- 1 ALDERSON COURT REPORTING
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- 4 MARKUP OF H.R. 1327, THE "NEVER FORGET THE HEROES: PERMANENT
- 5 AUTHORIZATION OF THE SEPTEMBER 11TH VICTIM COMPENSATION FUND
- 6 ACT";
- 7 H.R. 35, THE "EMMETT TILL ANTILYNCHING ACT";
- 8 H.R. 677, THE "21ST CENTURY PRESIDENT ACT";
- 9 H.R. 1569, THE "TO AMEND TITLE 28, UNITED STATES CODE, TO ADD
- 10 FLAGSTAFF AND YUMA TO THE LIST OF LOCATIONS IN WHICH COURT
- 11 SHALL BE HELD IN THE JUDICIAL DISTRICT FOR THE STATE OF
- 12 ARIZONA";
- 13 H.R. 2368, THE "SUPPORTING AND TREATING OFFICERS IN CRISIS
- 14 ACT OF 2019"; AND
- 15 H.R. 1986, THE "EFFECTIVE PROSECUTION OF POSSESSION OF
- 16 BIOLOGICAL TOXINS AND AGENTS ACT OF 2019"
- 17 Wednesday, June 12, 2019
- 18 House of Representatives
- 19 Committee on the Judiciary
- 20 Washington, D.C.

21 The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:15 a.m., in

- 22 Room 2141, Rayburn Office Building, Hon. Jerrold Nadler
- 23 [chairman of the committee] presiding.
- Present: Representatives Nadler, Lofgren, Jackson Lee,
- 25 Cohen, Deutch, Bass, Jeffries, Cicilline, Lieu, Raskin,
- 26 Jayapal, Demings, Correa, Scanlon, Garcia, Neguse, McBath,
- 27 Stanton, Dean, Murcarsel-Powell, Escobar, Collins, Chabot,
- 28 Gohmert, Jordan, Buck, Roby, Johnson of Louisiana, Biggs,
- 29 McClintock, Lesko, Reschenthaler, and Cline.
- 30 Staff present: David Greengrass, Senior Counsel; John
- 31 Doty, Senior Advisor; Lisette Morton, Director of Policy,
- 32 Planning, and Member Services; Madeline Strasser, Chief
- 33 Clerk; Moh Sharma, Member Services and Outreach Advisor;
- 34 Susan Jensen, Parliamentarian/Senior Counsel; James Park,
- 35 Constitution Subcommittee Chief Counsel; Will Emmons,
- 36 Constitution Subcommittee Professional Staff Member; Jamie
- 37 Simpson, Courts Subcommittee Chief Counsel; Ben Hernandez,
- 38 Crime Subcommittee Counsel; Joe Graupensperger, Crime
- 39 Subcommittee Chief Counsel; Keenan Keller, Crime Subcommittee
- 40 Senior Counsel; Milagros Cisneros, Crime Subcommittee
- 41 Detailee; Monalisa Dugue, Crime Subcommittee Deputy Chief
- 42 Counsel; Veronica Eligan, Crime Subcommittee Professional
- 43 Staff Member; Brendan Belair, Minority Staff Director; Robert
- 44 Parmiter, Minority Deputy Staff Director and Chief Counsel;
- 45 Jon Ferro, Minority Parliamentarian/General Counsel; Dan

Ashworth, Minority Counsel; Jason Cervenak, Minority Crime

Subcommittee Chief Counsel; Paul Taylor, Minority

Constitution Subcommittee Chief Counsel; Ryan Breitenbach,

Minority National Security Subcommittee Chief Counsel; Tom

Stoll, Minority Chief Counsel, Intellectual Property

Subcommittee; Erica Barker, Minority Chief Legislative Clerk;

and Andrea Woodard, Minority Professional Staff Member.

53

54 Chairman Nadler. The Judiciary Committee will please

- 55 come to order, a quorum being present.
- Mithout objection, the chair is authorized to declare a
- 57 recess at any time.
- 58 We have six bills on the agenda today, none I think
- 59 particularly contentious. So maybe we will proceed with
- 60 dispatch.
- 61 Pursuant to Committee Rule II and House Rule 11, Clause
- 62 2, the chair may postpone further proceedings today on the
- question of approving any measure or matter or adopting an
- 64 amendment for which a recorded vote for the ayes and nays are
- 65 ordered.
- 66 Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 1327, the Never
- 67 Forget the Heroes: Permanent Authorization of the September
- 68 11th Victim Compensation Fund Act, for purposes of markup and
- 69 move that the committee report the bill favorably to the
- 70 House.
- 71 The clerk will report the bill.
- Ms. Strasser. H.R. 1327, to extend authorization for
- 73 the September 11th Victim Compensation Fund of 2001 through
- 74 Fiscal Year 2090 and for other purposes.
- 75 Chairman Nadler. Without objection, the bill is
- 76 considered as read and open for amendment at any point.
- 77 [The bill follows:]

79 Chairman Nadler. I will begin by recognizing myself for

- 80 an opening statement.
- The September 11th attacks, September 11th, 2001
- 82 attacks, created an environmental nightmare. When the Twin
- 83 Towers collapsed in my district in lower Manhattan, hundreds
- 84 of tons of contaminants poured onto the streets and covered
- 85 first responders, residents, office workers, and students in
- 86 a cloud of toxic dust. Despite clear evidence of this
- 87 environmental and health disaster, the EPA insisted that the
- 88 air in lower Manhattan and Brooklyn was "safe to breathe,"
- 89 unquote. That was not true because, as we knew even then,
- 90 the air was not safe to breathe. In fact, it was deadly.
- 91 Thousands and thousands of responders, workers, and
- 92 residents were exposed to horrible toxins and were not
- 93 provided with protective equipment. Many people were exposed
- 94 to horrible toxins because of the collapse of the World Trade
- 95 Center. No one can be blamed but the terrorists.
- 96 But the Federal Government did not step in to conduct a
- 97 proper comprehensive cleanup of the schools, offices, and
- 98 residences in lower Manhattan. Today, as a direct result of
- 99 the Federal Government's inaction in not providing a proper
- 100 cleanup and deception in assuring people the air was safe to
- 101 breathe and it wasn't, more than 95,000 responders and
- 102 survivors are sick.
- 103 It was for those tens of thousands of brave, selfless,

104 and innocent responders and survivors that Congress came 105 together in 2010, after many years of struggle and 106 negotiation, to pass the James Zadroga 9/11 Health and 107 Compensation Act and to fulfill our moral obligation, as 108 President Lincoln said, to care for him who shall have borne 109 the battle and for his widow and his orphan. The Zadroga Act 110 established a national health program to care for those made 111 sick by exposure to toxins in the days, weeks, and months 112 after the 9/11 attack. It also reopened the Victim 113 Compensation Fund to provide support for sick responders or 114 survivors. 115 As the programs were set to expire in 2015, Congress 116 once again came together in a bipartisan measure and 117 reauthorized it. We made the health program essentially 118 permanent and set the expiration date in 2090, ensuring that 119 all those affected by the 9/11 attacks would have the health 120 care they need for as long as they need it. But the 2015 121 reauthorization extended the Victim Compensation Fund for 122 only 5 years. 123 As we heard in the Constitution Subcommittee hearing on 124 the VCF yesterday, that five-year reauthorization was not 125 nearly enough. People are still getting sick as diseases 126 like cancer emerge after long latency periods. Those already 127 sick are getting sicker, and tragically many have died and 128 are dying. Further, as the number of sick responders and

129 survivors continues to rise, the limited resources Congress 130 provided to the VCF have been strained, and now thousands of 131 sick responders and survivors are facing up to 70 percent 132 cuts in compensation. 133 Yesterday, we heard from many witnesses who are sick or 134 who have lost a loved one because of 9/11-related illnesses. 135 Two of those eight witnesses, an FBI agent who worked at the 136 Pentagon site and the widow of a New York construction worker 137 who worked on the pile at ground zero, will have their awards 138 cut by 50 percent and 70 percent, respectively, because of 139 the claims review process timing. Three of the other 140 witnesses received their full compensation simply because 141 they got sick earlier. 142 I refuse to accept that the lives of some responders and 143 survivors are worth more than others. Every sick responder 144 and survivor should be treated with the same dignity and 145 compassion, and all responders and survivors, whether they 146 got sick in 2015 or will get sick in 2025 or 2035, should be 147 properly compensated. Congress must act to make that happen. 148 That is why we are here today to mark up H.R. 1327, the 149 Never Forget the Heroes: Permanent Reauthorization of the 150 September 11th Victim Compensation Fund Act, a bill I 151 introduced along with Representatives Carolyn Maloney and 152 Peter King. This legislation extends the VCF to 2090,

matching the authorization for the World Trade Center Health

153

154 Program. It also reverses any cuts made to awards by the VCF

- 155 due to insufficient funds. The bill has more than 300, 300,
- 156 bipartisan cosponsors in the House, including the Ranking
- 157 Member of the full committee, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr.
- 158 Collins, and as of yesterday's hearing, the Ranking Member of
- 159 the Constitution Subcommittee, the gentleman from Louisiana,
- 160 Mr. Johnson.
- 161 Yesterday, we heard the difficult and often
- 162 heartbreaking testimony of our witnesses. We have asked so
- 163 much of our 9/11 responders and survivors. We relied on them
- 164 to rush to the World Trade Center and the Pentagon under
- 165 horrible conditions. We asked them to spend months on a
- 166 burning, dangerous pile. All the responders on our panel
- 167 echoed the same sentiment. There was nowhere else they would
- 168 rather have been than at ground zero on 9/11.
- 169 We asked the surrounding community to return to schools,
- 170 offices, and homes that the Federal Government knew were
- 171 horribly contaminated and unsafe. And they went back and re-
- 172 opened businesses and got New York and the country moving
- 173 again. But because of limits placed on the VCF, we have now
- 174 also asked them to come to Congress every five years to beg
- 175 for help. It is time for us to give responders and survivors
- 176 peace of mind once and for all and pass this long-term
- 177 reauthorization to ensure the VCF will be for them, will be
- 178 there for them, as long as they need it.

I now recognize the ranking member of the Judiciary

- 180 Committee, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Collins, for his
- 181 opening statement.
- Mr. Collins. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I am glad
- 183 that you and I can come together on this piece of
- 184 legislation, which I believe is important.
- I am not going to take long. I spoke yesterday about
- 186 this. I have met with the victims in my office. I have
- 187 talked with them on many occasions. And the remnants and the
- 188 effects of that day will regenerate forever.
- I just do want to say, though, as I said yesterday, the
- 190 reason we do this is because we do remember. The reason we
- 191 do this is because we have seen the suffering. The reason we
- 192 do this is because there is a need that we need to address.
- 193 I believe, as I said yesterday, when I went to Iraq in 2008,
- 194 it still, even to this day, reverberates from the sacrifices
- 195 that were made that day, the sacrifices that were unintended
- 196 and not asked for but went through anyway, when you see
- 197 firemen and first responders and police all going up the
- 198 stairs, instead of down the stairs, when you saw them outside
- 199 coming in, instead of running away.
- 200 The theorists thought that the fires would bring us
- 201 down. And, instead, they only revealed. They only revealed
- 202 the true character of those that were responding and the true
- 203 character of our Nation.

It is easy to come together today, I hope, to say that

- 205 we will do our part. And that is why I support this bill.
- 206 That is why I am a cosponsor of this bill and look forward to
- 207 passing it out of this committee.
- 208 And I yield back.
- 209 Chairman Nadler. Thank you, Mr. Collins.
- 210 Without objection, all other opening statements will be
- 211 included in the record.
- 212 For what purpose does the gentleman from Florida seek
- 213 recognition?
- Mr. Deutch. I move to strike the last word.
- 215 Chairman Nadler. The gentleman is recognized.
- 216 Mr. Deutch. Chairman Nadler, thank you for moving this
- 217 bill forward. I know it is so important to your
- 218 constituents, to New Yorkers, to all of the many people from
- 219 New York and New Jersey and Connecticut who now live in south
- 220 Florida but also to our Nation. I would also like to thank
- 221 Carolyn, Representative Carolyn Maloney, and Representative
- 222 Peter King for their leadership and strong commitment to
- 223 bipartisan support for 9/11 victims.
- I don't know that I will ever see a more selfless act of
- 225 patriotism in my lifetime than the bravery of the first
- 226 responders on that day in September and the days and weeks
- 227 that followed. The police, the firefighters, the paramedics,
- 228 the doctors, and others who rushed into danger as so many

229 tried to rush out, they knew they might not come home that

- 230 day. And we will forever be grateful for those whose lives
- 231 were lost. But the ones who did come home, for those who
- 232 showered off the dust and then went back to claw through
- 233 debris and came back home, only to do it again day after day
- 234 until the job was done, they are also paying a lifelong
- 235 price.
- Nearly 10 years ago, I was a freshman Member of
- 237 Congress. And I had the pleasure of meeting a constituent,
- 238 Freddie Noboa, who moved to south Florida from his native
- 239 Queens. Freddie worked as a paramedic supervisor. And on
- 240 September 11, 2001, shortly after the North Tower was hit,
- 241 Freddie was dispatched to the South Tower to help run triage
- 242 out of the lobby. And then, suddenly, the ground beneath him
- 243 began to shake and the windows burst. And the second tower
- 244 was hit. Freddie was able to run for cover beneath an
- 245 ambulance that was completely engulfed in smoke and debris.
- 246 Over the course of the recovery effort, Freddie spent 18 days
- 247 digging through the rubble at ground zero.
- 248 Today, Freddie takes 14 different medications for severe
- 249 asthma, obstructive lung disease, sleep apnea, liver disease,
- 250 and diabetes. His asthma is so bad that he doesn't drive
- 251 anymore. He can't catch his breath on the walk from his
- 252 house to a car.
- 253 Before the Victims Fund, there were some months that

- 254 Freddie was forced to make the difficult choice of food or
- 255 medicine. He will live with the cost and the pain his entire
- 256 life. We must do everything that we can to ease the burden
- 257 that he and every first responder took in those days after
- 258 9/11.
- 259 And to Freddie and to the first responders who joined us
- 260 here yesterday as witnesses and observers, to all of the
- 261 first responders in New York and New Jersey and across our
- 262 country, we remember the spirit of unity that you embodied in
- 263 those days at ground zero. We remember your sacrifice. We
- 264 are grateful for the sacrifices that you make every day, and
- 265 we thank you.
- Thank you again to my colleagues who strongly support
- 267 this bill. And I look forward to working with all of you to
- 268 make sure that it becomes law.
- 269 Chairman Nadler. I thank the gentleman.
- 270 Are there any amendments to H.R. 1327?
- Very well. A reporting quorum being present, the
- question is on the motion to report the bill, H.R. 1327,
- 273 favorably to the House.
- Those in favor, say aye?
- 275 Opposed, no?
- The ayes have it. And the bill is ordered reported
- 277 favorably to the House.
- 278 Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 35, the Emmett

279 Till Antilynching Act, for purposes of markup and move that

- 280 the committee report the bill favorably to the House.
- The clerk will report the bill.
- Ms. Strasser. H.R. 35, to amend section 249 of Title
- 283 18, United States Code, to specify lynching as a hate crime
- 284 act.
- 285 Chairman Nadler. Without objection, the bill is
- 286 considered as read and open for amendment at any point.
- 287 [The bill follows:]

288

289 Chairman Nadler. I will begin by recognizing myself for 290 an opening statement.

- 291 H.R. 35, the Emmett Till Antilynching Act, is long-
- 292 overdue legislation that would explicitly designate lynching
- 293 as a hate crime under Federal law.
- The term "lynching" has most often been used to
- 295 characterize premeditated extrajudicial executions by a mob
- 296 in order to punish an alleged transgressor or to strike fear
- 297 among a targeted group. Throughout history, lynching has
- 298 been employed as an extreme form of informal group social
- 299 control and has often been conducted with the display of a
- 300 public spectacle for maximum intimidation.
- 301 H.R. 35 is named in honor of Emmett Till, a 14-year-old
- 302 African American youth from Chicago who was lynched while
- 303 visiting an uncle in Mississippi in 1955 in particularly
- 304 gruesome fashion for allegedly whistling at a white woman.
- Though lynching touched all races and religions and
- 306 occurred in all States in the contiguous United States, the
- 307 practice was predominant in the South, and 4 out of 5 victims
- 308 were black. During the period between the Civil War and
- 309 World War II, thousands of African Americans were lynched in
- 310 the United States. In 1892, the Tuskegee Institute began to
- 311 record statistics of lynchings and reported that 4,742
- 312 reported incidents had taken place by 1968, of which 3,445 of
- 313 the victims were African Americans. Through additional

314 research, the Equal Justice Initiative, or EJI, documented

- 315 4,075 lynchings of African Americans in 12 Southern States
- 316 between the end of Reconstruction in 1877 and 1950.
- 317 EJI estimates that lynchings peaked somewhere between
- 318 1880 and 1940, in a shameful chapter in American history.
- 319 These violent incidents profoundly impacted race relations
- 320 and shaped the geographic, political, social, and economic
- 321 conditions of African American communities in ways that are
- 322 still evident today and were largely tolerated by State and
- 323 Federal officials.
- The anti-lynching movement set the stage for the
- 325 creation of the civil rights movement that we recognize
- 326 today. African Americans mobilized their own efforts to
- 327 combat the terror of lynching and the threat of racial
- 328 violence through grassroots activism and the founding of
- 329 integrated social service organizations.
- 330 The work of the NAACP was especially pivotal in
- 331 awakening the Nation to the urgency of combating lynching.
- 332 In 1921, the NAACP also began actively endorsing legislation
- 333 to make lynching a Federal crime. Antilynching activists,
- 334 such as journalist Ida B. Wells, also harnessed the growing
- 335 power of the African American press to demand national
- 336 accountability for racial violence.
- 337 The first Federal anti-lynching legislation was
- 338 introduced in 1900, almost 120 years ago, by Congressman

339 George Henry White, the only African American Member of 340 Congress at that time. Unfortunately, neither his bill, nor 341 any other anti-lynching bills that were introduced in the 342 decades that followed managed to pass Congress. 343 Although anti-lynching legislation passed by a large 344 majority in the House of Representatives in 1922 and was 345 supported by then-President Warren G. Harding, the Southern 346 Democratic bloc in the Senate prevented it from coming to a 347 vote in 1922, as well as similar legislation in 1923 and 348 1924, claiming that it would be unconstitutional and an 349 infringement upon States' rights. However, the extensive 350 debate on the bill, in combination with the 1919 NAACP report 351 and the related National Conference on Lynching, moved local 352 and State governments to take lynching more seriously, 353 leading to a dramatic decrease in incidents after 1922. 354 The enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 was the 355 closest that Congress ever came in the post-Reconstruction 356 era to enacting anti-lynching legislation. Although the 357 civil rights conspiracy statute does not specify the offense 358 of lynching as a Federal crime, this section has been used by 359 the Department of Justice to prosecute civil rights-era 360 crimes and hate crimes that were described as lynching in 361 public discourse. 362 However, despite the existence of Federal criminal 363 enforcement against hate crimes, it remains important to

364 enact Federal anti-lynching legislation given the historical 365 context of these violent incidents. Lynching was a violent 366 tactic of racial subordination closely linked to the 367 deprivation of freedmen's post-reconstruction constitutional 368 rights. Moreover, the fear of lynching was a major factor in 369 the Great Migration to the North and changed the demographics 370 of the Nation. Politically, the terms of the lynching debate 371 still echo through Congress and influence the debate around 372 social justice policy. 373 In his farewell address to Congress, Representative 374 George Henry White lamented the failure of his anti-lynching 375 bill of 1900 by observing that, quote, "During the last 376 session of this Congress, I took occasion to address myself 377 in detail to this particular measure, but with all of my 378 efforts, the bill still sweetly sleeps in the room of the 379 committee to which it was referred. The necessity of 380 legislation along this line is daily being demonstrated. 381 arena of the lyncher no longer is confined to Southern 382 climes, but is stretching its hydra head over all parts of 383 the Union," close quote. 384 Today, we act to correct this historical injustice that 385 rests heavily on the conscience of this committee and this 386 Congress. Accordingly, I thank the gentleman from Illinois, 387 Mr. Rush, for his leadership on this important issue and his 388 attention to history. I urge my colleagues to support this

- 389 legislation.
- I now recognize the ranking member of the Judiciary
- 391 Committee, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Collins, for his
- 392 opening statement.
- Mr. Collins. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 394 H.R. 35, the Emmett Till Antilynching Act, recalls a
- 395 horrible period in our Nation's history. In fact, many may
- 396 claim this bill is actually a century too late. After all,
- 397 the first anti-lynching bill was introduced more than 100
- 398 years ago but never became law. Back then, lynchings were a
- 399 popular atrocity committed by the Ku Klux Klan against black
- 400 communities, Catholics, Jews, Republicans, anybody else, for
- 401 that matter. Lynching, which is used to intimate a certain
- 402 populous, is the practice of a murder by a group of people by
- 403 extrajudicial action. What we find here today is this
- 404 legislation will ensure that those who engage in mob violence
- 405 resulting in death are dealt with in the Federal system.
- 406 It is my gladness that we come through, we are doing
- 407 this bill, although I believe there will be some questions
- 408 that I think will be raised and legitimately raised by
- 409 Members on our side to make sure that we actually have the
- 410 tightest bill that we possibly can so that it is actually
- 411 enforced in the way it needs to be enforced. And I
- 412 appreciate the concerns coming forward.
- I look forward to supporting this bill as we move

414 forward and would yield back the balance of my time.

- 415 Chairman Nadler. I thank the gentleman.
- I now recognize the chair of the Subcommittee on Crime,
- 417 Terrorism, and Homeland Security, the gentlelady from
- 418 California, Ms. Bass, for her opening statement.
- 419 Ms. Bass. Thank you, Mr. Chair.
- 420 I stand with my colleagues on the committee in
- 421 supporting H.R. 35, the Emmett Till Antilynching Act in order
- 422 to make a long-overdue change to our law and denounce the
- 423 terror represented by the thousands of lynchings that have
- 424 taken place in this country since Reconstruction. I do have
- 425 to say, though, that lynchings were not just perpetrated by
- 426 the Ku Klux Klan. Lots of people participated in lynching,
- 427 including law enforcement, elected officials. And they were
- 428 primarily and overwhelmingly done to African Americans.
- One of the great challenges of race in our country is
- 430 the fact that we do not know and cannot come to grips with
- 431 the history of this country. As a legacy of the 200-plus
- 432 years that African Americans were enslaved in this country
- 433 and, in fact, built the U.S. Capitol, a monument is dedicated
- 434 to them in the Capitol's Visitor Center.
- The lynching of African Americans represents the most
- 436 heinous example of the campaign of terror perpetrated by the
- 437 recently enslaved women and men and their descendents. The
- 438 roots of lynching lie in the whippings, brandings, and other

439 forms of terror that slave owners use to oppress black

- 440 Americans. Post-Emancipation, lynchings changed from an
- 441 instrument of enslavement to a tool of domestic terrorism.
- 442 Bands of hooded murderers roamed the United States,
- 443 threatening to lynch black Americans for nothing more than
- 444 the color of their skin. Excuses were used, such as making
- 445 eye contact with a white person or resisting the
- 446 discrimination.
- This reign of American terror lasted nearly 100 years.
- 448 Black Americans were murdered for simply going about their
- 449 daily lives. Make no mistake. These vigilante acts were the
- 450 key component of a campaign to keep black Americans from
- 451 exercising their constitutional rights. These murders,
- 452 nearly 5,000 of them, largely went unpunished. And in many
- 453 cases, they were advertised as social events, like a football
- 454 or a basketball game. Come out on Sunday evening and watch a
- 455 black person be burned alive. Postcards were taken.
- 456 Photographs were distributed because this was a recreational
- 457 activity. Few perpetrators were ever held to account for
- 458 these heinous crimes and in the communities in which
- 459 lynchings took place, suffered from the oppressive blanket of
- 460 fear that each murder brought. We must take this moment to
- 461 remember the victims of lynching, hundreds of whom remain
- 462 unnamed.
- It is shameful that it has taken this long for us to

464 specifically address lynching in a Federal law. And it is

- 465 shameful that we even need a Federal law more than 100 years
- 466 after Representative Dyer of Missouri first introduced anti-
- 467 lynching legislation in Congress.
- 468 Unfortunately, these crimes are not that far in our
- 469 past. Mysterious hangings of black people continue today,
- 470 and there are several cases under investigation right now.
- 471 In fact, just a few weeks ago, the perpetrator of a lynching
- 472 of a black man in Texas was executed. It is sad to say that
- 473 it was progress that someone was arrested and tried for the
- 474 heinous crimes.
- So we can't wait any longer. Although we can never
- 476 truly rectify the terror and horrors of past lynchings, we
- 477 can do our part so that justice is delivered in the future.
- 478 The fight for civil rights and to protect African Americans
- 479 from racially motivated violence continues today because the
- 480 threats and acts continue. And this legislation is needed
- 481 now and not just as a measure of historical justice.
- 482 Congress has debated various forms of anti-lynching
- 483 legislation since 1918, but we have not completed action with
- 484 the enactment of a law.
- I thank our colleague Representative Bobby Rush for
- 486 championing this effort and introducing this bill. I support
- 487 this legislation, and I urge its quick adoption today. You
- 488 know, at least today, we have a museum, a Smithsonian Museum,

489	that documents this history. And I would encourage all of my
490	colleagues who are not aware of this part of our history to
491	please visit the African American Museum and please begin on
492	the bottom floor so that you can learn and understand the
493	200-plus years that this country enslaved African Americans.
494	Thank you. And I yield back the balance of my time.
495	Chairman Nadler. I thank the gentlelady.
496	Are there any amendments to H.R. 35? For what purpose
497	does the gentleman from Arizona seek recognition?
498	Mr. Biggs. I have an amendment at the desk.
499	Chairman Nadler. The clerk will report the amendment.
500	Ms. Strasser. Amendment to H.R. 35 offered by Mr. Biggs
501	of Arizona. On page 5, line 2, insert "knowingly" before
502	"causes."
503	[The amendment of Mr. Biggs follows:]

504

505 Chairman Nadler. The gentleman is recognized in support

- 506 of his amendment.
- Mr. Biggs. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the
- 508 opportunity to offer this amendment.
- The young Mr. Emmett Till was a resident of Chicago who
- 510 had gone down to Mississippi to stay with his relative, who
- 511 was a sharecropper for the summer. After working in the
- 512 morning, he went to a store in the afternoon with some of his
- 513 friends. He made the mistake at that time of whistling at a
- 514 white woman who was 21 years old. Her husband and another
- 515 then later brutally abducted him, went into his home, took
- 516 him away, and inhumanely tortured and in barbarous fashion
- 517 murdered him and hid his body. These two men were later
- 518 arrested. They were acquitted. And, even to add further
- 519 insult to this inhumane crime, they received payment for
- 520 selling their story as to what happened to a periodical.
- 521 This is outrageous conduct. It is inhumane conduct. It is
- 522 brutal and barbaric in nature.
- And so my intention here is if we are going to pass a
- 524 bill, I think it should be the best bill we could possibly
- 525 get. And that is why I refer technically to the language on
- 526 line 23 of page 4, which uses the culpable mental state
- 527 requirement of "willfully." The problem with the term
- 528 "willfully" is that it is used often, but, even in the jury
- 529 instruction, the comment is this. It says, "The committee

530	does not recommend any general instruction defining the term
531	'willfully' because no single instruction can accurately
532	encompass the different meanings this term has in Federal
533	criminal law. This term is a word of many meanings, its
534	construction often being influenced by its context."
535	Most State statutes resort to what was called the
536	Uniform Criminal Code at the time that that it is offering in
537	the early '80s, late '70s. And it defines "culpable mental
538	state" in four ways, "intentional, knowingly, reckless, or
539	with criminal negligence," provides a very specific
540	understanding of what that is. It seems to me that we would
541	make a better statute if we worked on correcting the term
542	"willfully," which I think is a real problem because if we
543	are going to prosecute these crimes, we want them to be
544	prosecuted effectively and without any kind of
545	misunderstanding.
546	And so that is the point I am trying to make with regard
547	to culpable mental state because you actually create an
548	additional problem by using the culpable mental state
549	requirement just in the next line when you say,
550	"intentional." And, thus, I don't want there to be any kind
551	of confusion on the part of triers of fact.
552	And, with that, I am going to withdraw my motion to
553	amend, but I am just suggesting that we might want to revisit
554	that to make sure it is tighter and more complete.

- Mr. Collins. Would the gentleman yield?
- Mr. Biggs. Yes, I will yield.
- Mr. Collins. Good. I appreciate the gentleman's
- 558 concern. And, like I said, legislation that we support, we
- 559 can also always try to make better. I appreciate the
- 560 gentleman's concern. And my hope is as this will go through
- 561 the process, we could make it better, making sure it is
- 562 tight, to do exactly what it needs to do. And I do
- 563 appreciate the gentleman. I appreciate his withdrawal. I
- just wanted to give support.
- Chairman Nadler. I appreciate the gentleman's
- 566 withdrawal. And we will certainly be willing to look at --
- 567 the problem with the word "willfully" I think is what you
- 568 really are talking about.
- Without objection, the amendment is withdrawn.
- Ms. Jackson Lee. I would like to strike the last word.
- 571 Chairman Nadler. The gentlelady from Texas?
- Ms. Jackson Lee. First of all, I want to thank the
- 573 gentleman for withdrawing his amendment. And I understand as
- 574 a lawyer, his effort to be precise. And, certainly, we
- 575 acknowledge that.
- 576 Let me take particular note of George Henry White, who
- 577 in the early 1900s or 20th Century, even before the heinous
- 578 death of Emmett Till, was one of those who introduced the
- 579 first anti-lynching bill. And he led the way for 200 bills

580 to come after him. Interestingly enough, George Henry White 581 was, in essence, drawn out of the United States Congress and 582 stood on the floor of the House in the early 1900s and said 583 that the Negro would rise like the phoenix. 584 His departure began a systematic attack on African 585 Americans in the deep South. And a terminology that is not 586 used in this legislation was the "hanging fruit." Probably 587 where the largest number of African Americans were hung were 588 in those early years, and it was brutal. And it was a sport. 589 And so I want to thank Mr. Rush for the language is 590 clear. It says, "causes death." And those individuals were 591 hung until they died. It was at the same time when the Ku 592 Klux Klan was at its peak. And not only were people hung, 593 but razes were made in the dark of the night with white 594 clothing, and fires were lit. And African American 595 communities were horrifically intimidated, elderly people, 596 children, and families. Many of their homes burned. It was 597 really a reign of terror. 598 And so I am grateful for the bipartisan consensus of 599 understanding that it was even more than lynching. It was a 600 systematic attack to deny African Americans the right and the 601 privileges of being a citizen of the United States of 602 America.

In the next week, we will have a companion analysis be

brought before this committee. And I am grateful for the

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605 leadership of this committee, subcommittee chair of the 606 constitution committee and the full committee chair and 607 Members, where we will have an opportunity to hear the 608 assessment of a commission on reparations. The more we 609 understand the vileness and viciousness and the loss of life 610 that occurred, both by lynching and other means of violence, 611 the more opportunity we can bring our Nation together. Just 612 as we understand immigrants and non-immigrants to better 613 understand our diversity, it makes America great. 614 I want to conclude my remarks on the opportunity I had 615 in the last weekend to be at Normandy and to be able to see 616 the vast numbers of symbols of faith of the 10,000 people who 617 rushed, men who rushed, those shores. And I believe they 618 rushed them with an understanding of what America really 619 represents. 620 And in the sense of the guidance of former President 621 Eisenhower, General Eisenhower, said the world is watching. 622 And, as well, they watch you as you march to victory. With 623 that in mind, I think the world is watching America to see 624 whether that very unique experiment of bringing people 625 together from all walks of life, all backgrounds, starting 626 out with a structure of slavery, could actually succeed, 627 where they started this Nation with a population of Africans 628 as slaves that lasted for 250 years. The lynching was a 629 result of us not healing after the Emancipation Proclamation

- 630 and the discontinuation of Reconstruction.
- So this is a very important step. And I thank this
- 632 committee, thank the Members for having a very important step
- 633 for us recognizing that it is better to be conciliatory and
- 634 come together in a healing and passionate manner. Though
- 635 this speaks to the vileness of lynching, it will be
- 636 acknowledged, and it will be in its appropriate place: a
- 637 hate crime. And this great committee has the right to do
- 638 that.
- 639 With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- Chairman Nadler. Who else? Does anyone else seek
- 641 recognition? Gentlewoman from Georgia, Mrs. McBath?
- Mrs. McBath. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- Chairman Nadler. For what purpose does the gentlelady
- 644 seek recognition?
- Mrs. McBath. I move to strike the last word.
- Chairman Nadler. The gentlelady is recognized.
- Mrs. McBath. I want to thank our colleague, Republican
- 648 colleague, for withdrawing his amendment, but I would like to
- 649 say that I know the Emmett Till family very intimately, have
- 650 spent many hours, days, and months in their presence.
- 651 Despite what the history books will say, I do want to clarify
- 652 that Emmett Till was not whistling at the white woman, as it
- 653 was supposed. He was using whistling as a coping mechanism
- 654 that his mother had given him in instances when he was under

- 655 stress or having, you know, emotional stresses. So the
- 656 history books will never truly tell the truth, but I am here
- 657 to clarify today as having great conversations with the
- 658 Emmett Till family. And I would like it to be noted on the
- 659 record that Emmett Till was not whistling at the white woman,
- 660 as the history books purport, but he was using whistling as a
- 661 coping mechanism. So thank you very much.
- Ms. Jackson Lee. Will the gentlelady yield?
- Mrs. McBath. I yield the balance of my time. Thank
- 664 you.
- Ms. Jackson Lee. No, not the balance. I am over here,
- 666 congresswoman.
- Mrs. McBath. I yield to the congresswoman.
- Ms. Jackson Lee. Yes. I just want to thank you. That
- 669 is an enormous piece to put on the record today.
- And I think I would like to say as well that whistling,
- 671 period, is not a crime. It is not unconstitutional. It is
- 672 not disallowed. And so there is no reason that anyone loses
- 673 their life in the brutal manner that he did as a child to
- 674 whistle in any way that he may have done so. He was a child.
- 675 And I don't believe he was capable of whistling at anyone in
- 676 any manner that would have been untoward.
- But I thank you. We have likewise, not in the way that
- 678 you have, but the family has been here to the Congress, and
- 679 we honor them. And we thank you again for your record-

680 changing remarks that will now be in the history books.

- And might I yield back to you and thank you.
- Mrs. McBath. Thank you.
- And I yield the balance of my time. Thank you.
- Chairman Nadler. For what purpose does the gentleman
- from Tennessee seek recognition?
- 686 Mr. Cohen. Strike the last word.
- 687 Chairman Nadler. The gentleman is recognized.
- 688 Mr. Cohen. Thank you, sir.
- I want to thank Congresswoman Bass for her good
- 690 reflection of the history of this awful act and her
- 691 encouragement of people to come to the African American
- 692 Museum, where there is the whole story from slavery through
- 693 to today. And there is an exhibit on Emmett Till there that
- 694 is very graphic and emotional.
- But I also want to encourage people to go to Montgomery,
- 696 Alabama. Bryan Stevenson is an outstanding American lawyer,
- 697 and he has an Equal Justice Initiative there. They have a
- 698 museum, and they have a memorial to the victims of lynching.
- 699 It is an effective means of teaching people about how many
- 700 lynchings there were. There were about 4,000 throughout the
- 701 South and, give or take, 300 in other parts of the country.
- 702 Lynching was a terrorist act by people who wanted to make the
- 703 South great again.
- 704 Paralleling the lynching was the erection of statues

- 705 memorializing the leaders of the Confederacy. In my
- 706 hometown, it included a slave trader, a soldier but a slave
- 707 trader. And that statue was recently taken down, but still
- 708 people are fighting it. They are still fighting to keep that
- 709 statue. But these were parallel movements to make the South
- 710 great again because they didn't accept the results of the
- 711 Civil War. They didn't accept the Civil War amendments to
- 712 the Constitution.
- 713 And this is long in coming but appropriate. I thank the
- 714 sponsor, and I look forward to passing it and seeing it
- 715 become law.
- 716 I yield back the balance of my time.
- 717 Chairman Nadler. For what purpose does the gentlelady
- 718 from Pennsylvania seek recognition?
- 719 Ms. Dean. To strike the last word.
- 720 Chairman Nadler. The gentlelady is recognized.
- 721 Ms. Dean. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I thank the
- 722 gentleman for withdrawing his amendment.
- 723 I, too, had the chance to visit the National Memorial
- 724 for Peace and Justice this past year with Representative John
- 725 Lewis and a cohort of our colleagues and people who were
- 726 there at the time of the crossing of the bridge. One woman
- 727 spoke to us. She was I think only eight at the time she
- 728 crossed the bridge. But we had the chance to go to what is
- 729 informally known as the national lynching memorial. It is

- 730 breathtaking. As my husband and I walked through it, he
- 731 said, "Every American should come here. Everyone should
- 732 understand our history because those who cannot remember the
- 733 past are condemned to repeat it." So it is a powerful
- 734 memorial to create a single memorial to the victims of white
- 735 supremacy in the United States who suffered the grievous
- 736 atrocities of lynching. Those who cannot remember are
- 737 condemned to repeat it. So I support this legislation. It
- 738 is long overdue.
- 739 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield the remainder.
- 740 Chairman Nadler. Does anyone else seek recognition?
- 741 A reporting quorum being present, the question is on the
- 742 motion to report the bill, H.R. 35, favorably to the House.
- 743 Those in favor, say aye?
- 744 Those opposed, no?
- 745 The ayes have it. And the bill is ordered reported
- 746 favorably to the House.
- Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 677, the 21st
- 748 Century President Act, for purposes of markup and move that
- 749 the committee report the bill favorably to the House.
- 750 The clerk will report the bill.
- 751 Ms. Strasser. H.R. 677, to amend gendered terms in
- 752 Federal law relating to the President and the President's
- 753 spouse.
- 754 Chairman Nadler. Without objection, the bill is

755 considered as read and open for amendment at any point.

756 [The bill follows:]

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758 Chairman Nadler. I will begin by recognizing myself for

- 759 an opening statement.
- 760 H.R. 677, the 21st Century President Act, modernizes
- 761 current law criminalizing threats against former Presidents
- 762 and their families by removing gendered terms from the
- 763 statute. It makes no substantive change in the law.
- 764 This provision, section 879 of Title 18, was enacted in
- 765 1982, in the aftermath of John Hinckley, Jr.'s attempt on the
- 766 life of then President Ronald Reagan. Section 879 makes it
- 767 unlawful to threaten to kill, kidnap, or inflict bodily harm
- 768 upon a former President, President-elect, or vice president-
- 769 elect, or a major candidate for president, or vice President,
- 770 or their "immediate family" member.
- 771 The statute, however, defines immediate family with
- 772 terms such as "wife," "her," and "widow," which presumes the
- 773 President will always be a man married to a woman. When the
- 1774 law was enacted, in using these terms, Congress did not
- account for issues of gender equality, an area in which we
- 776 have made important, though incomplete, progress.
- At present, one member of the LGBTQ community and six
- 778 women have declared themselves to be candidates for the
- 779 presidency. Whether or not any one of these candidates is
- 780 nominated or elected, it is clear that the terminology in the
- 781 statute is outdated and should be changed to refer to the
- 782 spouse of a former President.

- 783 I want to thank Representative Mark Pocan for
- 784 identifying this anachronism in the law and for introducing
- 785 this bill to rectify it. H.R. 677 will indeed take this law
- 786 into the 21st Century.
- 787 Therefore, I support this bill, and I urge my colleagues
- 788 to do the same. I now recognize the ranking member of the
- 789 Judiciary Committee, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Collins,
- 790 for his opening statement.
- 791 Mr. Collins. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. At this point,
- 792 again, as you have sort of stated in this bill, this is a
- 793 change of language I think that updates the code in this. I
- 794 would not oppose this legislation, but I think as we look at
- 795 this as we go forward, I think this is -- you know, as
- 796 somebody who wants to look forward to it, look forward to it,
- 797 I will support it and yield back.
- 798 Chairman Nadler. Thank you, Mr. Collins.
- 799 Without objection, all other opening statements will be
- 800 included in the record. Are there any amendments to H.R.
- 801 677?
- A reporting quorum being present, the question is on the
- 803 motion to report the bill, H.R. 677, favorably to the House.
- 804 Those in favor, say aye?
- Those opposed, no?
- The ayes have it. And the bill is ordered reported
- 807 favorably to the House. Members will have two days to submit

- 808 views.
- Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 1569, a bill to
- 810 amend Title 28, United States Code to add Flagstaff and Yuma
- 811 to the list of locations in which court shall be held in the
- 812 judicial district for the State of Arizona. For purposes of
- 813 markup, I would move that the committee report the bill
- 814 favorably to the House.
- The clerk will report the bill.
- Ms. Strasser. H.R. 1569, to amend Title 28, United
- 817 States Code to add Flagstaff and Yuma to the list of
- 818 locations in which court shall be held in a judicial district
- 819 in the State of Arizona. .
- 820 Chairman Nadler. Without objection, the bill is
- 821 considered as read and open for amendment at any point.
- 822 [The bill follows:]

823

S24 Chairman Nadler. I will begin by recognizing myself for an opening statement.

- H.R. 1569 would add Flagstaff and Yuma to the list of
- 827 locations in which court may be held in the judicial district
- 828 for the State of Arizona. So Flagstaff would have, in
- 829 addition to a world-famous astronomical observatory, a
- 830 courthouse. This legislation, introduced by Congressman Tom
- 831 O'Halleran of Arizona, has the support of every Member of the
- 832 Arizona Congressional delegation, including our colleagues
- 833 Mr. Stanton, Mr. Biggs, and Mrs. Lesko.
- Access to justice is fundamental to the rule of law, and
- 835 this straightforward bipartisan legislation will bring
- 836 Arizona's U.S. district judges closer to the communities they
- 837 serve. Currently, by statute, the United States district
- 838 court for the District of Arizona may hold court in four
- 839 cities: Globe, Phoenix, Prescott, and Tucson. But Arizona's
- 840 population has changed significantly in the 71 years since
- 841 that statute was enacted in 1948. The population of Yuma,
- 842 for example, has increased tenfold, and the population of
- 843 Flagstaff has increased almost as much. Today, litigants in
- 844 those parts of the State have to drive for hours to the
- 845 nearest courthouse where a Federal district judge is
- 846 permitted to sit.
- 847 For example, someone living on the Navajo Nation Indian
- 848 reservation currently has to drive four to five hours to the

849 Federal courthouse in Prescott. Their trip would be nearly

- 850 half that if they could go to Flagstaff instead.
- This commonsense bill remedies that problem by adding to
- 852 the United States Code Flagstaff and Yuma as locations where
- 853 district court judges may hear cases. Implementing the bill
- 854 will be as simple as its text as both of these sites already
- 855 host Federal courthouses where these judges can hear cases.
- I want to thank Mr. Stanton for his strong advocacy for
- 857 this legislation as well as the efforts of Mr. Biggs and Mrs.
- 858 Lesko. I am pleased to support this bipartisan legislation,
- 859 and I urge my colleagues to do so as well.
- I now recognize the ranking member of the Judiciary
- 861 Committee, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Collins, for his
- 862 opening statement.
- 863 Mr. Collins. Thanks, Chairman Nadler. And thanks for
- 864 this bipartisan piece of legislation. As you have thanked
- 865 the Arizona delegation, I think this is a great way to come
- 866 together.
- And this is a useful piece of legislation. It actually
- 868 takes into account the changes that have happened in some of
- 869 our judicial circuits, Arizona being particularly one,
- 870 especially in the population increases in Flagstaff and Yuma.
- 871 They become important to the business of the legal community,
- 872 as you laid out. This would actually help access to courts
- 873 and also cut down on travel time as we go forward in this.

874 This legislation will make better use I think of the judicial

- 875 and attorney resources, make better use to serve the public
- 876 by allowing the district court judges to hear the cases in
- 877 existing Federal courthouses in Flagstaff and Yuma, with
- 878 minimal, if any, additional administrative costs.
- Again, I congratulate the Arizona delegation for coming
- 880 together and highly recommend this and yield back.
- 881 Chairman Nadler. Thank you, Mr. Collins.
- Without objection, all other opening statements will be
- 883 included in the record.
- For what purpose does the gentleman from Arizona seek
- 885 recognition?
- Mr. Stanton. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I move
- 887 to strike the last word.
- Chairman Nadler. The last word is duly struck, and the
- 889 gentleman is recognized.
- Mr. Stanton. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- I am very happy to see this Judiciary Committee move
- 892 forward with H.R. 1569, a bipartisan bill that will add the
- 893 cities of Flagstaff and Yuma to the list of locations in
- 894 which district court can be held in my home State of Arizona.
- 895 It has the full support of our Arizona delegation, including
- 896 my colleagues on the Judiciary Committee, Congressman Biggs
- 897 and Congresswoman Lesko.
- 898 Currently district court-related matters can only be

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held in Globe, Phoenix, Prescott, and Tucson, even though 900 both Flagstaff and Yuma have Federal courthouses. At the 901 moment, these courthouses have magistrate judges that oversee 902 judicial and law enforcement activity, but they cannot 903 oversee criminal trials and cases. H.R. 1569 would change 904 this. Under the current structure, Flagstaff and Yuma area 905 residents have to travel long distances for district court 906 proceedings. If a Yuma resident needs to attend a hearing or 907 to report for jury duty, they have to travel 195 miles to 908 Phoenix. A Flagstaff resident would have to travel almost 909 100 miles to Prescott. We can do better. 910 Access to courts, whether we are talking about a 911 physical local or reducing cost barriers to our court system, 912 is critical to protect the American people's constitutional 913 rights to equal protection and due process under law. Access 914 to justice should not be dictated by where you live. 915 I am proud to support H.R. 1569 because it will have a 916 tremendous impact on the residents in these parts of our 917 State. Simply put, this is a commonsense action that will 918 make our court system in Arizona more efficient. 919 I yield back. 920 Chairman Nadler. Thank you. 921 Are there any amendments to H.R. 1569? 922 A reporting quorum being present, the question is on the

motion to report the bill, H.R. 1569, favorably to the House.

924 Those in favor, say aye?

- 925 Opposed, no?
- 926 The ayes have it. And the bill is ordered reported
- 927 favorably to the House. Members will have two days to submit
- 928 views.
- 929 Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 2368, the
- 930 Supporting and Treating Officers in Crisis Act of 2019, for
- 931 purposes of markup and move that the committee report the
- 932 bill favorably to the House.
- 933 The clerk will report the bill.
- 934 Ms. Strasser. H.R. 2368, to amend the Omnibus Crime
- 935 Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to expand support for
- 936 police officer family services, stress reduction, and suicide
- 937 prevention, and for other purposes.
- 938 Chairman Nadler. Without objection, the bill is
- 939 considered as read and open for amendment at any point.
- 940 [The bill follows:]

Othairman Nadler. I will begin by recognizing myself for an opening statement.

- 944 H.R. 2368, the Supporting and Treating Officers in 945 Crisis Act of 2019, would provide important mental health and 946 suicide prevention services to law enforcement officers. The 947 bill would modify an existing but expired authorized program 948 that provides support services to families of law enforcement 949 officers by including services directly targeted at law 950 enforcement officers themselves. This measure would also 951 reauthorize the program, would expand the range of services 952 that can be offered, and would authorize funding of up to 953 \$7.5 million for each of the next 4 fiscal years to fund both 954 family and law enforcement mental health programs. 955 Every day, we rely on the law enforcement community to 956
  - keep our neighborhoods safe. Doing so is not easy. The work of law enforcement can be highly stressful. It often exposes those charged with upholding the law to dangerous and challenging circumstances. The American people set high standards for the law enforcement community, and the vast majority of officers do so honorably and selflessly.

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- Yesterday's hearing on the reauthorization of the 9/11

  Victim Compensation Fund was a reminder of the heroism and

  sacrifice our Nation's law enforcement officers are often

  called to muster.
- 966 The impact of day-to-day patrolling on law enforcement

967 officers, especially in the aftermath of a catastrophic 968 event, is profound. Studies consistently show that law 969 enforcement officers have above-average stress levels in 970 their jobs. In their daily duties, 83 percent of officers 971 report dealing with calls for service involving family 972 disputes and crisis situations. Even more straining, 27 973 percent of officers report arriving to a scene with a dead or 974 battered child. 975 Given these daily rigors, it comes as no surprise that 976 the mental health consequences for officers are pervasive. 977 One study found that 7 percent of the officers sampled met 978 the criteria for PTSD, or post-traumatic stress disorder. 979 The Centers for Disease Control concluded that the rate of 980 suicides among workers in protective services, those who are 981 employed in law enforcement and firefighting, is 50 percent 982 higher than the national average. 983 Officer suicides in 2017 and 2018 exceeded the number of 984 officers killed in the line of duty from homicides, traffic 985 accidents, and other causes. The status quo cannot persist. 986 Unlike other recent efforts, this bill directs the 987 attorney general to provide grants that would direct mental 988 health services to law enforcement officers and their 989 families. This initiative includes evidence-based programs 990 to reduce stress, prevent suicide, and promote mental health. 991 Recipients of this grant may also use funds to establish

992 suicide prevention hotlines and develop programs to provide

- 993 specialized training to provide treatment to officers in
- 994 crisis, or who are contemplating suicide.
- I thank our colleagues, the gentleman from Pennsylvania,
- 996 Mr. Reschenthaler, and the gentlelady from Pennsylvania, Ms.
- 997 Dean, for championing this effort and introducing this
- 998 bipartisan bill. I support this important legislation, and I
- 999 urge its adoption.
- 1000 I now recognize the ranking member of the Judiciary
- 1001 Committee, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Collins, for his
- 1002 opening statement.
- 1003 Mr. Collins. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for bringing this
- 1004 today.
- 1005 And H.R. 2368, the Supporting and Treating Officers in
- 1006 Crisis, or the STOIC, Act of 2019, it is a bipartisan and
- 1007 bicameral measure. It is long overdue and should be passed
- 1008 by this body and sent to the President's desk for signature.
- 1009 In 2018, at least 159 officers died by suicide, almost 10
- 1010 percent more than the total number of line-of-duty deaths,
- 1011 resulting from 15 other causes, such as felonious assault,
- 1012 patrol vehicle accident, heart attack, and duty-related
- 1013 illness, among others.
- 1014 If enacted, the STOIC Act would expand the statutory
- 1015 language of preexisting family support grant programs to
- 1016 ensure that they support suicide prevention efforts, mental

1017 health screenings, and training to identify officers who are

- 1018 at risk for suicide. It would also appropriate \$7.5 million
- 1019 for the next 5 years for these programs. Unfortunately,
- 1020 these programs have gone underfunded for nearly two decades.
- 1021 The numbers I mentioned earlier indicate the trend needs to
- 1022 end and end now.
- 1023 An identical bill unanimously passed the Senate last
- 1024 month. This legislation is supported by numerous law
- 1025 enforcement groups. And I would urge my colleagues to vote
- 1026 in favor of this bill so that we may move it expeditiously to
- 1027 the President's desk.
- 1028 And I yield back.
- 1029 Chairman Nadler. Thank you, Mr. Collins.
- 1030 Without objection, all other opening statements will be
- 1031 included in the record. Are there any amendments to H.R.
- 1032 2368? Does anyone --
- 1033 Mr. Reschenthaler. Mr. Chairman, can I move to strike
- 1034 the last word?
- 1035 Chairman Nadler. For what purpose does the gentleman
- 1036 from Pennsylvania seek recognition?
- 1037 Mr. Reschenthaler. To strike the last word.
- 1038 Chairman Nadler. The gentleman is recognized.
- 1039 Mr. Reschenthaler. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am
- 1040 extremely grateful that this committee is considering the
- 1041 STOIC Act today. And I would like to thank the chairman and

1042 the ranking member for all the support you have given this

- 1043 bill.
- 1044 I also want to thank my fellow Pennsylvanian,
- 1045 Congresswoman Dean, for partnering with me to introduce this
- 1046 critical legislation. She is truly dedicated to improving
- 1047 mental health treatment across our Nation. So thank you.
- 1048 According to the national study of police suicides, law
- 1049 enforcement officers are two and a half times more likely to
- 1050 die from suicide than homicides. This is a sobering
- 1051 statistic that means that officers are more likely to die
- 1052 from suicide than in the line of duty.
- 1053 Law enforcement officers put their lives on the line
- 1054 every day to protect communities. These men and women
- 1055 routinely endure extremely stressful situations. Yet, the
- 1056 Federal Government does little to address the consequences of
- 1057 this taxing work. This stress can cause post-traumatic
- 1058 stress. It has resulted in a suicide rate that is 50 percent
- 1059 higher than the national average.
- 1060 The STOIC Act is bipartisan. It is legislation that
- 1061 will reform and expand an existing grant program to better
- 1062 address the mental health and support needs of law
- 1063 enforcement officers, especially as it relates to suicide
- 1064 prevention.
- I am very proud to work with Congresswoman Dean to
- 1066 support police officers and their families. It is time for

1067 us to take care of those who take care of us. So I urge my

- 1068 colleagues to support the STOIC Act.
- 1069 Thank you again, Mr. Chairman. I yield back the balance
- 1070 of my time.
- 1071 Chairman Nadler. The gentleman yields back. For what
- 1072 purpose does the gentlelady from Pennsylvania seek
- 1073 recognition?
- 1074 Ms. Dean. To strike the last word.
- 1075 Chairman Nadler. Ms. Dean? Ms. Dean?
- Ms. Dean. Yes.
- 1077 Chairman Nadler. The gentlelady is recognized.
- 1078 Ms. Dean. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I thank you
- 1079 very much for bringing forward before our committee this
- 1080 important bill, H.R. 2368, a bill that will change and save
- 1081 lives. It is the Supporting and Treating Officers in Crisis,
- 1082 or STOIC, Act. It responds to a growing emergency in law
- 1083 enforcement and in their entire community.
- 1084 Studies show that law enforcement officers face a wide
- 1085 range of stressors, including responding to violent crime;
- 1086 managing crisis situations; and, as 77 percent of officers
- 1087 have reported, dealing with insufficient department support
- 1088 for their mission. This stress has dreadful consequences.
- 1089 Studies indicate that one in four officers report stress-
- 1090 based physical health. And 1 in 14 meet the criteria for
- 1091 PTSD.

1092 Suicide among our law enforcement community is rising at 1093 a troubling rate. The CDC reported in 2016, the suicide rate 1094 in this community is 50 percent higher than the national 1095 average. In recent years, the number of law enforcement 1096 officers who have died by suicide has even surpassed the 1097 numbers killed in the line of duty, as my colleague just 1098 reported. According to Blue Health, we lost 142 officers to 1099 suicide in 2016. Last year, that number jumped to 167 1100 compared to 144 who were, sadly, lost in the line of duty. 1101 Officers in crisis need our support. The STOIC Act will 1102 reform and expand existing grant programs to better address 1103 mental health, establishing suicide prevention programs and 1104 offering aid to officers' families. Our law enforcement 1105 officers are true public servants. It is time we provide 1106 them with the support they deserve. 1107 I thank my colleague and fellow Pennsylvanian, 1108 Congressman Reschenthaler. I admire your passion. I admire 1109 your leadership on this bipartisan bill. It has been a 1110 pleasure to partner with you and your whole team, for that 1111 matter, on an issue that we both care deeply about. Again, I 1112 admire your passion for the police officers and their 1113 families and their mental health. I look forward to working 1114 with you on this. 1115 Mr. Chairman, I thank you for moving this important bill 1116 forward. And I urge all members to support it. I yield the

- 1117 remainder of my time.
- 1118 Chairman Nadler. For what purpose does the gentlelady
- 1119 from Pennsylvania seek recognition?
- 1120 Ms. Scanlon. I move to strike the last word.
- 1121 Chairman Nadler. The gentlelady is recognized.
- 1122 Ms. Scanlon. I wanted to thank my Pennsylvania
- 1123 colleagues for moving this legislation. It is such an
- 1124 important issue across the country, but we know it is in
- 1125 Pennsylvania.
- There is similar legislation moving through our State
- 1127 legislature now, and it is being co-led by one of our
- 1128 colleagues from my district, Jen O'Mara, who was just elected
- 1129 to our State house. Jen lost her father, a firefighter, to
- 1130 suicide about 15 years ago, so knows firsthand how that
- 1131 impacts a family and the need for services in that realm. I
- 1132 just wanted to quote her on something she said in a hearing
- 1133 just this week, "Our first responders are heroes, yes, but
- 1134 they are not superheroes unable to feel."
- 1135 So I really appreciate this effort to move this
- 1136 legislation forward, and I yield back.
- 1137 Chairman Nadler. A reporting quorum being present, the
- 1138 question is on the motion to report the bill, H.R. 2368,
- 1139 favorably to the House.
- 1140 Those in favor, say aye?
- 1141 Opposed, no?

- The ayes have it. And the bill is ordered reported
- 1143 favorably to the House. Members will have two days to submit
- 1144 their views.
- 1145 Pursuant to notice, I now call up H.R. 1986, the
- 1146 Effective Prosecution of Possession of Biological Toxins and
- 1147 Agents Act of 2019, for purposes of markup and move that the
- 1148 committee report the bill favorably to the House.
- 1149 The clerk will report the bill.
- Ms. Strasser. H.R. 1986, to amend section 175b of Title
- 1151 18, United States Code, to correct a scrivener's error.
- 1152 Chairman Nadler. Without objection, the bill is
- 1153 considered as read and open for amendment at any point.
- 1154 [The bill follows:]
- 1155

1156 Chairman Nadler. I will begin by recognizing myself for

- 1157 an opening statement.
- 1158 H.R. 1986, the Effective Prosecution of Biological
- 1159 Toxins and Agents Act of 2019, would correct a scrivener's
- 1160 error that has unintentionally resulted in an incomplete list
- 1161 of biological toxins and agents that are prohibited under the
- 1162 law. I support this important bill, introduced by the
- 1163 gentleman from Texas, Mr. Ratcliffe, the ranking member of
- 1164 the Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security,
- 1165 because it will help ensure the safety of our citizens and
- 1166 our Nation.
- In 1990, Congress imposed criminal penalties with
- 1168 respect to the development, production, stockpiling,
- 1169 transfer, acquisition, retention, or possession of any
- 1170 biological agents, toxins, or delivery systems for uses of
- 1171 weapons.
- In 2001, Congress went even further then in Sections
- 1173 175(b) to Title 18 to criminalize the possession by
- 1174 unregistered individuals or restricted persons of certain
- 1175 biological agents that are termed "select agents" determined
- 1176 to be such by the Secretary of Health and Human Services. A
- 1177 person found guilty under Section 175(b) can be imprisoned
- 1178 for up to 10 years.
- 1179 When Congress originally enacted Section 175(b) and its
- 1180 subsequent amendments, we referred to specific sections of

the Code of Federal Regulations that included a list of
number of biological agents and toxins.

We last amended Section 175(b) in 2004. After that, HHS

reformatted some sections of the Code of Federal Regulations and inadvertently rendered the references in Section 175(b)

1186 incomplete. 1187 One of the select agents that was accidentally left off 1188 the list of prohibited substances is ricin, a poison found in 1189 castor beans. Ricin is inexpensive, easy to make, and very 1190 toxic. This result, the consequence of a drafting error, is 1191 clearly not what Congress intended. Unfortunately, there 1192 have already been real-life consequences for this error. 1193 Last September, for example, the District Court for the 1194 Northern District of Georgia dismissed the indictment against 1195 William Christopher Gibbs, a self-avowed white supremacist, 1196 who was charged with the unregistered possession of ricin. 1197 In dismissing the Gibbs indictment, the Court stated, 1198 "It appreciates the potential dangers associated with 1199 individuals possessing potentially hazardous agents and 1200 toxins without permission to do so. Equally though, the 1201 Court takes very seriously the principle that citizens ought 1202 to have fair and clear warning of the conduct for which they

can be held criminally responsible. It falls to Congress to

write criminal laws or to amend them if they yield unfair or

unwanted results. The role of the courts, on the other hand,

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1206 is limited to fairly reading and applying the laws Congress

- 1207 writes, not to change them."
- 1208 The Senate has already done its job by passing an
- 1209 identical version of H.R. 1986. It is now our turn. The
- 1210 possession and distribution of ricin is dangerous and should
- 1211 be included in the current statute as we had intended. This
- 1212 legislation corrects this error and its unintended but
- 1213 serious consequences.
- 1214 I thank the gentleman from Texas for introducing this
- 1215 bill and I urge all of my colleagues to support it.
- 1216 I now recognize the Ranking Member of the Judiciary
- 1217 Committee, the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Collins, for his
- 1218 opening statement.
- 1219 Mr. Collins. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I do
- 1220 appreciate my friend from Texas, Mr. Ratcliffe, for
- 1221 introducing this legislation which I am a co-sponsor of.
- 1222 And as you have said, H.R. 1986 fixes a technical but
- 1223 important error in the Federal Code and current law makes a
- 1224 crime for certain restricted persons to possess a biological
- 1225 agent or toxin listed as a selected agent by the HHS
- 1226 Secretary.
- 1227 Several years ago, the HHS reformed its regulations
- 1228 which caused certain toxins, including ricin, to not be
- 1229 covered by the Criminal Code, and now we are actually seeing
- 1230 the effects of that error and individuals who would otherwise

1231 be guilty of a crime under the registered possession of ricin 1232 have been moving to dismiss and federal prosecutors, having 1233 already argued that this is a scrivener's error, have been 1234 stymied, and as you made mention, in my district of Northeast 1235 Georgia, the Gibbs case has showed that. I think the Court 1236 was very plain in that. 1237 It is Congress's job to fix the problem it created in 1238 federal law and that is what we are doing here today. I 1239 support the bill and yield back. 1240 Chairman Nadler. Thank you, Mr. Collins. 1241 Without objection, all other opening statements will be 1242 included in the record.

[The information follows:]

1243

1245 Chairman Nadler. Are there any amendments to the bill?

- Does anyone seek recognition?
- 1247 Well, the reporting quorum being present, the question
- 1248 is on the motion to report the Bill 1986 favorably to the
- 1249 House.
- 1250 Those in favor, say aye.
- 1251 Those opposed, no.
- 1252 The ayes have it and the bill is ordered reported
- 1253 favorably to the House.
- 1254 Members will have two days to submit views.
- 1255 This concludes our business for today. Thank you to all
- 1256 our members for attending.
- 1257 Without objection, the markup is adjourned.
- 1258 [Whereupon, at 11:19 a.m., the committee was adjourned.]