

I feel like the American people deserve one committee in this Chamber to step up and hold a hearing and hear both sides. If I were Chairwoman MALONEY or JAMIE RASKIN or GERRY CONNOLLY or Mr. CLAY, or anybody on the committee who hears this request, if I believed there weren't any irregularities, I would want to have a hearing to make the Republicans look bad. I am disappointed that we are not doing our job in the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

But with the specific investigation that Republicans have done in California, without any help from the Democrats—we don't need their help. We don't need their help on this. We have already proven it. The comptroller in California knows it. We are now asking to send the money back.

If you are not going to explain, Secretary Padilla, if you don't want to talk about it, that is fine. Send the money back, and taxpayers will move on.

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

END PUNISHMENT CLAUSE IN 13TH AMENDMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2019, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. CLAY) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to share with the House that I am really reserving the time for Mr. BUTTERFIELD from North Carolina, but I will begin. I want to thank my colleague, Mr. BUTTERFIELD, for leading this Special Order hour this evening.

Mr. Speaker, our Nation was founded on principles of liberty and justice for some, but not for all. In fact, it took 89 years after the Declaration of Independence and a brutal Civil War to finally end most forms of slavery.

The 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified on December 6, 1865, ending slavery but preserving involuntary servitude for some incarcerated persons.

After a raging debate, former slaveholders in the Southern States held enough influence to preserve the practice and were able to include a loophole in the 13th Amendment to continue to allow slavery as punishment for a crime.

Over the next 155 years, that punishment clause was used as a club to overincarcerate African Americans and other minorities for profit and in complete violation of their human dignity.

Black Americans were immediately targeted and arrested by law enforcement for minor infractions, and the practice of forced prison labor began and still persists to this day.

That is why I, joined by Senator JEFF MERKLEY from Oregon, introduced legislation to amend the Constitution to clarify that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude may be used as punishment for a crime.

I am pleased that many of my colleagues, including Congressman CEDRIC RICHMOND, incoming Assistant Speaker Congresswoman KATHERINE CLARK, and many of my colleagues in the CBC and broader Tri-Caucus, have also taken a leadership role on this issue in legislation.

Confronting and rooting out the systemic racism that is still rampant in many facets of American life requires us to examine the painful truth in order to fix it. It is an indisputable historical fact that many local and State law enforcement practices in this country grew out of the legacy of racism and slavery.

As millions of Americans are demanding criminal justice reform and a change in the training and culture of policing, passage of this constitutional amendment would send a clear signal: Bigotry and profits will no longer be used to deny any person their dignity.

Our criminal justice system and laws cannot be fully respected until we end this injustice that allows disproportionate numbers of Black and Brown people to be imprisoned and enslaved.

As I retire from Congress next month, I urge my colleagues to make passage of this legislation an urgent national priority. America cannot heal and move forward until we have real equality for all instead of just for some.

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

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Ms. Byrd, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed without amendment bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 473. An act to authorize the Every Word We Utter Monument to establish a commemorative work in the District of Columbia and its environs, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2246. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 201 West Cherokee Street in Brookhaven, Mississippi, as the "Deputy Donald William Durr, Corporal Zach Moak, and Patrolman James White Memorial Post Office Building".

H.R. 2454. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 123 East Sharpfish Street in Rosebud, South Dakota, as the "Ben Reifel Post Office Building".

H.R. 2969. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1401 1st Street North in Winter Haven, Florida, as the "Althea Margaret Daily Mills Post Office Building".

H.R. 3005. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 13308 Midland Road in Poway, California, as the "Ray Chavez Post Office Building".

H.R. 3275. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 340 Wetmore Avenue in Grand River, Ohio, as the "Lance Corporal Andy 'Ace' Nowacki Post Office".

H.R. 3680. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 415 North Main Street in Henning, Tennessee, as the "Paula Croom Robinson

and Judy Spray Memorial Post Office Building".

H.R. 3847. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 117 West Poythress Street in Hopewell, Virginia, as the "Reverend Curtis West Harris Post Office Building".

H.R. 3870. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 511 West 165th Street in New York, New York, as the "Normandia Maldonado Post Office Building".

H.R. 4034. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 602 Pacific Avenue in Bremerton, Washington, as the "John Henry Turpin Post Office Building".

H.R. 4200. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 321 South 1st Street in Montrose, Colorado, as the "Sergeant David Kinterknecht Post Office".

H.R. 4279. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 445 Main Street in Laceyville, Pennsylvania, as the "Melinda Gene Piccott Post Office".

H.R. 4672. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 21701 Stevens Creek Boulevard in Cupertino, California, as the "Petty Officer 2nd Class (SEAL) Matthew G. Axelson Post Office Building".

H.R. 4725. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 8585 Criterion Drive in Colorado Springs, Colorado, as the "Chaplain (Capt.) Dale Goetz Memorial Post Office Building".

H.R. 4785. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1305 U.S. Highway 90 West in Castroville, Texas, as the "Lance Corporal Rhonald Dain Rairdan Post Office".

H.R. 4875. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 2201 E. Maple Street in North Canton, Ohio, as the "Lance Cpl. Stacy 'Annie' Dryden Post Office".

H.R. 4971. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 15 East Market Street in Leesburg, Virginia, as the "Norman Duncan Post Office Building".

H.R. 4975. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1201 Sycamore Square Drive in Midlothian, Virginia, as the "Dorothy Braden Bruce Post Office Building".

H.R. 5062. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 9930 Conroy Windermere Road in Windermere, Florida, as the "Officer Robert German Post Office Building".

H.R. 5307. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 115 Nicol Avenue in Thomasville, Alabama, as the "Postmaster Robert Ingram Post Office".

H.R. 5317. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 315 Addicks Howell Road in Houston, Texas, as the "Deputy Sandeep Singh Dhaliwal Post Office Building".

H.R. 5954. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 108 West Maple Street in Holly, Michigan, as the "Holly Veterans Memorial Post Office".

The message also announced that the Senate has agreed to without amendment a concurrent resolution of the House of the following title:

H. Con. Res. 125. Concurrent resolution directing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to make a correction in the enrollment of H.R. 1830.

The message also announced that the Senate has passed bills of the following

titles in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 4409. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 303 East Mississippi Avenue in Elwood, Illinois, as the “Lawrence M. ‘Larry’ Walsh Sr. Post Office”.

S. 4684. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 440 Arapahoe Street in Thermopolis, Wyoming, as the “Robert L. Brown Post Office”.

RECOGNIZING 155TH ANNIVERSARY OF 13TH AMENDMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker’s announced policy of January 3, 2019, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BUTTERFIELD) is recognized for the remainder of the hour as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. BUTTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. BASS), the distinguished chair of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Ms. BASS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to commemorate the 155th anniversary of the ratification of the 13th Amendment.

On December 18, 1865, the 13th Amendment was ratified, officially ending more than 256 years of enslavement in the United States for nearly 4 million enslaved African Americans.

The 13th Amendment provides that: “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.”

After the Civil War, the 13th Amendment was the first of three reconstruction amendments adopted. The loophole sentence, however, “except as a punishment for crime,” allowed for African Americans to continue cruel, involuntary labor under what is known as the Black Codes.

To be enslaved, specific laws were passed to ensure that African Americans would be constantly arrested, and then the government would lease human beings out. As African Americans continued to be viewed as property, the government leased people out to businesses, farms, and other types of profit-making ventures.

I would like to acknowledge the former chair of the Congressional Black Caucus, and the CBC’s resident historian, to lead this Special Order hour acknowledging this very important anniversary.

Mr. BUTTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I thank Congresswoman BASS very much for those very kind words, and I thank her for her friendship and for her leadership over the last 2 years as she has led the 55 men and women of the Congressional Black Caucus. I certainly know from past experience that it is a daunting challenge to lead such a caucus. But I thank her so much for her leadership, and I look forward to the future leadership of our new chair, Congresswoman JOYCE BEATTY.

Today, the Congressional Black Caucus is convening to present a Special

Order, recognizing the 155th anniversary of the ratification of the 13th Amendment.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BUTTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members will have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks on this Special Order.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BUTTERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I have said for years that the passage and ratification of the 13th Amendment is one of the most significant pieces of legislation ever considered by this body. Had Congress and the States failed to eliminate the despicable institution of slavery, the American experiment would have failed and failed miserably.

This afternoon, the Congressional Black Caucus lifts up this American history for the American people to see and understand.

In the year 1860, the Republican candidate for President was Abraham Lincoln. Three candidates opposed Lincoln: Stephen Douglas from Illinois, representing the Northern wing of the Democratic Party; John Breckinridge from Kentucky, representing the Southern wing of the Democratic Party; and John Bell from Tennessee, representing the Constitutional Union Party.

During this election, Mr. Speaker, the Southern States, the slaveholding Southern States, were very fearful that, if elected, Abraham Lincoln would find a way to end slavery and deprive them of their slaves.

Over a period of 240 years, southern plantation owners had purchased African citizens who had been transshipped to the United States from the continent of Africa.

□ 1630

The original Constitution, which was effective March 4, 1789, addressed the issue of slavery. It contained a provision that would maintain the slave trade for at least 20 years after the ratification of the Constitution, until January 1, 1809. Though the legal end of the slave trade occurred in 1809, slave trafficking continued, to be sure.

Slave women were impregnated by males of both races and encouraged to bear large numbers of children. By 1860, Mr. Speaker, there were nearly 4 million slaves in the United States, mostly in Southern States. The border States of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia also had a large number of slaves.

On November 6, 1860, Mr. Speaker, it was the Presidential election. The American voters spoke, and did they speak loudly. Abraham Lincoln became the 16th President of the United States of America, winning a very large number of electoral votes.

Immediately following his election, Southern States, 11 Southern States

began seceding from the Union, and that is the map I have here to my left.

The first State to secede was South Carolina, right away, on December 20; Mississippi, January 9; followed by Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.

Then after those seven States had seceded from the Union, Abraham Lincoln takes the oath of office and becomes the 16th President of the United States. The oath of office took place on March 3. Today, as we all know, it is January 20, but during those times it was March 3.

After Lincoln was installed and inaugurated as President, four more States seceded from the Union. They were Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the United States is faced with a constitutional crisis of monumental proportions. Eleven States, these 11 Southern States, are now considering themselves a separate nation. They refer to themselves as the Confederate States of America.

The so-called Confederate States were formally created on March 11, a mere 8 days following Lincoln’s inauguration. The Confederate States of America adopted a constitution. They created a currency, elected its political leaders, stood up a military, adopted a flag, and attempted to do everything a developing nation would do.

Great tension now existed between the 23 Union States and the 11 Confederate States. So, Mr. Speaker, we all know what happened then. On April 12, 1861, at 4:30 in the morning, Confederate soldiers opened fired upon Union soldiers at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, in the city of Charleston, and the Civil War begins.

It was a brutal war. Southern States had declared war on the Union. Thousands of soldiers lost their lives on both sides of the battle lines.

President Lincoln, Mr. Speaker, became very weary. The war was taking its toll on him. It was taking its toll on the democracy. So on September 22, 1862, Lincoln issued what we now know as the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, announcing that, if the rebels did not end the fighting and rejoin the Union by January 1, 1863, 100 days later, all slaves in the rebellious States would be free.

On January 1, 1863, Lincoln did what he threatened he would do. President Lincoln, using his power as Commander in Chief of the military, issued an executive order. That order is referred to as the historic Emancipation Proclamation.

Mr. Speaker, that proclamation is often recited, and I will recite it here today.

It reads as follows. This is the Emancipation Proclamation. It says:

“On the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the