

and as we watched incidents in Arizona and Chicago, I am very sure that as we build the TSOs and as we work to correct these issues, we could not have a better frontline defense for protecting America.

As I have traveled to airports across the Nation and watched civilians or citizens, passengers traveling through, I have seen a smile and a recognition of how important TSOs are. It is important to make sure that equipment works, and it is more important to make sure that we have the right kind of staffing. We are almost 3,000 to 4,000 short of the number of TSOs that we need.

It is also important that we recognize that a professional Federal staff is very important, similar to the many other law enforcement agencies that we have. Privatization is not the answer, but efficiency, expediency, good equipment, and training is. I believe we are moving forward to make sure that we have that kind of trained force to secure the American people and secure the Nation's airports.

COMMEMORATING SMALL BUSINESS WEEK

(Mr. WILSON of South Carolina asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WILSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month we celebrated Small Business Week, a time when we especially recognize the unique contributions small businesses make providing opportunities for citizens.

South Carolina feels the positive impact of small-business owners. These individuals represent 97 percent of all employers in our State. I am grateful to represent these entrepreneurs who are dedicated to creating jobs that will help citizens around them have meaningful and fulfilling lives.

I appreciate visiting with members of the South Carolina small-business community. I was grateful to tour Dayton Rogers, a plant in Columbia, South Carolina, led by President Ron Lowry, where I was inspired by the enthusiastic personnel.

I participated in a roundtable discussion with the National Federation of Independent Business, NFIB, led by Ben Homeyer about the overreach of government. These meetings made it clear that small businesses are not being supported by this administration because of the burdensome tax regulations.

I look forward to working with my fellow House Republicans as we support reforms to reduce regulations and create jobs and opportunities.

In conclusion, God bless our troops, and may the President, by his actions, never forget September the 11th in the global war on terrorism.

RECOGNIZING REBUILDING TOGETHER WAYCROSS

(Mr. CARTER of Georgia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize Rebuilding Together Waycross and all the hard work of its volunteers.

The Rebuilding Together organization rebuilds family homes for veterans, people with disability, and low-income families, with the goal of a safe and healthy home for each person in the community.

The nonprofit organization was founded in 1973 in Midland, Texas, by a small group of people who noticed the need to refurbish homes in their community. In the beginning, the group worked on those homes once a year each April, but by 1988, Rebuilding Together gained national recognition.

Rebuilding Together now has over 100,000 volunteers who complete 10,000 projects each year and has spread to rebuilding homes in Waycross, Georgia. Rebuilding Together Waycross is one of four Rebuilding Together networks in the State of Georgia.

I want to thank everyone who is a part of Rebuilding Together, and especially Rebuilding Together Waycross, for the hard work and for the life-changing services that this group has provided to families across America.

MEDIA IGNORES PUBLIC'S VIEWS ON CLIMATE CHANGE

(Mr. SMITH of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Americans are skeptical about the news they receive on climate change. A recent Gallup poll found that 46 percent of Americans believe that the Earth's natural changes are the primary cause of climate change. Americans are split as to the cause of any climate change. However, the liberal national media only portrays one side of the story.

Over the last month, every New York Times and Washington Post article on this topic attributed warmer temperatures solely to human activity. Not one mentioned that natural changes could partially be the cause.

What is amazing is that, with all the media bias blaming humans for climate change, half of all Americans still remain skeptical. Americans deserve all the facts about climate change, not just the one side the liberal national media are trying to promote.

□ 1915

CELEBRATING NATIONAL POLICE WEEK

(Ms. FOXX asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. FOXX. Mr. Speaker, for more than 50 years, May 15 has been recognized as Peace Officers Memorial Day, and the calendar week in which May 15 falls is National Police Week.

During National Police Week, we honor those law enforcement officers who have lost their lives in the line of duty for the safety and protection of others. In 2016, 252 fallen law enforcement heroes were added to the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial. Their sacrifice is not forgotten, and their families remain in our prayers during this week of remembrance.

The men and women who dedicate their lives to law enforcement not only keep our families safe, but they also help to preserve the way of life we hold so dear. They walk the neighborhood beats, patrol our streets, and willingly do the dangerous work that make our lives safer. They deserve our gratitude today and every day.

MICROSTAMPING LIMITS CHOICE

(Mr. LAMALFA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LAMALFA. Mr. Speaker, tonight I introduced H. Res. 731 expressing Congress' opposition to laws requiring that microstamping technology be included in handguns.

Time and time again, studies have shown that microstamping technology has failed to achieve any reliable effectiveness.

A study by the University of California, Davis—certainly no hotbed of support for the Second Amendment—recommended against imposing microstamping requirements, and the creator of the technology participated in a study which determined it did not work reliably.

Mr. Speaker, the only real impact of microstamping is to increase costs and make it more difficult for Americans to exercise their Second Amendment rights. Unfortunately, that is the true intent of these laws, not to increase safety, but to simply make it more difficult for law-abiding citizens to own firearms.

Even the Ninth Circuit Court agreed—the most overturned court in the country—just today that laws intended solely to prevent Americans from exercising their rights are unconstitutional.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to reject these laws and join me in standing up for the Second Amendment and join on to H. Res. 731.

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BOST). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 2015, the gentlewoman from Ohio (Mrs. BEATTY) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mrs. BEATTY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members

may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and add any extraneous material relevant to the subject matter of my Special Order.

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

There was no objection.

Mrs. BEATTY. Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening as co-anchor along with my classmate and scholar, Congressman HAKEEM JEFFRIES, from the Eighth District of New York, for tonight's Congressional Black Caucus Special Order hour, Equal Justice Under the Law: Criminal Justice Reform and Challenging the School-to-Prison Pipeline.

Congressman JEFFRIES leads by example. He is a member of the Criminal Justice Task Force, and he has a long personal and professional history of being a Brother's Keeper.

This evening the Congressional Black Caucus comes to the House floor to discuss the current state of America's criminal justice system and the necessary reform, reform that will allow us to invest in our communities and expand opportunities for all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, the school-to-prison pipeline is an epidemic that is plaguing schools across the Nation. Mr. Speaker, the need and appetite to reform our Federal criminal justice system has been building for years, and now it is clear that there is consensus that the time is now to take meaningful action.

The school-to-prison pipeline refers to the policies and practices that pushes our Nation's children, especially our most at-risk children, out of the classroom and into the juvenile and criminal justice system. Far too often, students are expended, expelled, or even arrested for minor offenses that lead to visits to the principal's office a thing of the past.

Statistics reflect that these policies disproportionately target students of color and those with a history of abuse, neglect, poverty, or learning disabilities. Those who are unnecessarily forced out of school become stigmatized and fall behind in their studies, Mr. Speaker. Many eventually decide to drop out of school altogether, and many others commit crimes in their community.

Former U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder discussed the issue in a speech to the American Bar Association in 2013, stating that rigid discipline policies transformed too many educational institutions from the doorway of opportunity into the gateway to the criminal justice system and that a minor school disciplinary offense should put a student in the principal's office, not in the police precinct.

According to recent data by the Department of Education, African American students are arrested far more than their White classmates. Black and Hispanic students represent more than 70 percent of those involved in school-related arrests or referrals to law en-

forcement. Currently, African Americans make up two-fifths of combined youth today, Mr. Speaker.

In my home State of Ohio, the impact of suspensions and expulsions on communities is striking. In Ohio, a history of prior suspensions from school is the number one factor that leads children to dropping out of school. Children who do not finish high school, as we all are aware, are more likely to end up incarcerated or in our juvenile or criminal justice system and are 3.5 times more likely to be arrested.

Approximately 82 percent of the adult population is composed of high school dropouts. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, this is a pipeline that reflects the prioritization of incarceration over education. But, Mr. Speaker, I come today as a member of the Congressional Black Caucus because I believe we can disrupt the pipeline.

To do this, we need to be honest about the opportunity gaps that exist across our country and in our schools because you cannot talk about the school-to-prison pipeline without discussing what needs to be provided as economic opportunities.

We need better educational chances for our young people. We need more support to our families so that they can do the best job that they can or that they are capable of doing to help support their own children. We must confront prejudices in our Nation head-on.

That is why initiatives like the White House's My Brother's Keeper is so important. My Brother's Keeper Task Force is a coordinated Federal effort to address persistent opportunity gaps faced by boys and young men of color and ensure that all young people can reach their full potential.

Mr. Speaker, lastly, this past weekend I met with the dynamic men of the Columbus chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Incorporated, in my district and saw My Brother's Keeper work firsthand.

I learned of their many forms of being role models, as being community mentors for at-risk students, particularly young males, who are in need of inspiration and counsel regarding their choice of a life's career.

The mentoring men of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Incorporated, are men who are doctors, lawyers, government officials, teachers, and entrepreneurs, just to name a few.

Mr. Speaker, these men are role models for the community. They bought a house in my district, and they use that home as an anchor to provide opportunities and leadership development, professional networking, and positive reinforcement.

Tonight it is important for me to put a face on what we need to do as one small example to stop the school-to-prison pipeline. I salute Philip Shotwell, Polemarch; Richard Crockett, 1st Vice Polemarch; Attorney Byron Potts; Dr. Gus Parker; and Board of Directors Nathaniel Jordan

for being men who understand, if we are going to stop the school-to-prison pipeline, we need to look at our own districts.

A young man asked them why he should stay in school, and they replied: Young man, you are your own future. We are relying on you to be a law-abiding citizen, educated, self-sufficient, and a good citizen because we don't want you to be a statistic in the school-to-prison pipeline.

Mr. Speaker, tonight you will hear many stories, you will hear facts, and you will hear about legislation.

Let me end by saying that I am proud to be a cosponsor of the Safe, Accountable, Fair, Effective (SAFE) Justice Reinvestment Act of 2015, H.R. 2944, a bill that recognizes the importance of mentoring and reducing recidivism and helps offenders think through the decisions that confront them when they leave prison.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BUTTERFIELD), our chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, a person who has a long background in being an advocate and a fighter for those who are in our communities and faced with many of the things that you are going to hear tonight.

Mr. BUTTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I thank Congresswoman BEATTY for yielding, thank her for her friendship, and thank her for all that she does not just for the Congressional Black Caucus, but for all that she does for the constituents that she represents back in Ohio and for what she does for all people in America.

Let me also thank Congressman JEFFRIES for his great work and his willingness to participate in these Special Order hours. I know that the evening is late sometimes, but the two of them come to the floor and work very hard.

I want to spend my few minutes, if I may, Mr. Speaker, talking about just an overview of the criminal justice system. There is no question that the criminal justice system is broken. All of us I think can agree on that. Those on the left and those on the right, all of us even, for different reasons, perhaps, come to one conclusion, that the criminal justice system is in need of serious, serious reform.

I know that we are debating legislation here in the House regarding reforming the criminal justice system. Our colleagues over in the Senate are doing the same. But it is time for action. It is time for action on criminal justice reform in the 114th Congress.

As many of my colleagues know, I spent 30 years, 30 long years, in a courtroom, half of those as a lawyer, the other half as a judge. Most of the 15 years as a judge I was a trial judge, which meant that I was on the front line in our criminal justice system and I saw it firsthand. I can tell you without question that the criminal justice system in America is in need of serious reform from the top to the bottom.

We have all heard the statistics, and I am going to repeat them again tonight: 2.2 million Americans are in prison. Of that number, that number is disproportionately African American. That is 25 percent of the world's prison population right here in the United States of America.

Just think about that, Mr. Speaker. We are 5 percent of the world's population, but 25 percent of those who are incarcerated are incarcerated in the United States of America. We have a serious problem of mass incarceration that must be reduced.

But the point that I want to put in the RECORD tonight is that, of those who are incarcerated in this country, 90 percent of those are incarcerated at the State level and 10 percent incarcerated at the Federal level—90 percent incarcerated at the State level.

□ 1930

When we discuss criminal justice reform—and Congressman BOBBY SCOTT is going to be speaking in a few minutes, and he talks about this all of the time, as well as Congresswoman SHEILA JACKSON LEE—we must not only talk about reform at the Federal level, but we must find ways to require States to reform their criminal justice systems at the local level. We should encourage States to take a serious look at their systems and to seek ways to reduce mass incarceration at the State level without posing any harm to the communities. Too many of those who are incarcerated at the State level are in prison for drug-related offenses and crimes that don't endanger the community whatsoever.

We should encourage States to enact expungement laws. We get telephone calls all the time—and I am sure my colleagues get the same calls as well—from those who are seeking ways to expunge their records so that young men and women who have served in the criminal justice system can get some of those offenses removed from their records, particularly those offenses that deal with petty crimes and misdemeanors and drug-related offenses, because when you have these offenses on your criminal record, it prevents young people from getting the gainful employment that they so richly deserve.

We also need to encourage States to look at ways to remove criminal charges from criminal records that did not result in convictions. I think most of my colleagues can relate to that. We know that, so often, police officers at the local level will charge a young offender with multiple offenses at the time of arrest, and some of the offenses are not even deserving of a charge. Sometimes police have a tendency to overcharge at the time of arrest. Then when the case finally goes to court, those 10 or 12 charges are reduced down to one charge or two charges; the defendant pleads guilty; and the case is disposed of while the other 8 or 10 charges that are dismissed continue to

be on the young person's criminal record for a lifetime. So often, just the fact that the individual has been charged with a crime prevents that young person from getting a job. So often, it makes a difference.

Finally, I thank Mrs. BEATTY for talking about using the court system to punish students. That happens. It happens in every State in America. Our public school systems cannot, and should not, use the court system as a means of punishment for students who have behavioral problems in school.

I thank all of my colleagues for all of their work. I thank them for their efforts. I thank them for their tremendous interest in this subject because it is real. We know it. We need criminal justice reform, and we need it now.

Mrs. BEATTY. I thank Congressman BUTTERFIELD.

We certainly agree with you that the criminal justice system is broken. That is why the Congressional Black Caucus is here tonight—to make sure that we are prepared to outline the steps and the legislation that is going to be in the forefront. I thank the gentleman for his leadership in making this a top priority for the Congressional Black Caucus.

Mr. Speaker, it is now my honor and privilege to yield to the gentleman from the Third Congressional District of Virginia. He is a true scholar, an attorney, and someone who is a leader on tonight's topic. He is someone who has worked tirelessly to make sure that we do more than just come and stand and talk about this issue tonight. He comes to talk about real reform, to talk about making a difference in our broken criminal justice system. He is my friend, Congressman BOBBY SCOTT.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. I thank the gentlewoman.

I appreciate the gentleman from New York and certainly the gentlewoman from Ohio for organizing this Special Order to discuss the need for criminal justice reform.

Mr. Speaker, we have serious, fundamental problems with our criminal justice system today. For too long, policymakers have chosen to play politics with crime policy by enacting so-called tough on crime slogans and sound bites, such as three strikes and you are out, mandatory minimum sentences, and—if you get it to rhyme, apparently, it is better—if you do the adult crime, you do the adult time. As appealing as these policies sound, their impacts range from a negligible reduction in crime to actually increasing the crime rate.

As a result of these policies, the United States, despite representing only 5 percent of the world's population, has 25 percent of the world's prisoners and now has the highest incarceration rate of any nation's, by far, in the world. There are 2.2 million people behind bars in this country. That is triple the number of prisoners we had just three decades ago. At over 700 persons incarcerated for every 100,000 in

the population, the United States far exceeds the world's average incarceration rate of about 100 per 100,000.

Recent studies have questioned the sanity of this mass incarceration. For example, the Pew Research Center on States estimates that after about 350 per 100,000, any crime reduction value begins to diminish, and at over 500 per 100,000, incarceration becomes, actually, counterproductive. As I said, our rate is now at 700 per 100,000.

These counterproductive effects are created because today there are too many children who are being raised by a parent who is in prison and by too many people with felony records who are unable to find jobs. The impact of our tax dollars is also distressing. The Bureau of Prisons is consuming too much of the Department of Justice's budget, meaning that the Department has fewer and fewer resources for other programs that can actually reduce crime and enhance public safety. The tough on crime approach falls the hardest on minorities. While the incarceration rate overall in the United States is approximately 700 per 100,000, for Blacks, the incarceration rate is over 2,200 per 100,000; and in some jurisdictions, they lock up Blacks at the rate of 4,000 per 100,000—a rate 40 times the international average.

The war on drugs has exacerbated this problem. Over 2,000 Federal prisoners are now serving life without parole for nonviolent drug crimes, and many more are serving unduly harsh sentences for nonviolent offenses. The racial disparities are staggering. Despite the fact that Whites engage in drug offenses at a rate equal to or often higher than that of African Americans, African Americans are incarcerated on drug charges at a rate 10 times greater than that of Whites.

We all agree that there is a problem with mass incarceration. So what is the best way to solve it?

When reviewing any legislative package called criminal justice reform, I think there are some key principles that we have to address.

First, reform must meaningfully address the problem of mass incarceration by significantly reducing admissions to prison and shortening a prisoner's length of stay.

Second, any reform must address the primary driver of the ballooning Federal prison populations, and that is mandatory minimum penalties, especially those for drug and firearm offenses.

Third, we must address the disparate impact on race in the Federal criminal justice system that has resulted from the application of many neutrally worded policies and laws.

Fourth, reform must address mental health and addiction issues as a public health issue and require intervention and treatment plans to resolve underlying issues that led those to be involved in the criminal justice system rather than implement so-called tough on crime, lock 'em up approaches. Everybody knows that the war on drugs

has failed. We need to address drug abuse more as a public health issue and less as a criminal justice issue.

Fifth, we must provide comprehensive reentry and rehabilitation services and incentives for completing those programs that are found to actually work, with a particular focus on those with the greatest need.

Finally, any legislation must be based on research and evidence, not on poll-tested slogans and sound bites or political negotiations, which are unrelated to research and evidence.

How do the current proposals stack up?

First, we look at the current bills that have been reported out of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees and notice that they fail to embody any of the principles. In fact, they often take the opposite approach.

While these bills reduce the number of admissions and/or length of stay in some limited cases, they also create new mandatory minimums, even new mandatory minimums or mandatory consecutive enhancements. They enhance existing mandatory minimums to apply to people who would not get them under the present law, and they irrationally limit who can benefit from prospective and retroactive relief provisions. It is unknown whether there will be an overall increase or decrease in prison impact at the 10-year point after implementation, if these bills pass, compared to doing nothing. The United States Sentencing Commission has been unable to quantify the impact of the expansions or the limitations on relief. So the fact that we do not have the numbers means that we cannot determine whether these bills will have any meaningful effect on mass incarceration.

Though the bills do shorten two supersized mandatory minimums, they do not eliminate any mandatory minimum. The Senate bill actually creates two new ones, and both bills create new mandatory consecutive sentencing enhancements, which must be served after any other sentence. Both bills expand mandatory minimums for drug and gun offenses by applying them to people who would not be eligible to receive them today.

If the problem we are trying to address is mass incarceration, why are those in the bill to begin with?

Neither of the bills will do anything to address the disparate racial impact that pervades our criminal justice system. Federal mandatory minimums, in particular those for drug and firearm offenses, have been studied and have been found to have a racially disparate impact. These bills do nothing to eliminate mandatory minimums. Even though they reduce some, they create new ones, expand others, and create new sentencing enhancements. So the bills may actually make racial disparities in sentencing even worse than they are under present law.

Finally, both bills put limits on who can receive prospective and retroactive

relief. If you look at the limitations, you will find that they have a racially disparate impact on minorities.

On the issue of the war on drugs, both bills also fail to treat drug abuse and addiction as a public health problem. In fact, the strategy used in the bills to address heroin addiction is not a public health approach, for the bills impose mandatory additional prison time. This is not a public health, research-based approach.

On the comprehensive reentry and rehabilitation services to reduce recidivism, these bills have turned science and empirical evidence upside down. They give the greatest incentives for completing the programs to those with the lowest need while categorically barring offenders with the highest risk from benefiting from the rehabilitation programs. This approach not only violates research, but it will exacerbate the current racial disparities in the criminal justice system.

Mr. Speaker, there is ample research available to show what credible criminal justice reform ought to look like. For example, Texas—one of the Nation's most conservative States—recently passed criminal justice reform legislation that was based on research and evidence, and the result was a significant reduction in crime, a significant reduction in incarceration, and a savings of billions of dollars.

The SAFE Justice Act—the Safe, Accountable, Fair, and Effective Justice Act—which I cosponsored with the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER), which the gentleman from Ohio pointed out that she is supporting, was based on the Texas model and includes evidence-based prevention and early intervention programs; reducing incarceration even at the State level as well as at the Federal level; comprehensive police training and funding for body cameras, drug and veterans' courts; a significant reduction in the use of mandatory minimum sentences; and rehabilitation for all of those in prison and second-chance programs for those who have been released. It has broad, bipartisan support. All of the provisions in the bill are fully paid for by reallocating the reduction in mandatory minimums, and it shows that we do not have to accept a bill that fails to conform to evidence and research.

Mr. Speaker, criminal justice reform legislation ought to be consistent with the research and evidence that is readily available. From what I can tell, the bills reported out of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees have nothing based in research and evidence and, sadly, seem more concerned about the politics of criminal justice reform, with little regard to actually wanting to end our Nation's addiction to mass incarceration.

The SAFE Justice Act is a better evidence-based approach, which will, if enacted, reduce crime, save money, and reduce racial disparities that pervade our criminal justice system.

I appreciate the gentlewoman from Ohio and the gentleman from New York for hosting tonight's Special Order.

□ 1945

Mrs. BEATTY. Mr. Speaker, I thank Congressman SCOTT for clearly articulating to us why we cannot let our criminal justice system remain on this trajectory.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the Congresswoman from the 13th District of California. My colleague and my friend is someone who travels the world advocating for those who live in poverty, advocating for those who are incarcerated in this broken criminal justice system that we are focusing on tonight.

I yield to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I first thank the gentlewoman from Ohio for those very kind and humbling remarks. I want to thank her for her tremendous leadership and for continuing to come down here each and every week to ensure that her voice, the Congressional Black Caucus' voice, and Congressman JEFFRIES' voice are really put forth so that the people of our country will understand the critical issues before us and the fact that the Congressional Black Caucus is really leading on each and every issue. Congresswoman BEATTY and Congressman JEFFRIES really have done a phenomenal job. They both have gone way beyond the call of duty, and so we thank them so much for their efforts.

Make no mistake—and I think we are hearing this over and over again tonight—mass incarceration is a crisis in our country. The United States of America imprisons far more people than any other nation in the world.

When African Americans are incarcerated at six times the rate of Whites, it is no surprise to me. It is no surprise that African Americans constitute nearly half of the total 2.3 million incarcerated Americans in 2008. Together, African Americans and Latinos comprise 58 percent of all prisoners in 2008, even though African Americans and Latinos make up approximately one-quarter of the United States population.

While our prison population grows unchecked and is growing unchecked, we continue to criminalize our students rather than invest in their education. Right now we spend \$10,500 a year to educate a child, but we spend \$88,000 a year to keep a child locked up. That is unacceptable. Let me repeat that. It costs eight times more money to keep a child in jail than to educate them and prepare them for a good future.

We are not just talking about a few children here. Our country incarcerates five times more children than any other nation in the world. Sadly, two-thirds of these kids will never return to school. When we lock up these children, we are essentially throwing away

the key. Instead of preparing them for a future, we are just getting them ready for a life in a cell.

Now, let me be clear, from the moment many of these children are born, they are funneled into the prison pipeline. Simply put, the system is really stacked against them. For instance, one in three African American children lives in poverty today, while one in four Hispanic children lives in poverty.

Mr. Speaker, while Black children represent just 18 percent of preschool enrollment, they account for nearly half of all preschool suspensions. Now, Congresswoman BEATTY, we are talking toddlers ages 2 to 5. These kids don't even get a start, let alone a head start. They are being suspended from school.

How do you suspend toddlers and babies from school?

Something is wrong with this. So we, I must say, in the Appropriations Committee are trying to address this with the Department of Education. This is immoral.

When they get older, African American students are four times more likely to be expelled from school than their White peers for the same offense. More than half of all students who are involved in school-related arrests or referred to law enforcement are Black or Latino. This has a lasting effect and impact on young students. Studies show that students who are disciplined by schools are more likely to end up in the juvenile justice system where their chances of returning to school are slim to none. This is unacceptable. These young people are having their futures ripped away before they even have a chance.

We need to change the system and end the school-to-prison pipeline. First, we must start by making serious investments in our young people. We should ensure that all students have equal access to high-quality public school education. We must also expand summer youth job opportunities and summer training programs so that our teens have the opportunity to learn workforce skills, contribute to their communities, and start a path to economic opportunity. As a member of the Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary, and Secondary Education, we are working to try to make sure that these resources become a priority of our subcommittee, which they, unfortunately, aren't at this point.

We also need to tear down the institutional racism, quite frankly, that is holding students of color back and trapping our young people in a broken criminal justice system.

I am reminded of when I was in the California legislature. I was on the public safety committee, and proposals were brought to us, plans for building prisons 10 to 12 years out for kids who are just starting kindergarten. That is what we had to deal with. Now we see what has happened to the prison industrial complex in California. That is why we must work together and pass

legislation to end mass incarceration and fix our broken criminal justice system. We need to get rid of these outdated minimum sentencing standards. These are relics from the failed war on drugs and disproportionately target people of color.

In California, once again, the three strikes law passed. Of course, I opposed that while in the California legislature. This law has incarcerated young African American men for nonviolent drug offenses 25 years to life. That is 25 years to life for nonviolent drug offenses. We need to repeal that law.

We also need to make sure that law enforcement officers reflect the diversity of communities that they police. So we have introduced H. Res. 262, which supports effective community-oriented policing and encourages greater diversity in law enforcement.

During the last appropriation season, the Congressional Black Caucus worked with Congressman Lacy Clay to direct the Department of Justice to begin collecting training data. Our legislation tracks when officers receive training for use of force, racial and ethnic bias, de-escalation of conflict, and constructive engagement with the public. This was just a small step, and we need to do more.

With regard to reentry, banning the box is essential. We have worked with the White House to try to make sure that Federal contractors ban the box. We haven't accomplished that, but Federal agencies cannot now ask for one's criminal history records. In my district, we do expungement, we do record remedies. We have remedied thousands and thousands of young people who now can go on and move forward with their lives. I want to thank the Family Law Center in Oakland, California, for doing that.

We need to go back to the drawing board and repeal the welfare reform provisions that are denied for life. There is a Federal ban for food stamps, eligibility for public housing, and Pell grants for those who have been incarcerated for drug felonies. Now, you know who that targets; primarily African American and Latino men. They don't even have a second chance when they get out of jail as a result of these lifetime bans.

Finally, let me just say it is time to really look at this problem in a big way and to understand that we have to dismantle, not reform—but we have to dismantle this prison industrial complex and start investing in our communities, especially our young children. And we must understand that, in doing this, we have to look at institutional and systemic racism, which is at the core of many of our policies.

So this is a fight that we are going to win, but it is going to be because all of us here in the Congressional Black Caucus—Congresswoman BEATTY, Congressman JEFFRIES, Congressman SCOTT, and Congresswoman JACKSON LEE, and the entire membership—continue to fight the good fight to make

sure that finally we will begin to see a real criminal justice system, which it is not right now.

Mrs. BEATTY. Mr. Speaker, I thank Congresswoman LEE. When people ask us why are we doing this today, I thank the gentlewoman for reminding us that the system is stacked against us and that we have had the future of so many of our young folks ripped away from them.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from the great State of Ohio (Ms. FUDGE). She is from the 11th Congressional District. She is an attorney. She has served as a former mayor. She is the immediate past chair of the Congressional Black Caucus.

She is someone who gives us advice. I remember her saying to us: Push the envelope because you are the voice for the voiceless. Look at the legislative issues that will make a difference in the lives of others.

So tonight we come to talk about equal justice under the law. Mr. Speaker, we come to challenge this House.

It is my great honor to yield to Congresswoman MARCIA FUDGE.

Ms. FUDGE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding. It is a pleasure to watch my fellow Ohioan and friend and the gentleman from New York on this House floor every Monday night bringing the message of the Congressional Black Caucus because indeed they are the people who carry our message to the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the school-to-prison pipeline is robbing far too many children of productive futures. Instead of learning in classrooms, a large percentage of our Nation's at-risk students sit in jail cells.

The numbers don't lie. Black students are suspended and expelled at a rate three times greater than White students. More than one in four boys of color with disabilities and nearly one in five girls of color with disabilities receives an out-of-school suspension. And studies show that students who are suspended or expelled in school are more likely to end up in prison.

Our Nation's children deserve better. It is time we prioritize education and not incarceration. Comprehensive criminal justice reform must include policies which dismantle the school-to-prison pipeline. We must reauthorize the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, a bill that funds delinquency prevention and improvements in State and local juvenile justice programs, supports restorative initiatives, and promotes early intervention. Disrupting the pipeline will provide a pathway for a successful future and lessen the burden on our current judicial system.

The number of people incarcerated in America quadrupled between 1980 and 2008. Of the more than 2.3 million Americans incarcerated today, more than 1 million of them are Black.

In my home State of Ohio, more than 50,000 people are incarcerated in a system that was designed to only hold

39,000. And on average, States across this Nation spend \$30,000 per year to house one inmate. That is at least \$19,000 more per year than we spend to educate one child. It is time we get our priorities straight.

As ranking member of the Education and the Workforce Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary, and Secondary Education, promoting policies that keep our children in school is one of my top priorities.

I ask my colleagues: What are yours?

Mrs. BEATTY. Mr. Speaker, I thank Congresswoman FUDGE for reminding us again of the value and the importance of our work.

Mr. Speaker, at this time, it is indeed my honor to yield time to the gentleman from New York (Mr. JEFFRIES), who is coanchor of tonight's Congressional Black Caucus Special Order hour.

As I said earlier, Congressman HAKEEM JEFFRIES is not only a scholar, he, too, is an attorney. He is someone who walks the talk. He is someone who has a long history of being a Brother's Keeper.

Mr. Speaker, so tonight, when we discuss this topic, when we talked about the challenge, when we talked about all of the plethora of things that are incorporated in why we must come forward tonight to challenge the criminal justice system which is stacked against us and broken, certainly we have heard the disparities as it relates to African Americans.

So it is indeed my honor to ask my coanchor, Congressman HAKEEM JEFFRIES, to share with us our challenge.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentlewoman from Ohio, my good friend, the distinguished and dynamic anchor for tonight's Special Order, Congresswoman JOYCE BEATTY, for yielding and for her continued leadership and for leading the discussion on the House floor today as it relates the urgency of this Congress and America dealing with the school-to-prison pipeline mass incarceration and the prison industrial complex that so many of my colleagues have explained and exposed here on the House floor today.

A few years ago I had a conversation that has always stuck with me in the area of criminal justice when I was speaking to a formally incarcerated individual who spent several years behind bars incarcerated in a New York State penitentiary. He has turned his life around and he is now an advocate for criminal justice reform. He said to me on his final day, after being imprisoned for years in upstate New York, that he had a conversation with a high-ranking corrections officer, a supervisor who he had gotten to know and thought he had befriended to some degree during his time of incarceration.

□ 2000

On that last day, he said to this young African American incarcerated

individual who was on his way out, he said: I just want to thank you.

This gentleman was a little perplexed. He wasn't sure what he was talking about. He said: I just want to thank you for helping me to get my boat; and beyond that, I want to thank your son, who is going to help my son get his boat as well.

That conversation has really haunted me because, in such a powerful and profound way, what it captures is the essence of what the prison industrial complex represents, which is this decision that was made in so many parts of the United States of America, certainly in New York, by Democrats and Republicans.

When the automobile factories and the steel mills, the manufacturing plants began to close in the 1970s and in the 1980s, devastating parts of the upstate economy, a decision was made in place of those factory jobs to build prisons in their place as a means of economic development for depressed upstate communities. But here is the problem. If you build it, someone has got to fill those prisons. In order to fill those prisons, several things have developed which we are in the process of trying to dismantle right now: the school-to-prison pipeline and the criminalization of young people, particularly in communities of color, where they basically are not given a chance from the very beginning. As a result of being channeled unjustly, often, into the criminal justice system at an early age, they essentially become economic commodities for those who have come to rely on prisons to replace the factory and manufacturing jobs that have left the United States of America.

That has been a big problem in New York. It is a problem in other parts of the country. It is a shame here in the United States of America that we have gone from a place where, when the war on drugs began in 1971—President Nixon declared drug abuse public enemy number one—there were less than 350,000 people incarcerated in America. Even when the crime bill that is being heavily debated in the public domain right now was passed in 1994, at the height of the concern about crime here in the United States of America, the incarcerated population was still under 900,000 people. But we have gone from less than 350,000 in 1971 to under 900,000 in 1994 to more than 2.2 million in 2016.

The United States has 5 percent of the world's population and 25 percent of the world's incarcerated individuals. We incarcerate more people than any other country in the world, and it is shameful. The school-to-prison pipeline is a large part of that dynamic, along with the failed war on drugs. So we are going to have to deal with this situation in a meaningful way.

The statistics clearly show that, if you suspend a young person, that individual—often a Black or Latino boy—is less likely to graduate and complete school and more likely to become en-

tangled in the criminal justice system because we have applied an overly punitive approach to discipline, particularly in the inner city.

Now, in this Chamber, I have seen surprising levels of compassion as it relates to dealing with the heroin and opioid crisis that is sweeping across America right now, and I am glad that folks have decided to take a different approach than the approach that was taken in the 1980s with the crack cocaine epidemic that was sweeping across communities that those of us in the Congressional Black Caucus represent.

I welcome this newfound compassion. I just hope that you would extend it now not just to the manner in which we deal with the heroin crisis—that is important—but let's extend it to the overcriminalization that is taking place as relates to young people across America, particularly in Black and Brown communities.

I am glad that we have become enlightened as it relates to moving away from punishment and toward prevention and intervention related to the heroin and opioid crisis. Let's also become enlightened in terms of dealing with breaking the school-to-prison pipeline.

We will have more to say as we move forward with this discussion, but I know there are other Members who would like to contribute to this hour of power that Representative JOYCE BEATTY has brought to the House floor in connection with the CBC Special Order.

Mrs. BEATTY. Mr. Speaker, I thank Congressman JEFFRIES for reminding us that the United States makes up less than 5 percent of the world's population, yet incarcerates nearly a quarter of the global prison population.

Thank you for also being on point and reminding us, Mr. Speaker, if we are to reform America's criminal justice system and advance efforts to break the cycles of incarceration in African American communities, in low-income communities, then we must unite and make sure that we pass real legislation.

Mr. Speaker, can you advise me how much time we have left, please.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman from Ohio has 12 minutes remaining.

Mrs. BEATTY. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, at this time, it is indeed my honor to yield to the gentlewoman who hails from the 18th Congressional District of Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE). Of the many things that this Congresswoman does, she serves on the Committee on the Judiciary, she has been a longtime advocate for reforming the criminal justice system. I refer to her as a strong voice, a strong advocate, and, truly, a scholar.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I want to add my appreciation to the gentlewoman from Ohio; the gentleman from New York; and the Members who

have spoken, including the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, Mr. BUTTERFIELD; the former chair, Ms. FUDGE; and the ranking member on the Committee on Education and the Workforce, Mr. SCOTT.

There could not be a more important topic than the topic that we are speaking about tonight. There are moments in history that I think come at times when urgency is the call of the day. It is often said that Dr. King emphasized in his tenure the urgency of moving forward on civil rights and spoke eloquently about the fact of why we cannot wait. If I might, I want to capture his theme of why we cannot wait to end the school-to-prison pipeline. End it now and begin the whole comprehensive approach of criminal justice reform.

Let me take Texas as an example and cite some very important statistics from the Applesseed Report and as well a comment on the work that we are doing in the Committee on the Judiciary. I am so glad at this moment in history to be the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, Homeland Security, and Investigations and working with the members of my subcommittee, including Mr. JEFFRIES, who is a member, Ms. BASS, who is a member, and a number of other members as well, on this very difficult hurdle that we have.

Let it be very clear that this hurdle of criminal justice reform is, as I heard Mr. JEFFRIES make mention of, that we have taken hold of this issue of opioids and heroin in a way that not one single bill was passed last week that had a criminal focus, particularly out of the Committee on the Judiciary. Not one bill had mandatory minimums.

In the debate last week, on Friday, I reiterated over and over again no mandatory minimums in this legislation. That should be the perfect that we try to achieve going forward on criminal justice reform.

But let me give the beginnings of that very tragic outcome in America, filling up the Nation's prisons, not having criminal justice but criminal unfairness. It starts with a path to incarceration, which includes in the schools, stops, failing public schools, zero tolerance and other school discipline, police in school hallways, disciplinary alternative schools, and court involvement in juvenile detention. All of these are a path for students to incarceration, and it is without understanding what a class C misdemeanor ticket and a trip to court for thousands of Texas students and their families means.

Texas students as young as 6 have been ticketed at school in past years, and it is not uncommon for elementary school students to be ticketed by school-based law enforcement. School-based arrest of students often occurs without prior notice to parents. Police officers in some Texas schools are resorting to use of force, measures more commonly associated with fighting street crime: pepper spray, tasers, and

trained canines when a schoolyard fight breaks out or when students are misbehaving in a cafeteria or at a school event.

This should not be the picture for a 6-year-old or a 4-year-old or an 8-year-old or an 11-year-old or a 13-year-old. This should not be equated with school.

Let me read to you part of the Applesseed Report and a quote by Ryan Kellus Turner and Mark Goodner: "In a little over two decades, a paradigm shift has occurred in the Lone Star State. The misdeeds of children—acts that in the near recent past resulted in trips to the principal's office, corporal punishment, or extra laps under the supervision of a middle school or high school coach . . . " Now, of course, corporal punishment will be eliminated from that. What is worse, " . . . now result in criminal prosecution, criminal records, and untold millions of dollars in punitive fines and hefty court costs being imposed against children ages 10 through 16."

"It is conservatively estimated that more than 275,000 non-traffic tickets are issued to juveniles in Texas each year . . . " And based on the information from the Texas Office of Court Administration, the number of non-traffic tickets issued to students may well grossly exceed that number because it was very difficult to get it. "Texas can interrupt this destructive cycle and prevent the loss of more young people to the 'school-to-prison pipeline' through early interventions focused less on punishment and more on creating positive school environments that address students' academic and behavioral needs."

Let me just say that "police officers in some Texas schools are resorting to 'use of force.'" Now, they are supposed to be there as SROs. SROs are supposed to have educational training. SROs are supposed to be able to have the understanding of how to deal with counseling issues and teaching that is evidence based, but here is the problem. The problem is that they are focused more on law enforcement.

I am glad to be part of this Special Order tonight that deals with the pipeline that has started working our children toward incarceration: overcrowded schools, lack of qualified teachers, inadequate resources, and then the zero tolerance for school discipline of children and the rate of suspension having increased dramatically in recent years from 1.7 million in 1974 to 3.1 million in 2000; and it has gone beyond that, and the greatest emphasis has been on children of color.

So here is my call to the United States Congress. We have to begin the process of dismantling the school-to-prison pipeline. We have to understand that children can learn. No child is a throwaway. I offer that often in my remarks in my district.

The detention system is an unfair system. I don't know how many of you realize that when a child is sent to juvie, that child can remain there until

they reach the age of 21. How does that happen? Even if their sentence is not as egregious as one might think—a simple misbehavior in school. The way that happens is because in juvenile, you can assess more time on a child without telling that child's parent because that child did not follow orders or, in essence, that child did not behave or that child chewed gum when you told them not to.

□ 2015

We in the Judiciary Committee are working on juvenile justice reform. One of them that I am most concerned about and want to move is ending solitary confinement for juveniles, recognizing Kalief's Law, involving the death of one inside the New York prison at Rikers Island. The individual in solitary confinement had not been rendered guilty yet.

And so we want to eliminate putting juveniles in solitary confinement. Because the tragedy, Mr. Speaker, was that that youngster was released, ultimately, but after he was released, he, in essence, committed suicide.

So I want to close my remarks by indicating that I want to turn this system upside down. I want to make sure that we deal with juvenile justice reform. I want to ban the box. We have done that in legislation that has not yet passed. I want to make sure that we have alternative sentencing.

At the same time, the Judiciary Committee has moved two bills out of committee. I want to see these bills have a vigorous discussion and debate on the floor of the House so that we can move to conference.

Time is going by. Let us not let the perfect be, in essence, the downfall of change. H.R. 3713 provides for the reduction of sentencing for many who are languishing, by law, in prison today in the Federal system.

As I have spoken to people across the country, they have indicated that, even though some States like my State of Texas have made enormous, enormous strides—I am proud of that—it has not happened around the country.

The bully pulpit of the Federal Government can be the most effective tool to moving toward criminal justice reform and sentencing reduction dealing with felony drug offenses. We are moving toward that point.

A vote on the floor of the House and moving toward conference can move our efforts toward legislation that can truly be responsive to both concerns and as well positives that are in that bill.

So as we deal with this prison pipeline, we have to not only talk, we have to do. And when we do, we have to make sure that we respond to the concerns, but we also have to make sure that we move legislation that can ultimately come out of the Senate and go to conference and make a difference in the lives of so many.

I want to thank the gentlewoman from Ohio. I also want to say how

timely the Congressional Black Caucus is. All that have been crying out, from Black Lives Matter to the Mother of the Movement, say that we need changes dealing with the whole vastness of criminal justice reform: police-community relations, police actions, actions dealing with guns, actions dealing with the loss of life of our young people.

Let's get a framework that can allow us to debate, to fix, to amend, and to get a product that will ultimately be signed by the President of the United States on behalf of the people of the United States who are crying out for relief.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues of the Congressional Black Caucus, Congressman HAKEEM JEFFRIES (D-NY) and Congresswoman JOYCE BEATTY (D-OH) who are anchoring this Special Order on Ending the School-to-Prison Pipeline.

The over-criminalization of school children in America can no longer be swept under the rug, ignored or irrationally justified.

We are in a state of national crisis and it is time to act.

Upon taking office, every Member of Congress makes a solemn pledge: to protect and defend the American people.

This is the most important oath we take as elected officials—and, to honor this promise, we must do everything in our power to stem the School-to-Prison Pipeline in our nation.

The three most important concerns for Members of Congress today are No. 1 Children, No. 2 Children, and No. 3 Children.

House Republicans are still unwilling to act to stop the criminalization of our children in schools and instead work towards providing children the opportunity to thrive in American communities.

This Congress has a moral obligation to do our part to end the epidemic of losing our children to the correctional system.

Now is the time for Republicans to join Democrats in protecting the lives of America's youth by taking common sense steps in re-directing those who go astray.

Over the past year, several proposals have been introduced to address the need for over-arching reform of our nation's criminal justice system.

Americans must consider the educational environment in which we place our students, from preschool to high school, subjecting them to disciplinary policies that more closely resemble policing than teaching.

Around the country, advocates are collecting data illustrating the devastating effects of what they call the "school-to-prison pipeline," where student behavior is criminalized, children are treated like prisoners and, all too often, actually end up behind bars.

The school-to-prison pipeline refers to interlocking sets of relationships at the institutional/structural and the individual levels.

All of these policies and practices work together to push our nation's schoolchildren—youth of color, especially, our most at-risk children—out of schools and into unemployment and into the juvenile and criminal justice legal systems.

This pipeline reflects the prioritization of incarceration over education.

For a growing number of students, the path to incarceration includes the "stops" deterring matriculation such as:

- 1) Failing Public Schools;
- 2) Zero-Tolerance and Other School Discipline;
- 3) Policing School Hallways;
- 4) Disciplinary Alternative Schools; and
- 5) Court Involvement and Juvenile Detention.

In a little over two decades, a paradigm shift has occurred in the Lone Star State.

The misdeeds of children—acts that in the near recent past resulted in trips to the principal's office, corporal punishment, or extra laps under the supervision of a middle school or high school coach, now result in criminal prosecution, criminal records, and untold millions of dollars in punitive fines and hefty court costs being imposed against children in elementary and high schools.

Disrupting class, using profanity, misbehaving on a school bus, student fights, and truancy once meant a trip to the principal's office.

Today, such misbehavior results in a Class C misdemeanor ticket and a trip to court for thousands of Texas students and their families each year.

It is conservatively estimated that more than 275,000 non-traffic tickets are issued to juveniles in Texas each year.

While it is impossible to pinpoint how many of these tickets are issued by campus police, the vast majority of these tickets are issued for offenses most commonly linked to school-related misbehavior—disruption of class, disorderly conduct, disruption of transportation, truancy, and simple assaults related to student fights.

"Criminalization" of student misbehavior extends to even the youngest students.

In Texas, students as young as six have been ticketed at school in the past five years, and it is not uncommon for elementary-school students to be ticketed by school-based law enforcement.

School-based arrest of students often occurs without prior notice to parents or a lawyer being present during initial questioning of the student.

The increase in ticketing and arrest of students, in Texas and nationwide, has coincided with the growth in school-based policing.

Campus policing is the largest and fastest growing area of law enforcement in Texas, according to its own professional association.

With counselors stretched to handle class scheduling and test administration duties, school administrators and teachers are increasingly turning to campus police officers to handle student behavior problems.

Today in Texas, most public schools have a police officer assigned to patrol hallways, lunchrooms, school grounds, and after-school events.

Police officers in some Texas schools are resorting to "use of force" measures more commonly associated with fighting street crime—pepper spray, Tasers and trained canines—when a schoolyard fight breaks out or when students are misbehaving in a cafeteria or at a school event.

The intent is to keep schools and students safe, but there can be unintended consequences to disciplining public school students in a way that introduces them to the justice system or exposes them to policing techniques more commonly used with adults.

Texas can interrupt this destructive cycle and prevent the loss of more young people to

the "school-to-prison pipeline" through early interventions focused less on punishment and more on creating positive school environments that address students' academic and behavioral needs.

We must seek appropriate recommendations for reform.

For most students, the pipeline begins with inadequate resources in public schools.

Overcrowded classrooms, a lack of qualified teachers, and insufficient funding for "extras" such as counselors, special education services, and even textbooks, lock students into second-rate educational environments.

This failure to meet educational needs increases disengagement and dropouts, increasing the risk of later court involvement.

Even worse, schools may actually encourage dropouts in response to pressures from test-based accountability regimes such as the No Child Left Behind Act, which create incentives to push out low-performing students to boost overall test scores.

Lacking resources, facing incentives to push out low-performing students, and responding to a handful of highly-publicized school shootings, schools have embraced zero-tolerance policies that automatically impose severe punishment regardless of circumstances.

Under these policies, students have been expelled for bringing nail clippers or scissors to school.

Rates of suspension have increased dramatically in recent years—from 1.7 million in 1974 to 3.1 million in 2000—and have been most dramatic for children of color.

Overly harsh disciplinary policies push students down the pipeline and into the juvenile justice system.

Suspended and expelled children are often left unsupervised and without constructive activities.

They also can easily fall behind in their coursework, leading to a greater likelihood of disengagement and drop-outs.

All of these factors increase the likelihood of court involvement.

As harsh penalties for minor misbehavior become more pervasive, schools increasingly ignore or bypass due process protections for suspensions and expulsions.

The lack of due process is particularly acute for students with special needs, who are disproportionately represented in the pipeline despite the heightened protections afforded to them under law.

Many under-resourced schools become "pipeline gateways" by placing increased reliance on police rather than teachers and administrators to maintain discipline.

Growing numbers of districts employ school resource officers to patrol school hallways, often with little or no training in working with youth.

As a result, children are far more likely to be subject to school-based arrests—the majority of which are for non-violent offenses, such as disruptive behavior—than they were a generation ago.

The rise in school-based arrests, the quickest route from the classroom to the jailhouse, most directly exemplifies the criminalization of school children.

In some jurisdictions, students who have been suspended or expelled have been completely denied their right to an education.

In others, they are sent to disciplinary alternative schools.

Growing in number across the country, these shadow systems—sometimes run by private, for-profit companies—are immune from educational accountability standards (such as minimum classroom hours and curriculum requirements) and may fail to provide meaningful educational services to the students who need them the most.

As a result, struggling students return to their regular schools unprepared, are permanently locked into inferior educational settings, or are funneled through alternative schools into the juvenile justice system.

Youth who become involved in the juvenile justice system are often denied procedural protections in the courts.

Studies demonstrate that as many as 80 percent of court-involved children do not have lawyers.

Students who commit minor offenses may end up in secured detention if they violate boilerplate probation conditions prohibiting them from activities like missing school or disobeying teachers.

Students pushed along the pipeline find themselves in juvenile detention facilities, many of which provide few, if any, educational services.

Students of color, who are far more likely than their white peers to be suspended, expelled, or arrested for the same kind of conduct at school, and those with disabilities are particularly likely to travel down this pipeline.

Though many students are propelled down the pipeline from school to jail, it is difficult for them to make the journey in reverse.

Students who enter the juvenile justice system face many barriers to their re-entry into traditional schools.

The vast majority of these students never graduate from high school.

Numerous studies have also shown that as many as 70–80 percent of youth involved in the justice system meet the criteria for a disability.

We must move away from the engrained culture of criminalization as the answer to our problems.

It is no secret that 1 in every 3 black males born today can expect to go to prison at some point in their life, compared with 1 in every 6 Latino males, and 1 in every 17 white males.

It is a statistic we know well because it is one that has been reported since 2001 and has remained unchanged for nearly 15 years.

It is time we stop repeating and start understanding and unraveling the fateful 1 in 3 trend that continues to sweep entire generations of young men of color into a lifetime of systematic and barriers.

The United States currently has the largest number of prisoners in the world due to its skyrocketing national imprisonment rate.

Rather than investing in premier educational responses, the United States pays the highest cost globally for incarceration.

Federal, state, and local leaders are looking for innovative ways to improve public health and public safety outcomes, while reducing the costs of criminal justice and corrections.

A number of innovative strategies can save public funds and improve public health by keeping low-risk, non-violent, drug-involved offenders out of prison or jail, while still holding them accountable and ensuring the safety of our communities.

The Obama Administration is committed to funding and evaluating the long-term effects of

these innovative criminal justice and corrections interventions.

I too call upon my colleagues to come together and pass legislation that will help stop the derailment of children's lives.

Meanwhile, Federal agencies will continue to seek opportunities to expand smart probation and problem-solving court initiatives around the country in collaboration with state, local, and tribal agencies.

In recognition of the considerable potential in cost savings, improved outcomes for offenders, and improved public safety, a growing number of state and local officials around the country are starting their own promising initiatives to break the cycle of drug use, crime, and incarceration.

Nearly every state is struggling with significant shortfalls in revenue and making significant cuts to spending in order to close budget gaps.

In making these cuts, many states are focusing attention on corrections spending, one of the fastest growing lines in state budgets over the past two decades.

Many states are pursuing a justice reinvestment approach, using data to determine what has been driving the growth in the prison population and how that growth might be stopped.

In addition, small investments have been made in programs designed to reduce recidivism.

New policies have been enacted, slowing the growth of prison populations or even downsizing corrections systems, saving states hundreds of millions of dollars.

A portion of those savings are being reinvested in community-based services and supports, including substance abuse treatment.

However, to have meaningful impact on behaviors that contribute to crime, recidivism, and substance abuse, states must focus on a handful of proven strategies that will maximize the impact of limited investments being made in the treatment of substance use disorders and community supervision.

I am a strong supporter of education and I am particularly sensitive and protective of measures to keep students safe in school.

In this same spirit, we must invest in a multi-step, collaborative process that involves the combined efforts of law enforcement, prosecutors, influential community members, social services, reentry services, community corrections, faith-based organizations, and city management.

We have seen too often the horrific abuses of school officers dragging, punching, slapping, and more to students.

First and foremost school-based law enforcement personnel need to be removed from the educational setting.

And if law enforcement are not removed, they should be required to receive post-certification training in issues specific to youth, including:

- 1) de-escalation and mediation techniques;
- 2) restraint techniques to be used when force cannot be avoided;
- 3) signs and symptoms of trauma, abuse and neglect in children and youth, as well as appropriate responses;
- 4) signs and symptoms of mental illness in children and youth, and appropriate responses; and
- 5) manifestations of other disabilities, such as autism, and appropriate responses, adolescent development, Juvenile law, and Special

education and applicable general education law.

Prohibit school districts from receiving any revenue from Class C ticketing for truancy or any other offense.

Eliminate Disruption of Class and Disruption of Transportation as penal code offenses.

Prohibit ticketing of students under the age of 14.

Young children are simply not equipped to understand a Class C misdemeanor ticket as a meaningful consequence of misbehavior, and the consequences of court involvement on academic success are too great to allow this practice to continue.

Ticketing of older students should be a last resort.

Ticketing, arrest and use of force in schools is preposterously reshaping today's school disciplinary policies disproportionately to actual need.

We must acknowledge this epidemic and move to correct the inevitable injustice that follows when our children are derailed from their futures.

I thank my colleagues of the Congressional Black Caucus, Congressman HAKEEM JEFFRIES (D-NY) and Congresswoman JOYCE BEATTY (D-OH) for hosting this Special Order on Ending the School-to-Prison Pipeline.

It is an invaluable and much needed effort.

Mrs. BEATTY. Mr. Speaker, let me just end by saying that the urgency is now. In the words of Nelson Mandela, "It always seems impossible until it's done." Tonight the Congressional Black Caucus says: Let's get it done.

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

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, our children represent the future of our nation. Our future is more promising when our children have a clear path to succeed and have the opportunities to become active members of the community. Over time, a culture of favoring incarceration over education has become more prominent throughout our society—particularly as it relates to minority and low-income populations. Financial shortfalls at all levels of government are also placing downward pressure on states and municipalities to cut back on public services and educational or community-based programs in favor of harsh criminalization or incarceration.

The result is the "school-to-prison pipeline," which poses a very real threat to our children and our society. This pipeline refers to harsh policies and practices that cultivate a culture where young individuals are pushed into the juvenile and criminal justice systems through harsh punishments in schools. Inadequate resources in public schools, economic instability, zero-tolerance policies, and harsh punishments for non-violent offenses are all contributing to the school-to-prison pipeline. As a result, the United States suffers from the largest number of prisoners in the world and the economic and social burden of the high costs of incarceration.

Zero tolerance policies are dangerous to have in our schools. These policies impose extremely severe punishments on students, regardless of the circumstances, which can result in suspension or even expulsion from school. Children of color and students with special needs have experienced a dramatic increase in these suspensions and expulsions, which greatly increase their probability of entering into the juvenile justice system. Schools

are also beginning to display an overreliance on law enforcement to maintain discipline through the use of school resource officers.

Mr. Speaker, the school-to-prison pipeline is the result of a dangerous precedent being set in our schools. Zero tolerance policies and the overreliance on law enforcement to keep order in our schools not only detracts from the culture of learning we expect in our schools, but also condemns countless children to a life of suffering for making simple mistakes during their youth. Our society will suffer if we continue on this path of forcing children into the criminal justice system and it is time that we considered serious reforms to keep children in our communities and outside the juvenile justice system.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 8 o'clock and 19 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 2120

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Ms. FOX) at 9 o'clock and 20 minutes p.m.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 4909, NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2017

Mr. BYRNE, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 114-569) on the resolution (H. Res. 732) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 4909) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2017 for military activities of the Department of Defense and for military construction, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. SWALWELL of California (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today on account of family health emergency.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Karen L. Haas, Clerk of the House, reported that on May 13, 2016, she presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bills:

H.R. 4336. To amend title 38, United States Code, to provide for the inurnment in Arlington National Cemetery of the cremated remains of certain persons whose service has been determined to be active service.

H.R. 4238. To amend the Department of Energy Organization Act and the Local Public

Works Capital Development and Investment Act of 1976 to modernize terms relating to minorities.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRNE. Madam Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 21 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, May 17, 2016, at 10 a.m. for morning-hour debate.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. McCAUL. Committee on Homeland Security. H.R. 1887. A bill to amend certain appropriation Acts to repeal the requirement directing the Administrator of General Services to sell Federal property and assets that support the operations of the Plum Island Animal Disease Center in Plum Island, New York, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. 114-568). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. BYRNE. Committee on Rules. House Resolution 732. Resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 4909) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2017 for military activities of the Department of Defense and for military construction, to prescribe military personnel strengths for such fiscal year, and for other purposes (Rept. 114-569). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky:

H.R. 5243. A bill making appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2016, to strengthen public health activities in response to the Zika virus, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations, and in addition to the Committee on the Budget, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. KNIGHT (for himself and Ms. BROWNLEY of California):

H.R. 5244. A bill to provide for the establishment of a national memorial and national monument to commemorate those killed by the collapse of the Saint Francis Dam on March 12, 1928, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Natural Resources.

By Mr. PASCRELL:

H.R. 5245. A bill to direct the Federal Trade Commission to prescribe rules to protect consumers from unfair and deceptive acts and practices in connection with primary and secondary ticket sales, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. WEBER of Texas:

H.R. 5246. A bill to remove the Federal claim to navigational servitude for a parcel of land in Texas City, Texas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. GARAMENDI (for himself, Mr. COSTA, Mr. CÁRDENAS, and Mr. PETERS):

H.R. 5247. A bill to provide short-term water supplies to drought-stricken California and provide for long-term investments in drought resiliency throughout the Western United States; to the Committee on Natural Resources, and in addition to the Committees on Transportation and Infrastructure, Science, Space, and Technology, and Energy and Commerce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. BISHOP of Georgia (for himself, Mr. DENT, and Ms. BROWN of Florida):

H.R. 5248. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to clarify the eligibility of children of Vietnam veterans born with spina bifida for benefits of the Department of Veterans Affairs; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mrs. CAPPS (for herself, Mrs. ELLMERS of North Carolina, Mr. MCKINLEY, and Ms. MATSUI):

H.R. 5249. A bill to direct the NIH to intensify and coordinate fundamental, translational, and clinical research with respect to the understanding of pain, the discovery and development of therapies for chronic pain, and the development of alternatives to opioids for effective pain treatments; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. DELANEY (for himself and Mr. TAKAD):

H.R. 5250. A bill to amend the Small Business Act to reform the HUBZone program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Small Business.

By Ms. ESTY (for herself and Ms. DELAURO):

H.R. 5251. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a tax credit for property owners who remove hazards relating to lead, asbestos, and radon; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HURD of Texas:

H.R. 5252. A bill to designate the United States Customs and Border Protection Port of Entry located at 1400 Lower Island Road in Tornillo, Texas, as the "Marcelino Serna Port of Entry"; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HURD of Texas (for himself, Mr. McCAUL, Mrs. MILLER of Michigan, Mr. KING of New York, Mr. KATKO, and Ms. MCSALLY):

H.R. 5253. A bill to amend the Homeland Security Act of 2002 and the Immigration and Nationality Act to improve visa security, visa applicant vetting, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary, and in addition to the Committee on Homeland Security, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. MURPHY of Florida (for himself, Mr. POLIQUIN, and Mr. CONYERS):

H.R. 5254. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a tax credit to seniors who install modifications on their residences that would enable them to age in place, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RUSH:

H.R. 5255. A bill to amend the Federal Trade Commission Act to permit the Federal Trade Commission to enforce such Act against certain tax-exempt organizations; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi (for himself, Ms. LORETTA SANCHEZ of California, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Mr.