

stand up for them. Rest in peace, my friend. My thoughts and prayers are with your family, with our friends, and with the people of Nevada whose lives were touched because of you. God bless you.

60 YEARS AFTER BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2013, the gentleman from Nevada (Mr. HORSFORD) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. HORSFORD. Mr. Speaker, 60 years ago, America was a country entrenched in inequality. Whites and African Americans were treated as two separate classes. Our society's education system, perhaps our most influential and important institution for future success, kept White and Black children separate and wholly unequal.

Then, in 1954, the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. The Board of Education*, argued and won by the legendary Justice Thurgood Marshall, reweave the fabric of our divided Nation, and moved our country down the path towards the civil rights victories of the 1960s. The decision was, according to Sherrilyn Ifill, the current president of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund:

The beginning of the end of legal apartheid in the United States.

Laws of the Jim Crow that were intentionally designed to ensure that Blacks and Whites were not treated equally were finally questioned by our Nation's highest courts. The dream of a country where all men are created equal and treated equally under the law became a potential reality.

But it would still take decades of tireless activism by multiple generations of civil rights leaders and organizers to get us where we are today. *Brown v. The Board of Education*, this decision was the first step toward a reality of equality and was a drastic change for a court that had previously been detrimental to past civil rights actions and cases.

So we are here today as the Congressional Black Caucus to reflect on America's 60 years after the *Brown v. The Board of Education* decision. What impacts have we seen and what challenges still remain with achieving a society that truly lives up to the 14th Amendment's equal protection under the law clause? What steps must still be taken to achieve a society that lives up to the dream of the civil rights movement, where the color of one's skin does not determine their ability to succeed?

Mr. Speaker, tonight, I am proud to be joined by colleagues who have been part of this effort, this ongoing effort towards realizing the full potential of what the *Brown* decision means for every single child in America.

I would like to yield first to the gentleman from Virginia, Representative

BOBBY SCOTT, my good friend, who has been a champion for working families and who recently was part of a forum at George Mason University talking about the issue of the *Brown* decision and where we are today.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Nevada for calling this special occasion to give us the opportunity to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Supreme Court case of *Brown v. The Board of Education*.

As a representative from Virginia, I take personal pride in celebrating this anniversary because Virginia played such a prominent role in that case. In fact, one of the four cases that were combined into the *Brown* decision was *Davis v. School Board of Prince Edward County*, in Virginia. Two of the Nation's premier constitutional lawyers were involved in the case: Oliver Hill and Spottswood Robinson, both from Virginia.

In the *Brown* decision, the United States Supreme Court unanimously struck down the legal footing for racial segregation in public schools in this country. The decision overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson*, a 1996 case that held that a State could maintain separate but equal public accommodations.

In *Brown*, the court highlighted the importance of education and language that still rings true today. The court said:

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of State and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the Armed Forces. It is a very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument and a awakening your child to cultural values in preparing him for later professional training and helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the State has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

The court then concluded that:

In the field of public education, the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

Unfortunately, although the decision was a victory for minority students, not everyone was eager to comply. Virginia led the resistance to the *Brown* decision. Ironically, Virginia used the language in the *Brown* decision as its legal grounds for what they called *Massive Resistance*, where it said such an opportunity, where a State has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made to all on equal terms.

Virginia reasoned that it could avoid integrating the schools by having no schools at all. So, in Prince Edward County, they closed the schools for several years. Schools were also closed in Norfolk and Front Royal and Charlottesville. We overcame *Massive Resistance* after several years and those schools eventually reopened.

But now here we are six decades after *Brown*. Thankfully, we have made progress, but we still have work to do.

□ 1930

The promise of equal educational opportunities envisioned by *Brown* remains unfulfilled.

For example, equal educational opportunity does not occur when one jurisdiction spends substantially more per student than an adjacent jurisdiction because of the relative differences in wealth between the two jurisdictions.

Unequal funding results in unequal educational opportunities when you consider that studies have shown that one-half of low-income students who are qualified to attend college do not attend because they can't afford to. In fact, today, a high-income, low-achieving student is more likely to attend college than a high-achieving, low-income student.

Another example of educational inequality is the current debate over publicly financed school vouchers, which can be used at private schools, which might provide educational opportunities to a privileged few, but which would definitely deprive the public schools of desperately needed resources.

The supporters of vouchers frequently claim that this is a choice, when, actually, all it is is a chance. If you win the lottery, you have a chance to go to the private schools, but if you lose the lottery, then you are stuck in the public schools, with fewer resources, because all of the money is spent on vouchers.

Obviously, we have a lot of work to do to complete the promise of the *Brown* decision. The 60th anniversary of the decision offers us an opportunity to rededicate ourselves to achieving these lofty ideals.

Again, I want to thank the gentleman from Nevada for the opportunity to speak.

Mr. HORSFORD. I thank the gentleman from Virginia.

Thank you for your historical frame on this important subject on the 60th anniversary of the *Brown* decision.

Mr. Speaker, I would next like to yield to a true champion for working families in his district and for people all across this country, a fighter for average, everyday working people and for children who deserve a quality education. He is the gentleman from New York, Representative CHARLIE RANGEL.

Mr. RANGEL. Let me really thank the gentleman from Nevada for constantly reminding us of what a great country we live in and how it can be so improved.

Mr. Speaker, in having fought in the war—screaming and yelling and complaining, but recognizing how great this Nation is—it was an opportunity to say thank you for the blessings that have been bestowed on this Nation and to think about those who drafted a constitution that didn't include slaves or women or people who didn't hold land.

Yet they drafted a document that was flexible enough for us to be able to say that that great Statue of Liberty meant that we would bring talents from all over the world to come to make us the largest democracy and the strongest military and the greatest economic force in the world; and we have done that because we have always felt that, no matter what your background is, if you could get here, you could make it here.

When we talk about the Brown decision, nobody ever thought that, in just sitting next to White folks or to Black folks, that we were going to get a better education.

What we tried to overcome in our schools is that nobody of color who picked cotton or who fought in the battlefields—who had as high a patriotic record as any other group of people—would not be able to be denied the opportunity to participate in the economic growth of this country.

If individuals succeed in this country, it means communities succeed in this country. When that happens, the Nation succeeds.

When the flag is saying the United States of America, there is no color involved or language involved in basically what people think. They know that we have been able to bring together a gorgeous mosaic; but if because of color—if just because of color—you associate it with poverty and a lack of education and a lack of decent housing, then this is a cancer that we must not only talk about, but that really prevents America from being all that she can be.

Recently, a person in the other body thought that the political opposition to President Obama was based on his color. Most of us know there is no question about it. Most of us know that there are still parts of this great Nation where people never believed that the Union Army prevailed and that President Lincoln was a true patriot. Some of those people hate our President with the same hatred with which they hated Abraham Lincoln.

The truth of the matter is that more and more people of color are coming to this country. What will bind them—what will make us stronger—is that they be educated, that they be able to get into the middle class, that they be able to prosper.

The Brown decision merely said that a person, an American, who is being denied an equal opportunity to get an education is being denied due process. It is like sending a person to the wars without a rifle, without the resources to negotiate saving his life and to destroy the enemy.

We are not talking just about doing the right thing. You cannot love this country if you are not going to be prepared to educate everybody in this country. It is going to take more than a Court decision, especially this present Court.

It is going to take this generation to stop teaching their kids to hate people because of their color, because if you leave it up to kids, if you really just put them together and see how much they laugh and joke, they will not be aware that somebody, somewhere, had some poison—venom—that said that variations in color meant that there were variations in respect and support.

I think that the Congressional Black Caucus and especially you, the gentleman from Nevada, are the patriots that we have today with the willingness to tolerate the indifference and the lack of sensitivity to our need, but also with the willingness to work and to come together and make certain that color does not take away from our mutual respect and from our ability to gain the tools that would allow us to make the maximum contribution to this great country.

I thank the gentleman for this opportunity, not only to salute those who drafted the Constitution, but who made it flexible enough for people they never thought to be able to participate and really make it work for all of us. Thank you so much.

Mr. HORSFORD. I thank the gentleman from New York.

Thank you for your wisdom and your sage advice and for challenging us, even today, to remember what the Brown decision is all about, and that is for people to truly be treated equally, not on the basis of race.

We know, based on where we are today in America—though there are some who want to say we live in a postracial society—when you look at the outcomes of young people based on where they are from, clearly, we have not lived up to the full promise of what Brown has intended. So thank you for your advice and for participating in this Special Order hour.

I would like to turn now to the chairman of the Progressive Caucus here in the House. He is a great man with great vision, Representative KEITH ELLISON from Minnesota.

Mr. ELLISON. Thank you, Congressman HORSFORD, and thank you for leading this Special Order on Brown v. The Board of Education.

Mr. Speaker, I think it can be safely argued that there is really no more important Supreme Court decision in the history of the United States. I believe it is the most important decision.

The reason is that our country was founded on the idea that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; yet for so many years—243 years—men and women were held in bondage in this Nation that is dedicated to freedom.

American slavery—racial discrimination—stands as an indictment and as evidence of the insincerity of that fundamental promise of America. Then for another 100 years after slavery ended, for Black people to exist in a state of Jim Crow's subordination is further evidence that those original words really were not intended and really were not sincere.

Brown v. The Board of Education was a restoration. It was an attempt to say: Do you know what? We have had an ugly past in this country, and we have not lived up to our values.

We have called on freedom, and we have declared freedom, yet we have given people the opposite of freedom, which is slavery; so with Brown v. The Board of Education, the United States has begun a process of pushing the old, ugly past to the back.

I know very well we could stand up here—and we will stand up here—and talk about the mission that we have to pursue to stand up for equal education opportunities for all, but if we take a minute just to look back at what we have achieved, Brown v. The Board of Education represents a seminal moment in American history when we rejected that ugly history that was in conflict and in sharp contradiction to the principles that this country stood for.

I think it is also important, Mr. HORSFORD, to point out that Brown v. The Board of Education was not some gift that fell out of the sky. This case was fought and won by some seriously committed soldiers for justice.

I know we will talk about Thurgood Marshall here tonight quite a bit, but before Thurgood Marshall, there was a man named Charles Hamilton Houston. Charles Hamilton Houston was a brilliant man. He was a Harvard-trained lawyer and was the assistant dean of Harvard Law School.

At an early point in his career, he was offended and outraged by Jim Crow segregation, particularly in schools, so he got an old video camera, and he drove down south in his car.

He couldn't stay in a hotel because Black people were not allowed to stay in White hotels during those days. You had to sleep in your car, or maybe somebody would take you in for the night; but he took that video camera—took film and footage—and showed exactly what African American students were living through—the harsh conditions, the fact that there were all grades of students in the same classroom, the fact that the buildings were inferior, the books were outdated, the facilities were in every way inferior—and that this promise of separate but equal was anything but equal and was inherently unequal.

Charles Hamilton Houston trained up a cadre of lawyers who would take on and fight American segregation. Among those were Thurgood Marshall, but there were others as well—Spottswood Robinson. There were many other great lawyers.

Back in the day, when it was even difficult for an African American lawyer to stand up and do anything, these lawyers stood up and made the case that, in America, the ideals upon which this country were founded demanded that segregation be struck down.

These lawyers, first of all, didn't go straight to the elementary schools. First, they went to the graduate schools, and they desegregated the graduate schools. They fought against White primaries. Blacks, in some States, could vote in the general elections, but they couldn't participate in the primaries, so they had no choice in picking who was the Democrat and who was the Republican.

They took on restrictive covenant cases. They took on all types of cases. They attacked these standing monuments to segregation and beat them down. Then they got to the famous *Brown v. The Board of Education*, but Charles Hamilton Houston, a man who died at the age of 54, was not able to see the great work that his student, Thurgood Marshall, had done as they led the team to beat down segregation in public schools, but his spirit was there.

Today, as we commemorate this towering victory of defeating Jim Crow segregation in schools, we have to also commemorate the heroic figures of Charles Hamilton Houston, Thurgood Marshall, Spottswood Robinson, and of many, many more who fought these battles, these Black lawyers who fought these battles and who would not accept the status quo.

I want to commend you, Mr. HORSFORD, for leading this today; and I certainly hope that Americans all across this country, Black, White, Native American, Hispanic, Asian—of all colors and all backgrounds—will take a moment and thank those lawyers who fought to defeat segregation in America because what they literally did—and they did this for every single American of every color—is they allowed Americans to stand up and say: we do, in fact, live in the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Whereas, if we had not defeated segregation, we would have to say: we live in the land of the White free and the White brave and of the enslaved and segregated everybody else.

That is nothing to crow about. In fact, that stands as a shame on our Nation's history, but the achievement of these brave lawyers restored our Nation's honor.

□ 1945

This is why I think *Brown v. The Board of Education* is the most important case in history. I thank you for taking a moment to focus our attention on it.

Mr. HORSFORD. I thank the gentleman for reminding us of the great legal minds who contributed and helped build the case which resulted in the *Brown* decision and the fact that it took a strategic team of formidable

legal minds to come up with the right strategy that ultimately resulted in this great decision. I thank the gentleman, Representative ELLISON, for reminding us of their distinct contribution.

I would like to now turn to the gentlelady from California, Representative BARBARA LEE, who comes to this Caucus and this body with tremendous experience, working first in the community as a caseworker on behalf of people, and always keeping the focus of people in the front of the policies that we are pursuing to advance in this great institution.

I now yield to the gentlelady from California, Representative BARBARA LEE.

Ms. LEE of California. Thank you very much.

Let me thank you, Congressman HORSFORD, for that very gracious introduction and also for your continued leadership on so many fronts, especially in organizing the Congressional Black Caucus' Special Order, along with Congressman HAKEEM JEFFRIES. I really want to thank you for making sure that the theme this evening of this Special Order, the 60th anniversary of *Brown v. The Board of Education*, did not go unremarked. You are both really doing a fantastic job representing and working hard on behalf of your constituents.

I also have to say that Congresswoman MARCIA FUDGE, our fearless Congressional Black Caucus chair, really serves as an excellent steward of the conscience of the Congress.

Let me just say I was just a child, Congressman HORSFORD, in El Paso, Texas, when the Supreme Court issued its landmark decision in *Brown v. The Board of Education* on May 17, 1954. Schools were segregated when I started school. So that was in the not-so-distant past. I remember it very well.

My good friend, Congressman BETO O'ROURKE, so ably represents El Paso today. I have to tell you that the results and the impact of the Supreme Court's decision striking down the separate but equal doctrine is visible throughout the city.

I am proud to say also that in 1955, El Paso became the first city in the State of Texas to integrate its public schools. My mother, Mildred Parish Massey, was one of the seven African American students to boldly integrate the University of Texas at El Paso.

In 1957, El Paso elected Raymond Telles the first Mexican American mayor of a major United States city. On June 7, 1962, the El Paso city council, under the leadership of Alderman Bert Williams, passed the first city ordinance of any major city in the former Confederacy outlawing segregation in hotels, motels, restaurants, and theaters. These were public places that were previously barred to African Americans and, in some cases in El Paso earlier, to Mexican Americans.

This history has been recounted by Congressman O'ROURKE during Black

History Month. I thank him for that because I just have to say I lived this, my family lived this, my friends lived this, just as so many millions of people throughout our country lived this shameful time in our history.

This is just a bit of my personal background. We know that, despite the landmark decision, it would take decades in many cities and States for that first mandate of the Supreme Court to be carried out. But because of *Brown*, we have the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Civil Rights Act of 1986.

Of course, we have come a long way since the 1950s and 1960s, but the fact remains that the fight to end inequality in public education continues. The end of the legal doctrine, argued then by the brilliant, great Thurgood Marshall, who was the attorney and later Supreme Court Justice, and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, did not necessarily mean the end of racial segregation by neighborhood and community, resulting in schools that continued to see stark segregation by race and income. In fact, many schools have reversed the desegregation gains of the 1970s and 1980s, while many other schools remain as segregated as they ever were.

As a new UCLA report mentioned last week, which I have to cite, Congressman HORSFORD, called, "Brown at 60: Great Progress, a Long Retreat and an Uncertain Future," Black and Latino students tend to be in schools with a substantial majority of poor children, while White and Asian students typically attend middle class schools. My home State of California, along with New York and Illinois, is among the top three worst States for isolating Black students. Latino students are the most segregated in California.

And now, with the attacks on affirmative action in States, including my own State, unfortunately, including Proposition 209 many years ago, in the State of California many minority students are being systematically shut out of public higher education.

But let's be clear: even in schools that are well integrated, minority students often are treated differently.

As the results from the Civil Rights Data Collection survey showed, which was recently released by the Department of Education and supported by the CBC, despite making up only 18 percent of enrollees, African American students represented 42 percent of preschool students suspended once.

Can you believe that? Forty-two percent of preschool students suspended once. These are 4- and 5-year-olds. And nearly half of the students suspended more than once.

African American girls were suspended at rates 12 percent higher than girls of any other race or ethnicity. Black boys were suspended at higher rates—20 percent—than girls or boys of any other race or ethnicity.

These are kids who are 4 and 5 years old. This is simply unacceptable.

As chair of the CBC's Taskforce on Poverty and the Economy, and the Democratic whip's Task Force on Poverty, Income Inequality, and Opportunity, we as task force members recognize that equal access to a quality public school education is key to lifting children out of poverty. And true equality could not be achieved if systematic institutional barriers to opportunity are allowed to persist.

It was the Thurgood Marshalls of the world, the Medgar Everses, the Rosa Parkses, the Fannie Lou Hamers, the Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, the Malcolm X's, and all those unsung heroes and sheroes in our communities at the local level that ensured that this Nation would live up to its own promise and the guarantee that was laid out in Brown.

And so on the 60th anniversary of this tremendous Supreme Court victory, I hope that Members of this body recognize that while legal segregation is ended—yes, the laws of the land will not allow it—de facto segregation and institutional and structural racism is alive and well. Our public policy agenda must take that fact into account.

We must complete the unfinished business of Brown v. The Board of Education by supporting legislation, public policies, and funding priorities that bring true equality and equity in education to all children.

Thank you again, Congressman HORSFORD, for allowing us to talk this evening on this historic and momentous 60-year anniversary of Brown v. The Board of Education.

Mr. HORSFORD. Thank you, Representative LEE, for explaining so well the link between poverty and race, and that they both contribute to the cause of segregation that we continue to see even today.

There are those who want to suggest that race has nothing to do with it, but yet it is the de facto policies which contribute greatly to why we see the resegregation, if you will.

Despite the advances in some communities, there are places still in America where the dream of Brown has not been truly realized and where communities which were advancing are now taking steps back.

I commend you for raising those points.

Ms. LEE of California. I want to re-emphasize this very recent statistic on this 60th anniversary.

Despite making up only 18 percent of enrollees, African American students represented 42 percent of preschool students who are suspended. These are 4- and 5-year-olds.

Just remember that as we debate public policy in this body.

Mr. HORSFORD. I thank the gentlelady from California.

It is now my privilege to yield to the gentlelady from New York, Representative CLARKE, who continues to make her mark here in Congress. I am so honored to serve with her in this body. I continue to be in awe of how she en-

gages her constituents, how she advocates on important legislation, and how she is advancing bold ideas to move our country forward. It has truly been an honor to learn from her as a freshman.

I yield to the gentlelady from New York, Representative YVETTE CLARKE.

Ms. CLARKE of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Nevada (Mr. HORSFORD) for his leadership and for being willing to be one of our distinguished anchors of the Congressional Black Caucus' Special Order, along with Congressman HAKEEM JEFFRIES, who hails from Brooklyn, New York, like myself.

I want to also knowledge the chairwoman of the Congressional Black Caucus, Ms. FUDGE, for her leadership, speaking truth to power at all times.

Mr. Speaker, I stand here today with my colleagues from the Congressional Black Caucus to commemorate, as a beneficiary, a historic decision—a decision that changed this Nation forever, Brown v. The Board of Education, in which the Supreme Court held that racial segregation, the doctrine of separate but equal, violated the guarantee of equal protection in the 14th Amendment to the Constitution.

The unanimous decision in Brown v. The Board of Education called upon the conscience of this Nation and the principles upon which it had been founded that each of us are created equal and that we are entitled to the full protections of the laws of our land.

Before Brown, the full participation of African Americans and other people of color in our public education system, which was a primary component of our civil society, were prevented and denied almost everywhere in the United States.

The promises of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution that we are created equal and entitled to equal protection of the law were, until the decision in Brown, only words without substance for millions of people, whose exclusion from our society had persisted in the century after the Civil War.

Millions of African Americans and other people of color could not eat in a restaurant, stay in a hotel, obtain a mortgage, or register to vote, even though they were American citizens who paid their taxes, fought for our country, and obeyed the law.

Such racial discrimination was not limited to the States of the former Confederacy. In 1936, after sprinter Jesse Owen returned to the United States for a ticker tape parade in Manhattan, he was forced to enter the Waldorf Astoria on a freight elevator to attend a reception there because the hotel maintained a policy of segregation.

Mr. Speaker, today we have a responsibility not only to commemorate the historic landmark decision of Brown v. The Board of Education, but also to understand its relevance at this moment in our history—a moment when our

schools, particularly in New York City, have become more segregated by race than at any other time in the past half century, when enormous disparities in income and wealth threaten to divide this Nation and, indeed, when many of the same tactics used to disenfranchise our parents and grandparents are again being used to disenfranchise African Americans in this generation.

Today, we have a responsibility, an obligation, if you will, to build on the legacy of the Brown decision and to eliminate in our schools, communities, and other institutions the practice of racial segregation, whether intended or unintended, that continues to divide this Nation, and to protect for every American the civil rights to which we are entitled by the Constitution.

□ 2000

It falls on our shoulders to keep up that fight for equality and, quite frankly, to make sure that, as a diverse Nation, we have an appreciation of the diversity of culture, religious, and ethnic backgrounds.

Mr. Speaker, I recall the words of Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, who wrote that:

Unless our children begin to learn together, there is little hope that our people will ever learn to live together.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Nevada.

Mr. HORSFORD. I thank the gentlelady from New York. Thank you, again, for challenging us to take on the responsibility to end racial segregation. Your words were so eloquent, and it really is a responsibility that each and every one of us must take hold on and take heed to in order to accomplish this. It is not going to be done unless we do it ourselves. Thank you.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Mrs. BEATTY), who I am honored to serve with in the freshman class. I am so inspired by her leadership, and she is such a dynamic spokesperson on so many important issues before this body. She truly is a committed public servant.

Mrs. BEATTY. Mr. Speaker, thank you to my colleague. Thank you so much, Mr. HORSFORD from Nevada, for leading us in this Congressional Black Caucus Special Order hour, and also to my colleague from New York (Mr. JEFFRIES), thank you for your leadership.

It is an honor for me to be here, not only as a Member of Congress, but someone who lived through our topic tonight.

If we pause for a moment and could go back in history, that unanimous opinion written by Chief Justice Early Warren held that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" and that segregation of schools violates the 14th and Fifth Amendments of the United States Constitution.

This decision, Mr. Speaker, signaled an end to the State-sanctioned segregation of public schools in the United

States, making it unlawful to deny access to public facilities on the basis of race.

Striking down segregation in our Nation's public schools provided a major catalyst for the civil rights movement and made advances in desegregating housing, public accommodations, and institutions of higher education possible.

On the anniversary of this landmark decision, we acknowledge and applaud those who endured and lived through those days of crises so all Americans could enjoy the right to vote, the right to equal protection of law.

It is the Brown story, but it could have been, as we heard from Congresswoman BARBARA LEE, the BARBARA LEE story.

It could be the Congresswoman JOYCE BEATTY story because I grew up during this same era of time as a young child who, thank goodness, had a mother and father who understood the link of discriminating against African Americans, who understood the link between redlining in housing, to education; so they made a brave step and moved to an all-White neighborhood, so I could go to an integrated school.

It reminds me of how Oliver Brown probably felt on that day when his young daughter, Linda, had to walk some 21 blocks, through all kinds of elements and traffic and danger zones, to get to the segregated school, when just six blocks away from where they lived was an all-White school.

So you see, he took on this challenge because of his young daughter and, at that time, having another daughter that would follow and not knowing that there would even be a third daughter to follow.

At the age of 32, at the time of the suit against the school system, he—a Baptist minister, a welder, a person who was active in his community—decided that he would let his name be put on the lawsuit.

He testified that, many times, his daughter had to wait in the cold, to wait for a bus to take her to Monroe, even though, as I mentioned, seven blocks away from an all-White elementary school. That is the Oliver story.

So when we think of the Oliver Brown story and we think of Mr. Brown, who opened up the schoolhouse doors to Americans, regardless of race or color, it created an opportunity for millions of Americans.

Sadly, the promise of the Brown decision remains unfulfilled in many ways today. Millions of American families face trials and tribulations related to their color, creed, or religion.

Even today, 60 years after legally-sanctioned educational segregation ended, the legacy of this discrimination can still be found in our schools, if you look at graduation rates, in the university, and yes, in the workplace.

Today and every day, we must rededicate ourselves to raise a new generation that may seize their opportunities. It is incumbent upon us, as law-

makers, that we make sure that Americans are able to have a quality education, that they are able to exceed and succeed in all that they endeavor.

While we pause in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Brown decision, we should not rest on our laurels until equality for all is a reality in our great Nation.

Just this morning, a Columbus school board member reminded me, as Shawna Gibbs wrote me this note, she said, Mr. Speaker:

No longer separate, but still fighting for equality.

So as I close, I ask us to look at this visual and know that Oliver Brown's fight was for all of us, 60 years ago and today.

Mr. HORSFORD. I thank the gentlelady from Ohio for her very personal remarks and reminding us that the decision of Brown has very real impact on the lives of individuals and, for some in this body who lived during the time of segregation, to be reminded of how important the Brown decision was to changing that and to also remind us that we have a commitment to the current and future generations to ensure that we never go back to those days.

I thank the gentlelady very much for giving us that personal reflection on what the Brown decision means to her.

Now, as a Member of the House of Representatives, just think how far you have come and how far so many children in America deserve to go. That is what the Brown decision is really all about.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to invite the coanchor for this hour to the podium. Each time the Congressional Black Caucus takes time to the floor for this Special Order hour, it is intended to bring up provocative issues, discuss important policies that deserve time, and also to challenge this august body to focus, for at least a while, about issues that don't always dominate the mainstream agenda.

There is no one who does this more effectively than the coanchor that I have the honor of sharing this hour with. I have learned so much from him. He brings personal passion, experience, and education to the issues that we try to bring forward under the leadership of our chair, MARCIA FUDGE.

It is his words that I know this evening will be so poignant as we reflect on the 60th anniversary of the Brown v. The Board of Education decision.

I yield to the coanchor of this Special Order hour, my good friend, Representative HAKEEM JEFFRIES from New York.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Nevada, my good friend, Representative HORSFORD, for his eloquence and for his leadership, for anchoring today's extremely important CBC Special Order commemorating the 60th anniversary of this historic Supreme Court decision.

I look forward to our continued partnership as we move forward dealing

with issues of significance, not just to the districts that we represent in Nevada and in Brooklyn, New York, and parts of Queens, respectively, but all across the country.

We really appreciate the opportunity that we have, each and every week, as part of the Congressional Black Caucus' Special Order, this hour of power, to come before the people of this great country and speak directly to them for 60 minutes about an issue of great importance.

We have heard a lot about the seminal nature of the Supreme Court's decision in 1954, *Brown v. The Board of Education*, an important decision, striking down this principle of separate but equal, exposing it for the fraud that it was, recognizing that, inherently, this doctrine was just designed to hold up the notion of segregation in this country, under a false premise that you can have institutions of learning that were separate but equal. Inherently, these institutions were unequal, as the Supreme Court found.

This reversed decades of Supreme Court jurisprudence that had been designed to uphold segregation and Jim Crow laws and racial hatred in America, first codified by the Supreme Court, we know, in 1857, in the infamous *Dred Scott* decision, where the Supreme Court and its Chief Justice held that Blacks had no rights, whether they were free or whether they were slaves, that the White man was bound to respect. In this country, that is what the Supreme Court concluded in 1857.

A war was fought as it relates to the conflict between the North and the South. Lives were lost, a lot of blood was spilled, and coming out of that conflict, of course, you had the 13th, the 14th, and the 15th Amendments.

There was still a lot of people in America that didn't want to accept the notion of all men being created equally, as had been written in that glorious document, that Declaration of Independence; so we got the Black codes, and we got lynchings in the South, and we got Jim Crow segregation.

Then again, in 1896, the Supreme Court felt the need, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, to step in and raise segregation up to the constitutional level and conclude in this Supreme Court decision, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, that separate but equal—segregation—was constitutional in the United States of America.

So the NAACP was subsequently formed in 1909, and some brilliant legal minds, over time, came together to help bring to life the democratic principles and ideals contained in the Constitution of the United States of America, but not actually practiced in this great country.

Some of the names have already been called. Of course, Thurgood Marshall was the chief legal architect of the strategy that led to the dismantling of racial segregation in this country, but there were brilliant legal minds that he went out and recruited: Jack Greenberg; Constance Baker Motley, who

went on to become a Federal judge; and Robert Carter, who went on to become a Federal judge; and Spottswood Robinson, who, I believe, went on to become a Federal judge—brilliant legal minds that came together.

□ 2015

And in 1954, the Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision, thankfully struck down this constitutionally upheld principle from *Plessy v. Ferguson* and decided that separate but equal was constitutionally suspect and shut it down.

But then there were a lot of folks in America who still had to try to bring this principle to life. You had the desegregation struggles that took place all across the Deep South; James Meredith and the University of Mississippi in the early 1960s; and you had the Little Rock Nine, who attended the segregated Little Rock Central High School. These are brave individuals, young people confronted by angry mobs, bloodthirsty hounds, firehoses, and all sorts of intolerable things here in America simply to get an education. And we know that education pays.

So we still have a long way to go. We have made a lot of progress.

I represent a congressional district in New York State, and I am disturbed by the fact that New York is a State that has some of the most racially segregated schools in terms of its racial composition in the country. California is at the top of the list. Illinois is at the top of the list. Maryland is at the top of the list. And so we have got to deal with the continuation of this legacy, not because it is legally sanctioned at this point, but we still have far too many children educated in schools all across this country who are not being exposed to the diversity of this gorgeous mosaic that we have in America. And perhaps as a result of being isolated into schools with a high concentration of poverty, a high concentration of racial minorities, those schools don't necessarily have the same level of resources as we might find in other more affluent parts of America. So we still have some barriers that we have to strike down.

The road to equality in America is still under construction, but I think we, as members of the Congressional Black Caucus, are hopeful because we understand that if you trace the progress that has been made, we have come a long way over a pretty short period of time. Yet we know we still have a long, long way to go.

With that, I believe we still have another distinguished member of the CBC who has joined with us this evening.

Mr. HORSFORD. The gentleman from New York (Mr. JEFFRIES) just mentioned the fact that New York, California, and Texas lead this issue. And, again, while we have made tremendous progress, as the UCLA study referenced by Representative LEE earlier this evening stated, students of color are much more likely to be grouped with their specific demo-

graphic. And now, with the changing demographics, we are seeing a real increase and a striking finding among the segregation of Latino students. In New York, California, and Texas, more than half of all Latino students go to schools that are 90 percent minority or more.

So to speak about that or other topics, I will yield to the gentlewoman from the great State of Texas, Representative SHEILA JACKSON LEE.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. I thank the gentleman very much for his leadership on this very important night and for this very important opportunity to discuss equality in America. And we are joined by our colleagues, Mr. JEFFRIES of New York and, of course, our chair, Chairwoman FUDGE. The CBC has led on issues—topical issues but painful issues, issues that are important not only to the people of color but certainly to people around the Nation and, I might say, as they look upon the United States as a beacon of light, to people around the world. Often when I travel internationally, I will hear people speak of the work that we do on the floor of the House.

So I, too, come to celebrate the 60th anniversary of *Brown v. The Board of Education* and remind my colleagues that some 60 years ago, the Supreme Court unlocked the schoolhouse doors, broke down yet another barrier to equality, and beat the long arc of moral history toward justice.

But we come now 60 years later. And I just want to speak to a few points, for many of my colleagues have already been on the floor of the House. I wanted to express some of the consternations that really unwind, if you will, the goodness of the Warren Court and its efforts to make a difference in the lives of so many Americans.

Let me just read these words that were in *Newsweek* 60 years ago about this decision:

It was the most momentous court decision in the whole history of the Negro's struggle to achieve equal rights in the United States, and the result will be nothing short of social upheaval. The challenges: Personal prejudice against the Negro will, of course, linger on, for although a court decision can restrain the actions of man, it cannot change overnight the way he thinks. Prejudice, however, no longer will become institutionalized; "Jim Crow" will become an outlaw.

In the backdrop of Cliven Bundy, Donald Sterling, and the recent affirmative action decision by the Supreme Court, one would wonder how we are moving forward and how this Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Topeka* cannot be undermined.

Quickly, I want to say that the Court got it wrong in the affirmative action decision; and *Brown* lays the framework for equality and opportunity and exposure; and the affirmative action decision took away the polio vaccination, if you will, for this ongoing divide between people of color.

And as you can see in higher education at the University of Michigan and Michigan State, you will see the

numbers going down of people of color, African Americans. At Berkeley, in California, the numbers are going down. So affirmative action was not a handout. It was a partner to *Brown v. Topeka*. It was, in fact, the opportunity to carry out the dream that Dr. Martin Luther King had.

So all of us have to come together and experience each other's experiences. We have to stand in the shoes of young people who want opportunity, whether they are Hispanic or African American or Asian or whether they are, in fact, Anglo.

In the State of Texas, there is a sizable segregation of Hispanic children, and it is because of their regional location. But what I would argue is that excellence has to go beyond that. As we stand here looking for integration, we must stand here demanding excellence in education for our children, and we need to ask the Supreme Court for its reconsideration in the affirmative action decision which undermines *Brown v. Topeka*.

Let me celebrate this great decision, *Brown v. Topeka*, and commit ourselves to working continuously to make a difference in children's lives.

Mr. Speaker, I rise with my CBC colleagues and others in commemoration of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.

As you are well aware the case that came to be known as *Brown v. Board of Education* was actually the name given to five separate cases that were heard by the U.S. Supreme Court concerning the issue of segregation in public schools.

These cases were *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, *Briggs v. Elliot*, *Davis v. Board of Education of Prince Edward County (VA.)*, *Boiling v. Sharpe*, and *Gebhart v. Ethel*.

These cases came about because unfortunately, as a result of the *Plessy* decision, in the early twentieth century, the Supreme Court continued to uphold the legality of Jim Crow laws and other forms of racial discrimination.

It was a very perilous time for Black Americans in this country.

It is one thing to allow legalized separation on a *de facto* basis; but the *Plessy* decision all but codified segregation.

This deprived Black Americans and others of the ability to pull themselves up by their bootstraps—because they could not even go into the store to buy some boots.

Or receive an education.

You may recall the case of *Cumming v. Richmond (Ga.) County Board of Education* (1899), for instance, where the Court refused to issue an injunction preventing a school board from spending tax money on a white high school when the same school board voted to close down a black high school for financial reasons.

The facts of each case were different, but the same principle holds: it was time that the Court revisited this issue.

The main issue in each was the constitutionality of state-sponsored segregation in public schools. Once again, Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund handled these cases.

The three-judge panel had already ruled in favor of the school boards prior to the cases going up to the Supreme Court.

When the cases came before the Supreme Court in 1952, the Court consolidated all five cases under the name of *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Thurgood Marshall personally argued the case before the Court.

A number of legal issues were raised on appeal but the most common one was that separate school systems for blacks and whites were inherently unequal, and thus were in violation of the “equal protection clause” of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Furthermore, relying on sociological tests, such as the one performed by social scientist Kenneth Clark, and other data, he also argued that segregated school systems had a tendency to make black children feel inferior to white children, and thus such a system should not be legally permissible.

Because of the difficulty in reaching a decision the cases were held over until the next term.

On May 14, 1954, he delivered the opinion of the Court, stating that “We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal”

Although it took many years for the Court’s plan of desegregation with “all deliberate speed,” *Brown* paved the way and the struggle continues in the Houston Independent Schools District and elsewhere around this great nation.

I urge my colleagues to take a moment to reflect on the importance of this great yet troubled period in our great nation.

[From *Newsweek*, May 14, 2014]

NEWSWEEK REWIND: 60 YEARS SINCE BROWN V. BOARD OF ED DESEGREGATED U.S. SCHOOLS
(By Rob Verger)

Sixty years ago this Saturday, the Supreme Court, by unanimous vote, ruled in *Brown v. Board of Ed* that separate schools for black and white Americans were not equal. The decision reversed the 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which had said that “separate but equal” was OK—and was, to say the least, a major setback for civil rights in the United States. While *Newsweek* reflected in 1954 that *Brown v. Board of Ed* would “ultimately . . . mean the end of segregation in all public places, everywhere in the United States,” it would take another decade for the federal government, with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to make segregation in places like restaurants illegal.

Here, in a series of excerpts, is how *Newsweek* responded in an unbylined article in the May 24, 1954, issue of the magazine. The writing style clearly reflects the attitudes and norms of the times; the use of the term Negro, for example, feels jarring and insensitive today.

Its initial reaction to the verdict:

“It was the most momentous court decision in the whole history of the Negro’s struggle to achieve equal rights in the United States, and the result will be nothing short of social upheaval.”

The challenges ahead:

“Personal prejudice against the Negro will, of course, linger on, for, although a court decision can restrain the actions of man, it cannot change overnight the way he thinks. Prejudice, however, no longer will become institutionalized; ‘Jim Crow’ will become an outlaw.”

The reaction in the South:

“The court’s decision was greeted calmly by some Southerners, and with dismay by

others. At least three Southern states—Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina—had been talking of circumventing a ban on segregation by eliminating public schools altogether.”

Then there’s the fact that the South is a diverse place:

“For there is not one South, but many. [Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina] represent the plantation South, where, in some places, Negroes outnumber whites by 10 to 1. In such places, the mold of segregation will prove almost unbreakable.”

Mr. HORSFORD. Mr. Speaker, I will just close by saying that if we want the next generation of students to live the American Dream and achieve the success that they are capable of, then we must challenge the growing trend of inequality in our schools throughout America. That was the eventual dream that emerged from the *Brown* decision. And so far, we have fallen short of a fair and equal school system that gives each student their best chance to succeed.

I thank the Chair for recognizing this Special Order hour on this, the 60th anniversary of the *Brown* decision, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss the impacts of *Brown v. Board of Education* and desegregation of schools in the United States. This landmark case outlawed segregation in America, and defied one of the ugliest long-standing manifestations of racism in America: the legal, physical separation of children in schools. It has been over 60 years since the Supreme Court’s decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* desegregated our schools, yet an achievement and opportunity gap remains among our minority and low-income students.

As Members of Congress who represent communities of color, the purpose of today’s special order is to highlight this landmark court case. However, I must also highlight that there is still not economic and social parity in many of our Nation’s schools. There is a crisis which still exists today that America must address. We must focus our efforts on closing the achievement gap in the STEM disciplines.

As the first female and first African American Ranking Member of the House Science, Space and Technology Committee, this is an issue that is very serious to me. As a United States Congresswoman for over 20 years, I have fought to provide increased opportunities for minorities to pursue careers in STEM. This is much more than a question of equality. We have a vast, untapped pool of talent in America, and this pool is continuing to grow. It is estimated that by 2050, 52 percent of the U.S. population will be from underrepresented minority groups.

Our “Nation’s Report Card,” by the National Assessments of Educational Progress, demonstrates that students from underrepresented minorities are falling behind in math and science as early as 4th grade. At the Post Secondary level, even though students from underrepresented minorities made up about 33 percent of the college age population in 2009, they only made up 19 percent of students who received an undergraduate STEM degree; less than 9 percent of students enrolled in science and engineering graduate programs; and barely 8 percent of students who received PhDs in STEM fields. Frankly, all of these numbers are much too low.

I also must underscore the important role that community colleges play in providing STEM degrees for minority students. 50 percent of African Americans, 55 percent of Hispanics, and 64 percent of Native Americans who hold bachelor’s or master’s degrees in science or engineering attended a community college at some point. We cannot afford to ignore the role of community colleges when looking to close the achievement gap in the 21st century.

In the same spirit in which Thurgood Marshall fought to end segregation in our schools, we must now work to achieve parity for all racial groups in the sciences. We have to drastically increase the number of African American students receiving degrees in STEM disciplines, or we will undoubtedly relinquish our global leadership in innovation and job creation.

Ms. FUDGE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank Congressman JEFFRIES and Congressman HORSFORD for organizing this Special Order Hour to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the historic *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling.

The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision declared that education “must be made available to all on equal terms.”

When ruling on the case, former Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren stated, “In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right that must be made available on equal terms.”

While this Nation may no longer legally deny children access to a quality education because of their race, the equal opportunity to have a quality education is still being denied to millions of students who live in poverty, most of them children of color.

According to a report released by the Civil Rights Project at UCLA, communities are experiencing more school segregation now than they have in decades. In fact, in New York, Illinois, Maryland and Michigan, more than half of African American students in these states attend schools where 90 percent or more of the student body is comprised of minorities.

According to the U.S. Department of Education, African American students are six times more likely than white students to attend a high-poverty elementary school. These students often have inexperienced teachers, inadequate resources and dilapidated facilities.

Today, millions of students are learning within the environment the *Brown v. Board* decision was meant to help them escape. Sixty years later there is still much work left to be done.

Every student in this country must have equal access to a quality education regardless of the color of their skin or the poverty rate in their community. Furthermore, for this Nation to prepare our future generations for success, we must ensure adequate and equitable funding for all schools; no longer can only schools in the most affluent neighborhoods be adequately funded.

Race, socio-economic status or zip code should have no bearing on the quality of the education a child receives. From access to advanced classes, to participation in extracurricular activities, we must continue striving to ensure equal educational opportunities for all of our children.

As we commemorate and reflect on the 60th anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education*, let us be mindful of the progress we have made and acknowledge that there is still much work to be done. The future of our Nation and our children depends on us.

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, I rise with my colleagues to honor the 60th Anniversary of *Brown vs. Board of Education*, a decision which was a major step toward education equality in the United States, and launched a Civil Rights movement that was a turning point for our country. I am reminded of heroes like Justice Thurgood Marshall, James Meredith, the Little Rock Nine, the lawyers who fought in the courtroom, and the many civil rights activists who risked their lives to fight for equality. But while the decision changed the law of the land, it didn't immediately change the reality of education inequality in America.

Chief Justice Earl Warren gave the opinion of the Court, stating "In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms." Thus, we see the Court firmly establishing the critical role education has on a child's success.

Even during the time directly following the court decision, all states and localities did not follow the precedent set by the ruling. This played out in national news across the country and was clearly seen at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas when a group of black students, known as the Little Rock Nine, was blocked by the National Guard from entering the school, under orders from then Governor Orval Faubus. Additionally, in the second *Brown* case, commonly referred to as *Brown II*, Chief Justice Earl Warren urged school districts to implement the principles promptly and with "all deliberate speed."

Over the years, various federal and state laws and initiatives have been introduced in an effort to improve education, yet today, there is still more work that can be done to ensure that every child has equal access to a world-class education. Sixty years later, we are still fighting for access to affordable early childhood education and higher education, and also for the reduction of dropout rates. Additionally, the school-to-prison pipeline is not merely a theory, but is a reality for many of our students across the country and is hindering them from access to educational opportunities. We must take a multi-faceted approach to remedying education as we prepare our students to enter the workforce in our global economy.

Even those who are educated and are entering the workforce have a tough road ahead of them. The gender pay gap is a harsh reality of the day in which we live. This is not reflective of equity, thus we must do all we can to ensure our students have the tools needed to enter the workforce as qualified individuals and be able to fully seize opportunities.

On this important anniversary, let us remember the words of Justice Thurgood Marshall, who argued this case as a NAACP chief counsel, "None of us got where we are solely by pulling ourselves up by our bootstraps. We got here because somebody . . . bent down and helped us pick up our boots." Today, let us never forget the message of *Brown* as we work to ensure equal access to education, a

strong workforce, and an open door to opportunity for all.

Ms. SEWELL of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, this week, as we honor the living, breathing legacy of *Brown vs. Board of Education*, we must acknowledge our role in combatting the resurgence of segregation in our nation's public schools. I know my personal journey was paved in the shadow of this landmark decision. As of a proud product of Selma High School and its first black valedictorian, I know firsthand what is possible when provided a quality education. I graduated from Princeton, Harvard, and Oxford on the backs of so many trailblazers who went before me. I stand on the shoulders of so many who were denied access to great public schools in the name of institutionalized segregation.

So it is incredibly discouraging to know that our nation's schools today are more segregated than they were in 1968 or any time since. I am appalled that there are children growing up today in the 7th Congressional District and across this country who are less likely to be afforded a quality education than I was. As old battles become new again, we must recommit to knocking down every barrier that stands in the way of school integration.

To tackle this growing trend in our schools, we must attack residential racial segregation, as it is harder to integrate our schools while communities where children live are equally as segregated. Black and white, poor and non-poor children are more isolated from each other than any other group in the U.S. population. Housing and school policy are inextricably intertwined.

Nowhere is this resurgence more evident than in the 7th Congressional District of Alabama at Central High School in Tuscaloosa. Just a decade ago, Central High School was one of the South's signature integration success stories with a dropout rate less than half of Alabama's average. In 2000, a desegregation mandate was lifted from Tuscaloosa City Schools. And after a series of zoning changes, Central High School is now 99 percent black with a 66 percent graduation rate. And just blocks away, more affluent students are zoned for Northridge High School with an 81 percent graduation rate, higher test scores and more funding.

Today, nearly one in three black students in Tuscaloosa attends a school that looks as if our schools had never been integrated. And black children in the South attend majority-black schools at levels unseen in forty years.

In addition, students across the 7th District are disproportionately injured by racially discriminatory property tax restrictions that impede the ability to raise state and local revenues adequately to fund public education. This separation of our children across school districts, municipal boundaries and property tax lines is immoral and is a threat to the ideals of equality that underscore our democracy.

The trends are clear, as judges across the south have lifted federal desegregation court orders, school districts have retracted the progress made by *Brown v. Board of Education*, moving back towards the debilitating state of segregation: Less than a third of schools serving high concentrations of minority students offer calculus, black students who spend 5 years in desegregated schools earn 25 percent more than those who don't. African American and latino students are taught by a teacher with 3 years of experience or less al-

most twice as often as their peers and the odds that any given teacher will have significant experience, full licensure or a master's degree all declines as a school's black population increases.

We cannot ignore the residential isolation of our nation's most disadvantaged children and the opportunity gaps they endure as a result. Integrated schools and communities enable low-income students to enjoy the same AP courses as their middle-class peers, and better access to quality teachers and adequate resources.

And to achieve school integration, we will need to make more concerted efforts to integrate our neighborhoods by prioritizing affordable housing in communities with good schools. How we address zoning policies and demographic changes will determine our future.

Today, we cannot honestly expect our low-income, minority children to succeed in life when they are zoned for schools that are substandard, under-resourced and underfunded. These educational and housing inequities have a devastating impact on our students and our communities, and ultimately, our nation's ability to compete globally.

As we enjoy the benefits of *Brown vs. Board of Education*, we must work together to ensure that no one growing up in America is denied a quality education because of the school they are zoned to attend, the color of their skin or the amount of money they have. It is our job to do no less!

So sixty years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, we must honor the legacies of Vivian Moore, James Hood, Ruby Bridges and James Meredith by launching an assault on modern-day constructions of segregation in our schools and communities.

CLANDESTINE INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2013, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. GOHMERT. Mr. Speaker, tonight I wanted to discuss issues regarding the PATRIOT Act. As I understand it, we will be taking up a vote, come Thursday, on what is called the USA FREEDOM Act, I believe. I know that there was a lot of work put into negotiating a compromise there, but I still have a concern, as I did when I was a freshman, with the language in the PATRIOT Act.

This is language here from the PATRIOT Act, 50 U.S.C., section 1861, that allows the Federal Government to go into very personal matters and very personal documentation of individuals. Some of us felt like it was allowing the Federal Government to get more than the Federal Government should be entitled to get. There is similar language in the FISA Act.

But this language says that the Director of the FBI or a designee of the Director may make an application for an order requiring the production of tangible things, including books, records, papers, documents, and other