

We tried this in an effort to scare America straight, to let them know we were serious. We would get tough and use all of the political muscle we could find to stop the spread of crack cocaine. It was cheap. It was easily produced. It was deadly, especially to the fetus being carried by the addicted mother, and it scared us. I voted for that bill and have regretted it ever since.

I know what happened; it didn't work. You couldn't scare people straight. We ended up with more people addicted. The price of drugs on the street went down, and we started filling our prisons, primarily with African-American and Latinos inmates who were convicted under these crimes. We knew in our heart of hearts that like so many other laws, it was unfair. The majority—majority—of users of narcotics and dealers of narcotics are White. Seventy-five percent of those who are convicted and sent to prison for crimes related to drug dealing and use are African American and Latino.

This disparity on its face tells us that our system was fundamentally unfair and ineffective. I believe that is the reason we decided last night to stop trying to muscle our way through the drug war and start using our brains: What is it that will work, that will make certain those who are truly guilty pay a price and those who can be rehabilitated get that chance? It is as basic as that.

There is a second thing that has happened in America in recent years, and it is heartbreaking when you see the results. We are facing the worst drug epidemic in our history. For the first time in decades—maybe in modern memory—we are being told that life expectancy in the United States is going down. It is because of the opioid drug epidemic. Thousands of people are dying because of overdoses of opioids, heroin, and fentanyl.

The opioid epidemic has opened our eyes to something else. Narcotics and their problems are not confined to the inner city. They are not confined to people of color, and they are not confined to the poor. This opioid epidemic has touched every corner of America in every State. There is no suburb too wealthy, no town so small that it can avoid this opioid epidemic. What it has done, sadly, is educate all of us in what happens with addiction and what we need to do to fight it.

We now look at drug addiction not as a moral curse but, rather, as a disease that needs to be treated. That doesn't mean we should give up on prosecuting kingpins and doing everything we can to stop the flow of narcotics, but we have come to realize that just sticking someone in jail, if they lived long enough to reach that point in their lives, is no guarantee they are going to come out of jail without that addiction. We have to be thoughtful.

We also have to have rehabilitation that is available for people across the board, whether they are rich or poor.

That is something our opioid legislation of several weeks ago moves toward solving.

The other thing we have come to understand is, the cost of the current system is unsustainable. We cannot continue to fill our prisons at great expense and not put money into things that count in terms of protecting our communities. Arresting someone after the crime is, of course, part of a just society, but it doesn't stop that original crime from happening. We have to think about the crime prevention that makes our homes and neighborhoods and towns and cities safe all across America, and that was part of the calculation last night in this embarkation on a new approach.

Finally, I want to say that virtually every major issue that passes on the floor of the U.S. Senate—virtually every single one of them—has someone backing it, pushing for it with a personal passion on the issue. I feel—not personally but having visited so many prisons and worked with so many people who have served time in those prisons—that we need to have a more just system, a more effective system.

I want to give credit where it is due. Jared Kushner, President Trump's son-in-law, spoke to me about his feelings on prison reform the first time we ever met. I know it is personal to him, and I know it means a lot to him and his family. Because he cared and because he mobilized the conservative side of the political equation, we had an amazing vote last night with 87 Members of the Senate supporting the bill. All of the Democrats and then, on top of that, 39 of the Republicans were also supportive of the bill. I might add, Senator LINDSEY GRAHAM was absent. Now that he is back from Afghanistan, he told us he would have made it 88 if he were here.

I will close by saying thank you again to Senator GRASSLEY. Thanks to Aaron Cummings. I thanked him personally last night. He worked so closely with Joe Zogby and with Rachel Rossi during the course of this; they really became a team. I think it was one of the reasons we closed this deal and sent it to the House. It is, however, the first step. We have to start thinking about the second step, and we need the help of all of our colleagues.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, I thank Senator DURBIN for his kind remarks—more importantly, for 3 years of working together on this legislation, and it is great that it paid off.

#### VICTIMS' RIGHTS AND CHILD PROTECTION

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, I come to the floor to speak about the work of the Senate on victims' rights and child protection measures and also to highlight the work of Evelyn Fortier, staff member, who has carried

such a big burden in these areas of victims' rights and child protection.

During my tenure as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I have made it a top priority to champion bipartisan initiatives to enhance victims' rights and to protect our Nation's at-risk children. In the 115th Congress, as an example, I introduced and led the Senate in approving multiple bills to prevent crime, identify missing children, enhance services to crime victims, and reform our juvenile justice system.

I am proud of what we have achieved on the Judiciary Committee during this period of time, as we sent a half dozen of the measures I just described to the President's desk after both Chambers passed them, surprisingly, on a unanimous basis. For example, last October, we passed, and the President signed, the Elder Abuse Prevention and Prosecution Act. This measure, which I sponsored with Senator BLUMENTHAL, increases penalties for the fraudsters who target our senior citizens. It requires Federal agencies to collect more data on financial exploitation of the elderly, which is, of course, a terribly underreported crime. It also calls for specialized training of Federal investigators and prosecutors who handle these cases.

The second measure, which I introduced and the President signed last January, is Kevin and Avonte's Law. This new law is named in honor of two boys with autism who tragically died after wandering away from their caregiver. It calls for the Justice Department to award grants to equip school personnel, caregivers, and first responders with training to help identify missing persons with autism or Alzheimer's disease. It also permits grant funds to be used for technologies that advance the search for missing children with developmental disabilities.

This legislation is important because research suggests that at least one-third of the children with autism repeatedly wander away from safety. Since 2015, we have seen a doubling in the number of wandering-related deaths, according to SafeMinds, a non-profit organization that advocates for these children.

I thank Senators SCHUMER, TILLIS, and KLOBUCHAR for joining as cosponsors of Kevin and Avonte's Law.

Third, I introduced, and both Chambers this week cleared, legislation to extend the important victim services programs that the Trafficking Victim Protection Act established.

I led our Judiciary Committee in clearing this measure and a complementary bill introduced by Senator CORNYN. Our bills, which were cosponsored by Senators Feinstein and Klobuchar, soon will go to the President's desk for signatures.

Both measures will help us to combat modern human slavery which, unfortunately, is alive and well today in this country. It exists in the form of sex

and labor trafficking. Through deception, threats, or violence, the perpetrators of these crimes will do whatever it takes to turn a profit and are doing it at the victim's expense.

Fourth, I this year championed legislation to renew and extend the Missing Children's Assistance Act. This measure, which the President signed this fall, makes funds available over the next 5 years for the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children to continue to do its important work. The National Center partners with law enforcement and communities across the United States in the effort to identify and rescue missing and abused children.

The fifth measure I introduced in this Chamber with Senator WHITEHOUSE would renew and update the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. That law has not been updated since 2002.

I introduced a measure on this subject for the first time in the 114th Congress. This year we concluded our negotiations with the House on a final version of this legislation, known as the Juvenile Justice Reform Act.

The measure we adopted last week, which is on its way to the President's desk for signature, reflects the oversight work that I carried out several years ago. This oversight, which was the subject of a 2015 Judiciary Committee hearing, revealed a flawed grant program but also one worth saving because of its potential benefits for our Nation's at-risk youth.

The reforms that we have adopted also help to ensure the fairer treatment of minors in detention through greater screening and treatment of mental illness and substance abuse. This new law also promotes an end to the shackling of girls who give birth in detention. It encourages greater separation of juveniles and adult offenders in detention, and ensures that detained youth can continue their education. It will give these young people who come into contact with the juvenile justice system a better chance of turning their lives around.

I should add that we included accountability provisions in virtually every grant funding measure reported by the Judiciary Committee during my 4 years as chairman. The inclusion of this language, which I authored several years ago in statutes authorizing Federal grant programs, will help to ensure that taxpayers' dollars are used wisely and, quite frankly, according to law.

I want, again, to thank my colleagues from the Judiciary Committee who joined me as cosponsors of these and other new laws in this area.

I also want to thank the nonprofit groups, such as the National Autism Association, the Elder Justice Coalition, and the Coalition for Juvenile Justice, as well as individual advocates, who include Bob Blancato, Stuart Spielman, Lisa Wiederlight, Marion Mattingly, and others who contributed

in a meaningful way to these laws, their developments, and passage.

Once again, I want to thank Evelyn Fortier of my staff for her hard work in these areas.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

#### JUSTICE FOR VICTIMS OF LYNCHING ACT OF 2018

Ms. HARRIS. Madam President, over 2 months ago, the Senate Judiciary Committee unanimously voted to advance the Justice for Victims of Lynching Act of 2018, which I introduced proudly with Senators BOOKER and SCOTT. This is a historic piece of legislation that would criminalize lynching, attempts to lynch, and conspiracy to lynch, for the first time in America's history.

Lynching is a part of the dark and despicable aspect of our country's history that followed slavery and outrageously continued unabated in our country. According to the Equal Justice Initiative, lynching was used as an instrument of terror and intimidation 4,084 times during the late 19th and 20th centuries. These lynchings were needless and horrendous acts of violence motivated by racism. We must acknowledge that fact, lest it be repeated.

Lynching is a crime committed against innocent people. These crimes should have been prosecuted. There were victims who should have received justice, but they did not.

With this bill we are finally able to change that and correct a burden on our history as a country. We finally have a chance to speak the truth about our past and make clear that these hateful acts should never happen again without serious, severe, and swift consequence and accountability.

From 1882 to 1986, the U.S. Congress failed to pass anti-lynching legislation when it had an opportunity 200 times. We now have an opportunity to pass this bill and to offer some long overdue justice and recognition to the victims of lynching and their families—recognition that these are crimes for which there should be severe consequence and accountability.

I now yield to my friend, the Senator from the great State of New Jersey, CORY BOOKER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. BOOKER. Thank you, Madam President.

I want to thank Senator HARRIS for her incredible partnership and leadership on this bill, and I want to thank Senator TIM SCOTT of South Carolina for his leadership and for the consistent examples of character and integrity they both have shown as my partners on this legislation in this body.

As my colleague has said, it has been a very long time coming. For over a century, Members of Congress have at-

tempted to pass some version of a bill that would recognize lynching for what it is—a biased, motivated act of terror.

Today, Senator HARRIS and I have requested that after a century—after 100 years and over 200 bills introduced in this body—we finally make lynching a Federal crime in the United States of America.

Thanks to the work of incredible people around this country—truth tellers such as Brian Stevenson and the Equal Justice Initiative—today, we have a more comprehensive understanding of just how widespread and purposefully lynching was used as a tool of racial terror and oppression in our history.

We know that the Equal Justice Initiative was able to document thousands of cases—over 4,000 documented cases of racially motivated lynchings between 1877 and 1950. During that time, lynchings were used to terrorize communities. They weren't only vicious acts of murder against individuals, but in many cases bodies were hung trying to drive fear into communities to make them submit to second-class citizenship and inconsistent justice.

The use of lynching as a larger part of terrorism is disturbing. It is a dark chapter of our past and part of our history. Its legacy doesn't just live in our history books. Despite activists and organizations that have dedicated themselves to studying and addressing the racial terror in our history, we have failed to correct for many of those past sins.

We know that the passage of this bill will not undo the damage, the terror, and the violence that have been done and the lives that were brutally taken in our past. We do know that the passage of this bill, even though it cannot reverse the irrevocable harm caused by lynching used as terrorist oppression, is a recognition of that dark past. We know that when wrongs are ignored they fester underneath the skin of the body politic, and we know that justice delayed is justice denied. Today, this is a moment of potential justice in this body, a reckoning to the victims of lynching that for too long have been denied.

I want to go back to a point in history in this body. The very first bill introduced by Congress to address the terror of lynching was by a man on the other side of the Capitol, Congressman George Henry White, in 1900. The year after it was introduced, in 1901, was the last year he would serve in Congress. That is because Congressman White was the very last Black Congressman of the group who had been elected to Congress during Reconstruction.

Congressman White's departure in 1901 would be the last time an African-American Black southerner would serve in Congress for over 70 years. Congressman White must have had an understanding of what was to come with the long dearth of time and the lack of diversity. He knew the terror of