americans were barred from flying for the U.S. military. Civil rights organizations and the black press exerted pressure that resulted in the formation of an African-American flying squadron based in Tuskegee, AL., in 1941. The Tuskegee Airmen established an incredible and unprecedented flying record, most notably completing 200 bomber escort missions over most of central and

southern Europe without the loss of a single bomber to enemy aircraft. By the end of World War II, almost 1,000 African Americans had won their wings at Tuskegee Army Air Field. Each airman had his own victories and valor, but in the end, the Tuskegee Airmen knew that never again would anybody deny a man or woman the opportunity to serve our country in any capacity because of the color of his or her skin.

In 1948, President Harry Truman enacted an Executive order which directed equality of treatment and opportunity in all of the U.S. Armed Forces. This order, in time, led to the end of racial segregation in the military forces.

African Americans continue to make remarkable contributions in the fields of mathematics, science, arts, politics and the Armed Forces. Arkansas is blessed to be the home to many of these trailblazers, including Pulitzer Prize winner Maya Angelou, former U.S. Secretary of Transportation Rodney Slater, and many individuals who may not be household names but who make an extraordinary difference in our communities nonetheless.

As we look back at the African Americans who brought us here today, we must also consider those who are history in the making.

The Little Rock Nine and Daisy Gatson Bates knew that education is the great equalizer. Keeping students in school and preparing them for college will pay off in dividends for communities. For students who pursue higher education, the pay margin is significant. In 2002, the average earnings for nongraduates were \$18,826; for high school graduates, \$27,280; for bachelor's degree holders, \$51,194; and for those with advanced degrees, \$72,824.

Last week, I traveled towns in the Delta, where some rural areas suffer from unemployment rates two to three times higher than the national average, the poverty rate is more than double the national average, and access to health care is abysmal. I spoke with middle school and high school students, sharing with them a message of commitment and responsibility.

Every child should know that if they take the initiative to work hard and make good grades, this body will stand by them and match that commitment. Standing by our youth means fulfilling the promises we made to them to fully fund the No Child Left Behind Act.

Most students know that the No Child Left Behind Act requires them to take more tests, but they don't understand the overall goal is to improve our schools—in poor neighborhoods and in wealthy school districts—so that they will all be able to compete in the global and technically advanced workplace.

In fulfilling Congress' commitment to our youth, it is imperative that we support programs like the Federal TRIO programs, which help low-income, first-generation college students progress through the academic pipeline from middle school to post-baccalaureate programs.

I recently learned about Jessica, a high school senior who participates in the Upward Bound Program. Through the Federal TRIO program, she received tutoring and technical assistance that she needed to attend college. Jessica took the initiative to make good grades in school, score well on her ACTs, and balance a part-time job at McDonalds. She was accepted at the University of Central Arkansas, her first choice college, and she now awaits scholarship information so she knows for sure whether UCA is in her future.

Oprah Winfrey once said "luck is a matter of preparation meeting opportunity." Preparation is the most important part of the equation. For students to be prepared and compete in the workforce, Congress must support programs like title I, IDEA, TRIO, as well as programs that provide vocational preparation and technology in rural schools. When we underfund or slash funding for them, as the President proposes in his budget proposal, we take opportunity away from them.

African-American students are reaping the benefits of equal opportunity laws passed on to them through the sacrifice of their ancestors. However, too many African-American seniors struggle financially today because they simply did not have the same opportunity in their schools or in the workplace. As a result, 40 percent of African-American seniors rely on Social Security as their only source of income, and the program provides about three-quarters of all retirement income for African-American seniors. Statistics show, in fact, without Social Security, poverty rates for African-American seniors would more than double to 58 percent.

The Social Security safety net is at risk with the President's privatization plan. I hope African-American families in Arkansas and throughout the country will listen closely to the debate on Social Security's future. The President recently stated private accounts are in the best interest of African-Americans because the accounts benefit individuals with a shorter life expectancy. To me that statement means we need to reduce the health care disparity in this country, which is something I hope the Senate will take action on this year. Weakening Social Security is not the answer.

Black History Month presents an occasion to reflect on the great contributions African-Americans have made to our country, and to celebrate the steps we have taken toward equality. But too much is left to be done to simply leave it at that. We must also remind ourselves of the work ahead and meet the commitment of those who seek opportunity.

Mrs. DOLE. Mr. President, this month we mark the 79th celebration of African American Black History Month. What was launched by civil rights pioneer Dr. Carter G. Woodson in 1926 as Black History Week and observed in Black schools and churches

today is a month-long national tribute to the tremendous historical contributions of African Americans from all walks of life and professions.

I am so very proud of the rich and vibrant African-American heritage in my home State of North Carolina. Our history is full of trailblazers, including Franklin McCain, Joseph McNeil, Ezell Blair, Jr., and David Richmond, known as the Greensboro Four because of their February 1960 sit-ins at a Woolworth Store counter in Greensboro, NC. Their sit-ins were the first significant event of this type, quickly gaining momentum and attention. In less than a week, the four North Carolina A&T freshmen had been joined by 1,000 other students from local high schools and universities. As the Greensboro News & Record stated earlier this month, the Greensboro sit-in "gave new life to the nation's civil rights movement and helped pave the way for its triumphs later in the decade." These individuals truly laid the foundation for the America we strive to be, where all people are given opportunity and treated fairly, regardless of their skin color.

North Carolina, with its long and proud military history, also produced 21 of the famed Tuskegee Airmen. Trained in Tuskegee, AL, these brave men made up the first African-American military flying unit in World War II. I am proud to cosponsor recently introduced legislation that authorizes the President to award a gold medal on behalf of Congress to the Tuskegee Airmen. These brave soldiers truly left their mark on history not just in battle—their great success helped pave the way for the integration of our Armed Forces in 1948.

North Carolina also has made great strides in higher education. We have 11 historically Black colleges and universities, including Shaw University in Raleigh, founded in 1865 and the oldest HBCU in the South. I was honored to give the commencement address and receive an honorary degree several years ago from Livingstone College, another outstanding historically Black college in my hometown of Salisbury. I also am so very proud that my husband Bob is serving as chairman of a \$50 million fundraising campaign at Bennett College in Greensboro, one of only two historically Black women's colleges in America. Bennett College President Dr. Johnnetta Cole is a pioneer in her own right, having received 50 honorary degrees during an impressive career in academia that includes being the first African-American woman to serve as president of Spelman College. And in May 2004, Dr. Cole became the first African-American to serve as chair of the Board of United Way of America.

A short time ago Congress debated legislation to make the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a national holiday. The floor leader for that legislation was a fellow named Bob Dole. During the final debate, I had the privilege of sitting in the gallery with Coretta Scott King, as we heard Bob

deliver these words: "A nation defines itself in many ways; in the promises it makes and the programs it enacts, the dreams it enshrines, or the doors it slams shut. Thanks to Dr. King, America wrote new laws to strike down old barriers. She built bridges instead of walls . . . there is nothing partisan about justice. It is conservative as the Constitution, as liberal as Lincoln, as radical as Jefferson's sweeping assertion that all of God's creation is equal in His eyes." I could not agree more.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I rise again, as I have earlier this month, to honor February as Black History Month. Each February since 1926, we have recognized the contributions of Black Americans to the Nation.

This is no accident; February is a significant month in Black American history. Abolitionist Frederick Douglass, President Abraham Lincoln, and scholar and civil rights leader W.E.B. DuBois were born in the month of February. The 15th amendment to the Constitution was ratified 132 years ago this month, preventing race discrimination in the right to vote. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded in February in New York City. February 1 was the 45th anniversary of the Greensboro Four's historic sit-in. And on February 25, 1870, this body welcomed its first Black senator, Hiram R. Revels of Mississippi.

In this important month, I have wanted to celebrate some of the contributions made by Black Americans in my home State of Oregon. Since Marcus Lopez, who sailed with Captain Robert Gray in 1788, became the first person of African descent known to set foot in Oregon, a great many Black Americans have helped shape the history of my State. Throughout this month, I have come to the floor to highlight some of their stories. Today, on the last day of Black History Month, I have come to honor one more.

Louis A. Southworth was a blacksmith, fiddler, and farmer. Though a combination of his contagious personality, appealing fiddle playing, and an unwavering devotion to civic duty, he became one of Oregon's most respected and well-liked citizens of his time.

Born into slavery in Tennessee in 1830, he later moved with his family to Oregon in 1851. Although slavery was officially banned in Oregon, it was still practiced with some frequency. While working in the gold mines, Southworth soon found that people greatly enjoyed his musical talents. He was able to parlay his talents on a fiddle into an extra source of income, and at age 28, bought his freedom for \$1,000. The phrase "fiddling for freedom" soon caught on, and Louis Southworth become some what of a local hero.

In 1879, he moved with his wife and adopted son to the south bank of the Alsea River. Southworth, with his family and his fiddle, soon won over this small community. He worked as a farmer, and ferried cargo and passengers across the bay to town.

As more people began to move into the community, he donated some of his land to build a local school house and later served as chair of the school board. Along with his new life came a renewed sense of civic duty. Southworth became a dedicated political activist. During the elections of 1890, a strong storm ravaged his small town. Unafraid of the weather, Louis Southworth rigged two oil drums to his boat for buoyancy and rowed across the bay to the polling place. As it turns out, he was the only person to cast a vote in Waldport that day.

Despite the chaotic times in which he lived, Louis Southworth was embraced by his community. Before he died in 1917, his neighbors raised the \$300 needed to pay off his mortgage in Corvallis, OR.

Louis Southworth provides one example of a man triumphing over seemingly insurmountable odds. As a Black man living in troubled times, his personality, compassion, work ethic, talents, generosity, and devotion to the community service allowed him to become a respected leader. He was accepted by many of his peers, of all races, religions, and ethnic backgrounds, long before this was common or expected. His legacy of service and kindness is one that lives on today, and one that should be remembered for years to come. On this last day of Black History Month, I believe it is only right to celebrate an Oregonian like Louis Southworth, whose contributions to race relations in Oregon, while great, have not yet received the attention they deserve.

HONORING OUR ARMED FORCES

CORPORAL MATTHEW REED SMITH, USMC

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, today I rise to speak on the recent passing of Corporal Matthew Reed Smith of the United States Marine Corps. Corporal Smith was a native of West Valley City, UT, who died in a helicopter crash near the town of Rutbah, Iraq. Corporal Smith was one of 29 Marines and one Navy sailor who lost their lives in that fateful accident. Today, I know the Senate will join me in honoring their memory as heroes who died in performance of their duty. The sacrifice of these brave servicemen will be remembered forever.

Corporal Smith, during his younger years, often dreamed of being in the Armed Forces. I have been told that as a child he would play make-believe with his brothers on the hill in front of their home and that he always insisted on being the "Marine." Nicknamed the "Three Musketeers" by their mother, Corporal Smith and his two brothers grew up doing the things they loved most, camping, hunting, wrestling, and riding their motorbikes in the mountains.

Corporal Smith joined the Marines because "they were the first ones in there." As a Marine, he fought bravely to expel the insurgents from the city of