and now former Director, Dr. Gary Nabel. Most vaccines spur production of a person's immune system's antibodies that block a virus from entering the cells, but that approach doesn't work for Ebola.

Gene-based vaccines can induce additional virus fighters called T-cells, so that is what Dr. Sullivan created, using pieces of Ebola genetic material. It is the most promising approach yet, and it is being tested in the parts of West Africa that have been hit the hardest with Ebola, where more than 9,000 people have died.

The concept for Dr. Sullivan's vaccine has been 16 years in the making, beginning back when few people outside the global infectious disease community had even heard of the deadly disease. Over the years, Dr. Sullivan and her team continued to tweak her ideas, constantly improving on them. Eventually she followed Dr. Nabel to NIH.

Many experts in the vaccine research community had begun to believe Ebola was insurmountable. They thought it was too aggressive for a vaccine to ever protect against it. But Dr. Sullivan never lost heart that her work would one day prove successful.

The Ebola virus infection is a highly lethal disease for which there are no effective therapeutic or preventive treatments. Consequently, work with these viruses requires highly specialized BSL–4 containment labs—the highest biosafety labs. Dr. Sullivan is a leader in the field and has personally conducted many of the most critical experiments. Her work on immunology and vaccine development is widely considered as some of the very best in the field. In spite of the difficulties associated with access to BSL–4 labs, her work has consistently been the source of novel observations.

Dr. Sullivan received her Ph.D. in cell biology from Harvard University in 1997. She received her master of science in environmental engineering in 1989, also from Harvard University.

I brought a poster to the floor where we see President Obama visited NIH to personally congratulate Dr. Sullivan for her incredible work on behalf of world health.

Some people may be familiar with the TV show ''House.'' The main character, Dr. Gregory House, is brilliant at diagnosing conditions and illnesses that baffle everyone else. The real-life Dr. House is Dr. William Gahl, the founding Director of the Undiagnosed Diseases Program at NIH. He is America's leading medical detective, a physician dedicated to finding answers for long-suffering patients with mysterious illnesses that long eluded diagnosis. Dr. Gahl has brought together a unique combination of elite medical specialists, researchers, and Federal resources to solve baffling illnesses and provide desperate patients and their families with information and possible solutions and treatments for their often life-threatening ailments.

Results include diagnosis and treatment of diseases so rare they don't even have names, plus new genetic discoveries, improved disease management, and the advancement of medical knowledge. NIH Director Dr. Collins said the Undiagnosed Diseases Program, which Dr. Gahl conceived and started, serves as a kind of court of last resort for patients without a diagnosis. Dr. Gahl has convinced some of the best, brightest, and busiest physicians to participate, and has devoted tremendous energy to examining patient records, selecting cases for in-depth analysis, and helping people who are seriously ill.

Under Dr. Gahl's stewardship, the program regularly involves a collective effort by more than 25 attending physicians of different specialties. The cooperation by a diverse group of experts has helped create a coherent view of each patient instead of the organ-by-organ orientation taken by most specialists. Patients are brought to the NIH campus in Bethesda for an intensive week. They meet with a parade of specialists who study their medical histories, perform thorough exams, and take numerous tests.

The doctors then meet to discuss what they have seen, discovered, or may have missed. They also debate various theories, trying to connect the dots, and come up with a possible diagnosis and treatment.

Scientists working with Dr. Gahl discovered the genetic cause of a vascular disorder not previously identified in the medical literature. The rare condition, identified in nine individuals, arises in adulthood and causes arterial calcification in the hands and feet, but does not affect arteries in the heart. The symptoms include acute pain after walking more than a short distance. The disorder previously baffled the medical field and evaded diagnosis when conventional methods were used.

In another instance, physicians working with Dr. Gahl identified the reason why a woman's muscles had grown painfully large and hard underneath her skin, making it increasingly difficult for her to perform daily activities. This turned out to be an extremely rare, generally fatal complication of multiple myeloma, and the diagnosis by the NIH Undiagnosed Diseases Program resulted in a stem cell bone marrow transplant that allows her to lead a normal life. These are people who had no hope, no hope at all. They came to NIH, and they have gotten government-supported help to give them hope and to give them life.

Dr. Gahl earned his B.S. in biology from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1972 and his M.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1976. He obtained a Ph.D. degree in oncology research from Wisconsin's McArdle Laboratory for Cancer Research in 1981. He has published more than 350 peer-reviewed papers and trained 36 biochemical geneticists.

Dr. Gahl has made a number of seminal discoveries regarding rare diseases during his career. He said deciding who to admit into the Undiagnosed Diseases Program is always very difficult and much like triage on the battlefield. You have to make decisions about where you think you can do some good.

The Undiagnosed Diseases Program serves people who feel helpless, have suffered greatly, have waited many years for answers, and must be treated with respect and attention. According to Dr. Gahl, the NIH caregivers understand the desperation the patients and their families feel and try to balance the difficulty finding solutions with a realistic measure of hope.

Dr. John Gallin, Director of the NIH Clinical Center, said Dr. Gahl takes cases after everyone else has given up. He said that in a short time the program has developed new approaches for investigating, understanding, and diagnosing rare disorders, and has added to the body of medical knowledge. As Dr. Gallin put it, as a result of the NIH Undiagnosed Diseases Program, the language of medicine is changing. The different specialists working together now are beginning to find common ways.

Nancy Sullivan and Bill Gahl are just two of the dedicated people who work in the Federal Government. They are not nameless, faceless bureaucrats. They are dedicated, hard-working Americans trying to make life better for all of us under difficult circumstances. At a minimum, they deserve our gratitude and respect. They also deserve a predictable and reasonable budget to support their critical work.

In the weeks ahead I will be discussing the accomplishments of other outstanding Federal workers so that Americans can understand government works for America.

I yield the floor.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:37 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. PORTMAN).

JUSTICE FOR VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING ACT OF 2015—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. CASSIDY. Mr. President, I rise today to discuss a serious crime and a violation of human rights that must be stopped—human trafficking. It is a form of modern-day slavery, people profiting from the control and exploitation of others.

I rise as a doc, a fellow who has practiced in the public hospital system for 32 years, understanding the unique role nurses, physicians, and other health care providers play in this issue.

Health care providers are frontline and one of the few to interact directly

with trafficked women and children. A recent survey published in the Annals of Health Law reports that 28 percent of trafficked women sought a health care professional while being held captive.

Now, this does not mean that the nurse, the doctor or other health care provider had the training to recognize it, but because of the unique and critical involvement with these victims, it is important these health care providers do have the tested tools and training to identify and help those being trafficked.

The Trafficking Awareness Training for Health Care amendment would save lives and, as importantly, would begin the rebuilding of lives destroyed by modern-day slavery. It would provide for the development of best practices to enable health care workers to recognize and assist victims of human trafficking.

It is proven that many trafficking victims report receiving health care from federally funded clinics and emergency rooms while in captivity yet, as I mentioned earlier, they go undetected. This legislation would improve the awareness of health care workers, ultimately helping these victims.

Senator TIM KAINE recently spoke about a missive that Pope Francis gave on Ash Wednesday, calling for us to be ''islands of mercy in a sea of indifference.'' The ethic of nurses, physicians, and other health care workers is to be that merciful creature. This would give them the training to better enable them to be that ''island'' in what for that woman or child caught in captivity must seem a ''sea of indifference.''

Having passed the House by unanimous consent, this amendment represents a bipartisan effort that will enable the medical community to bring relief to those suffering in ways that those of us who have never been there cannot imagine.

Senator PETERS is joining me in this bipartisan effort. I urge my colleagues to support this amendment and help transform victims of trafficking into survivors and people who blossom.

I yield back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The President pro tempore.

AUTHORIZING THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE ISLAMIC STATE

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise today to discuss one of the most critical national security challenges facing the Senate: specifically, how we should craft an authorization for the use of military force against the terrorist organization known as the Islamic State.

I have spoken before on the floor about what I believe the outline of an authorization should contain. Now that the President has released his proposal—and with Secretary Kerry, Secretary Carter, and General Dempsey slated to testify tomorrow on behalf of this proposal—I feel compelled to address this topic in greater detail.

Before delving into the specifics of the administration's proposed authorization, we should consider how this institution has grappled with these vital questions throughout our Nation's history. Dating back to 1798, Congress has on several occasions enacted legislation short of a formal declaration of war authorizing the use of military force by the President. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Congress authorized U.S. naval action against both state and non-state actors who attacked U.S. commercial vessels. More recent authorizations formally passed by the Congress include those intended to protect the Middle East, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia from communist aggression in the 1950s and 1960s. And since the end of the Cold War, we have passed authorizations concerning Lebanon, the September 11 attacks, and Iraq—all in 1991 and in 2002.

I voted for those latter four authorizations here in this Chamber. Each case was unique, but in every case the White House did not send the Congress ''take it or leave it'' language. Rather, the Senate and the House fashioned text that represented a negotiated outcome with the White House and within Congress.

For example, Presidents Eisenhower and George H.W. Bush worked closely with Congress to obtain strong authorizations for the use of military force, despite Democrats controlling both Chambers. President George W. Bush twice did the same with a Democrat-led Senate. This approach yielded concrete benefits—a more thoughtful debate and strategy around our use of force, greater unity in supporting our military, and congressional willingness to fulfill our constitutional responsibilities.

Historically, the Senate has fulfilled its role as a place of intelligent, informed debate in moving authorizations for use of military force. We must do so again as we consider this authorization to combat the Islamic State. Thirteen years ago, as the Senate began to deliberate over an authorization to rid Iraq of its violent dictator, I said: We all must leave our political party affiliations at the door when it comes to our national security and supporting our troops in the field.

It is time for Congress to come together, to hold a public debate, and to craft the right authorization to defeat the Islamic State.

Turning to the proposed authorization before us today, I agree with the legal interpretation offered by the Obama administration that the executive branch has the power to conduct operations against the Islamic State under article II of the Constitution and the existing authorizations from 2001 and 2002. Unfortunately, the administration has undermined the credibility of its own proposal by continuously changing its position as to how the 2001 and 2002 authorizations should be employed. Therefore, in order to settle any legal questions about the power to use force against the Islamic State—and to demonstrate America's resolve in this fight against terror—I firmly believe that a new authorization should be enacted.

Accordingly, the senior Senator from Oklahoma and I discussed in this Chamber last month three principles that we believe should be included in a new authorization for the use of military force against the Islamic State.

First, the authorization must clearly articulate that the executive branch is authorized to use force—employed in accordance with the law of war—against the Islamic State.

Second, the authorization must be flexible enough to be used against the Islamic State as it appears today but also in whatever form the Islamic State transforms into in the future. This flexibility must include the authority to use force against organizations that associate with or support the Islamic State.

Finally, and most importantly, the authorization must not impose any artificial and unnecessary limitations, such as those based on time, geography, and type of force, which could interfere with our strategic objective of defeating the Islamic State.

Unfortunately, the President's draft authorization does not fully adhere to these principles.

First, the President's proposal ''does not authorize the use of the United States Armed Forces in enduring offensive ground operations.'' Obviously, this is an unwise artificial limitation on what type of forces we can employ. But the President's proposed operative text offers little to define what this restriction entails. Therefore, my initial reaction, one that is widely shared, is: What does this restriction mean?

To be fair, the President's introductory letter that accompanied his draft does provide some insight into the administration's interpretation of this phrase. Specifically, the President argues that the authorization would provide him with the power to conduct rescue operations, to provide advice and assistance to partner forces, and to deploy the use of Special Forces in missions against the Islamic State's leadership, intelligence collection, and targeting missions.

But in laying out his vision, the President's proposal also tells our enemies what he is not prepared to do. Knowing these limitations would provide the Islamic State with a critical advantage: The terrorists would exploit this information in crafting their strategies. Why would we telegraph our strategy to our enemies?

The President's proposed legal limitations will also limit our ability to adjust our strategy as needed based on the military situation on the ground. For example, when our counterterrorism strategy in Iraq faltered during the mid 2000s, we changed it and we adopted a new counterinsurgency strategy commonly called the surge. As we all know, the surge was a great success.

Therefore, ensuring any authorization has the flexibility to allow our

forces to change and adapt their strategies and tactics is essential. Imposing the President's proposed artificial and unnecessary, yet legally binding, restrictions on our forces would be a colossal mistake.

Indeed, General Jack Keane, who devised the principles of the surge, recently testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee about his own proposal as to how to conduct operations against the Islamic State. In his testimony, the general did advocate using Special Forces in a similar manner to what the President discussed in his letter accompanying his proposal. But the general went further. He stated that the United States and our coalition partners should position combat brigades in Kuwait if our current operation ''stalls or is defeated.''

Obviously, the use of combat brigades would be prohibited under the President's proposal. Therefore, if the President's limited operations are not successful and additional ground forces are required, adopting the President's proposal would create significant uncertainty.

This raises the question: Would Congress need to debate and pass yet another authorization before those units could be used in combat? On its face, this would be completely impractical and hardly in our national security interest.

Another area in which the President's proposal does not provide sufficient flexibility is its 3-year time limitation. Simply put, if we advertise when the authorization expires at an arbitrary date and time, will our enemies not hunker down and wait for that date?

Secretary of State John Kerry stated in his previous testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the administration does not believe a new authorization should include a geographic limitation. To its credit, the President's proposal does not. Specifically, the Secretary argued: ''In our view, it would be a mistake to advertise to ISIL that there are safe havens for them outside of Iraq and Syria.''

Undoubtedly, the Secretary was concerned about creating artificial limitations that could negatively affect our ability to conduct necessary military operations. He is right. But his concern should extend to the other artificial restrictions that appear in this proposal. How else can we read the prohibition of ''enduring offensive ground combat operations'' and a 3-year time limitation?

In conclusion, we can do better. Our forces must have the flexibility to use, or the ability to threaten to use, whatever tools and strategies are necessary to defeat the Islamic State. When America enters into a fight, we should enter to win. And we should not just do this in a halfhearted, stupid way.

So I hope the White House will reconsider some of the things that they have advocated and that they have set forth and get this thing done right so that if we are going to enter into warfare, we ought to know what we are doing and ought to have the tools and the legal legalities to be able to do it well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HOEVEN). The minority leader.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, what is the business before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is considering S. 178.

Mr. REID. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The senior assistant legislative clerk continued with the call of the roll.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator cannot reserve the right to object.

Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I know the Presiding Officer has other places to be, and I am going to be presiding in the chair in a moment.

I will not offer amendments because my understanding is that even though we are on the bill, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle don't want me to offer noncontroversial amendments. So I will wait until they are ready for that just to keep the peace on the floor, but I will talk about the amendments because they are incredibly important to the underlying legislation.

We are talking about the human trafficking legislation. This is something that as cochair and cofounder of the Human Trafficking Caucus, as a father, and as someone who represents the citizens of Ohio, who are directly affected by this, I have a strong interest.

I am delighted the Senate is taking up this legislation. I do hope it will be not just bipartisan but nonpartisan. I do not see any reason for it not to move forward in the Senate, changing some of these laws that are in desperate need of changing to ensure that this horrific practice of human trafficking and sex trafficking can be curbed. It can be minimized by legislation that this Chamber should have taken up, in my view, some time ago.

We really haven't been at this subject for a decade. We know a lot more about the problem now. We know, unfortunately, that about 300,000 of our youth are subject to human trafficking—about 1,000 in my home State of Ohio alone.

The amendments I will offer—once someone on this side comes to the floor who will allow me to offer them—have to do with human trafficking in the broadest sense.

The first amendment has to do with those people who are, unfortunately, trapped in sex trafficking being treated not as criminals but as victims and with ensuring that those victims get the proper care they need and the help to be able to get back on their feet. These are young people—we are told many times—who are between the ages of 11 and 13 when they are first exposed to human trafficking, in this case sex trafficking. In fact, that is the average age, we are told.

Having talked to some of the victims at home, having talked to some of those who are in the trenches working, trying to help these young women, girls, young men, and boys, this legislation is badly needed to ensure we are looking at this—not again as a criminal matter but—as victims who deserve our support.

Specifically, it requires that every State put together a plan to improve child protection services—containing, among other things, provisions and procedures requiring identification and assessments of all reports involving children known or to be suspected victims of sex trafficking—with better information and better data, a description of efforts to coordinate State law enforcement, child welfare agencies, and juvenile justice agencies such as runaway and homeless youth shelters to help serve these victims.

Finally, this legislation calls for an annual State report on the number of children identified as known or suspected to be a victim of sex trafficking.

The other amendment I am going to offer will be an amendment with regard to homeless children and youth. As has been discussed on this floor before, the HUD definition of homelessness practically excludes the most common situations for families and unaccompanied youths—and that would be staying in motels or temporarily with others because there is no place else for them to stay. Even if local communities identified these families or youth as having the most pressing unmet needs, communities can't use the HUD homeless assistance funds to serve them except in extremely limited or near-impossible conditions.

This is related to human trafficking and also to sex trafficking in that, unfortunately, many of these young people involved in these situations—where they are homeless, where they are not on the street but are going from house to house or perhaps staying in a motel—are targeted by these traffickers.

I believe these two amendments, which are not only bipartisan—and they are; I have support on both sides of the aisle—but are also nonpartisan and are ones that would be appropriate to include in the legislation.

At the appropriate time I will offer those amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. We need to confer for a couple of minutes.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 270

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 270.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. PORTMAN] proposes an amendment numbered 270.

Mr. PORTMAN. I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To amend the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act to enable State child protective services systems to improve the identification and assessment of child victim of sex trafficking, and for other purposes)

At the end of the bill, add the following:

TITLE IV—BETTER RESPONSE FOR VICTIMS OF CHILD SEX TRAFFICKING

SEC. 401. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the ''Ensuring a Better Response for Victims of Child Sex Trafficking''.

SEC. 402. CAPTA AMENDMENTS.

(a) STATE PLANS.—Section 106 of the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (42 U.S.C. 5106a) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(2)(B)—

(A) in clause (xxii), by striking ''and'' at the end; and

(B) by adding at the end the following:

''(xxiv) provisions and procedures requiring identification and assessment of all reports involving children known or suspected to be victims of sex trafficking (as defined in section 103(9)(B) of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102 (9)(B)); and

''(xxv) provisions and procedures for training child protective services workers about identifying, assessing, and providing comprehensive services for children who are sex trafficking victims, including efforts to coordinate with State law enforcement, juvenile justice, and social service agencies such as runaway and homeless youth shelters to serve this population;''; and

(2) in subsection (d), by adding at the end the following:

''(17) The number of children determined to be victims described in subsection (b)(2)(B)(xxiv).''.

(b) SPECIAL RULE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 111 of the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (42 U.S.C. 5106g) is amended—

(A) by striking ''For purposes'' and inserting the following:

''(a) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes''; and

(B) by adding at the end the following:

''(b) SPECIAL RULE.—

''(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section 3(2) and subsection (a)(4), a child shall be considered a victim of 'child abuse and neglect' and of 'sexual abuse' if the child is identified, by a State or local agency employee of the State or locality involved, as being a victim of sex trafficking (as defined in paragraph (10) of section 103 of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102)) or a victim of severe forms of trafficking in persons described in paragraph (9)(A) of that section.

''(2) STATE OPTION.—Notwithstanding the definition of 'child' in section 3(1), a State may elect to define that term for purposes of the application of paragraph (1) to section 3(2) and subsection (a)(4) as a person who has not attained the age of 24.''.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 3(2) of the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (42 U.S.C. 5101 note) is amended by inserting (''including sexual abuse as determined under section 111)'' after ''sexual abuse or exploitation''.

(3) TECHNICAL CORRECTION.—Paragraph (5)(C) of subsection (a), as so designated, of section 111 of the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (42 U.S.C. 5106g) is amended by striking ''inhumane;'' and inserting ''inhumane.''.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, this is the amendment I spoke about a moment ago to ensure a better response for victims of child sex trafficking.

AMENDMENT NO. 271

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 271.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to setting aside the pending amendment?

The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, for the moment on this side there is an objection to setting aside the pending amendment. I have no objection to the pending amendment being there, but—I have been told there is no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LEAHY. To my colleague from Ohio, go ahead.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. PORTMAN. I call up my amendment No. 271.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. PORTMAN] proposes an amendment numbered 271.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To amend the definition of ''homeless person'' under the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act to include certain homeless children and youth, and for other purposes)

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ___. AMENDMENTS TO THE MCKINNEY-VENTO HOMELESS ASSISTANCE ACT.

The McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act (42 U.S.C. 11301 et seq.) is amended—

(1) in section 103—

(A) in subsection (a)—

(i) in paragraph (5)(A)—

(I) by striking ''are sharing'' and all that follows through ''charitable organizations,'';

(II) by striking ''14 days'' each place that term appears and inserting ''30 days'';

(III) in clause (i), by inserting ''or'' after the semicolon;

(IV) by striking clause (ii); and

(V) by redesignating clause (iii) as clause (ii); and

(ii) by amending paragraph (6) to read as follows:

''(6) unaccompanied youth and homeless families with children and youth defined as homeless under other Federal statutes who—

''(A) are certified as homeless by the director or designee of a director of a program funded under any other Federal statute; or

''(B) have been certified by a director or designee of a director of a program funded under this Act or a director or designee of a director of a public housing agency as lacking a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence, which shall include—

''(i) temporarily sharing the housing of another person due to loss of housing, economic hardship, or other similar reason; or

''(ii) living in a room in a motel or hotel.''; and

(B) by adding at the end the following:

''(f) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—In this section—

''(1) the term 'other Federal statute' has the meaning given that term in section 401; and

''(2) the term 'public housing agency' means an agency described in section 3(b)(6) of the United States Housing Act of 1937 (42 U.S.C. 1437a(b)(6)).'';

(2) in section 401—

(A) in paragraph (1)(C)—

(i) by striking clause (iv); and

(ii) by redesignating clauses (v), (vi), and (vii) as clauses (iv), (v), and (vi), respectively;

(B) in paragraph (7)—

(i) by striking ''Federal statute other than this subtitle'' and inserting ''other Federal statute''; and

(ii) by inserting ''of'' before ''this Act'';

(C) by redesignating paragraphs (14) through (33) as paragraphs (15) through (34), respectively; and

(D) by inserting after paragraph (13) the following:

''(14) OTHER FEDERAL STATUTE.—The term 'other Federal statute' includes—

''(A) the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act (42 U.S.C. 5701 et seq.);

''(B) the Head Start Act (42 U.S.C. 9831 et seq.);

''(C) subtitle N of the Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (42 U.S.C. 14043e et seq.);

''(D) section 330(h) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 254b(h));

''(E) section 17 of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 (42 U.S.C. 1786);

''(F) the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1001 et seq.); and

''(G) subtitle B of title VII of this Act.'';

(3) by inserting after section 408 the following:

''SEC. 409. AVAILABILITY OF HMIS REPORT.

''(a) IN GENERAL.—The information provided to the Secretary under section 402(f)(3) shall be made publically available on the Internet website of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in aggregate, non-personally identifying reports.

''(b) REQUIRED DATA.—Each report made publically available under subsection (a) shall be updated on at least an annual basis and shall include—

''(1) a cumulative count of the number of individuals and families experiencing homelessness;

''(2) a cumulative assessment of the patterns of assistance provided under subtitles B and C of this title for the each geographic area involved; and

''(3) a count of the number of individuals and families experiencing homelessness that are documented through the HMIS by each collaborative applicant.'';

(4) in section 422—

(A) in subsection (a)—

(i) by striking ''The Secretary'' and inserting the following:

''(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary''; and

(ii) by adding at the end the following:

''(2) RESTRICTION.—In awarding grants under paragraph (1), the Secretary may not consider or prioritize the specific homeless populations intended to be served by the applicant if the applicant demonstrates that the project—

''(A) would meet the priorities identified in the plan submitted under section 427(b)(1)(B); and

''(B) is cost-effective in meeting the overall goals and objectives identified in that plan.''; and

(B) by striking subsection (j);

(5) in section 424(d), by striking paragraph (5);

(6) in section 427(b)—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) in subparagraph (A)—

(I) in clause (vi), by adding ''and'' at the end;

(II) in clause (vii), by striking ''and'' at the end; and

(III) by striking clause (viii);

(ii) in subparagraph (B)—

(I) in clause (iii), by adding ''and'' at the end;

(II) in clause (iv)(VI), by striking ''and'' at the end; and

(III) by striking clause (v);

(iii) in subparagraph (E), by adding ''and'' at the end;

(iv) by striking subparagraph (F); and

(v) by redesignating subparagraph (G) as subparagraph (F); and

(B) by striking paragraph (3); and

(7) by amending section 433 to read as follows:

''SEC. 433. REPORTS TO CONGRESS.

''(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall submit to Congress an annual report, which shall—

''(1) summarize the activities carried out under this subtitle and set forth the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the Secretary as a result of the activities; and

''(2) include, for the year preceding the date on which the report is submitted—

''(A) data required to be made publically available in the report under section 409; and

''(B) data on programs funded under any other Federal statute.

''(b) TIMING.—A report under subsection (a) shall be submitted not later than 4 months after the end of each fiscal year.''.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, this is the homeless and youth amendment I spoke about a moment ago. I thank everyone for their indulgence. I am pleased to have these amendments offered, and we will have an opportunity to speak on these amendments and another amendment I plan to offer later.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

(Mr. PORTMAN assumed the Chair.)

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LANKFORD). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to offer my support to the underlying legislation we are considering on the floor today. This is the most significant antitrafficking legislation to come before the Senate in over a decade. As I said earlier when I offered a couple of amendments, I am very pleased to be in this body on a nonpartisan basis, not just a bipartisan basis, to be able to address this issue, and I would like to thank the Senators who have worked hard in their committees to make that possible. I thank Senators CORNYN and KLOBUCHAR for their work. I see Senator WYDEN is here, Senator LEAHY is here, Senator GRASSLEY is here, and others who have been involved with this. They and their staffs are to be commended. It has been a good process.

It is an issue a lot of us care about. Why? Because it is one that affects our States and our constituents in very significant ways.

Last year I cofounded and I now cochair the Caucus on Human Trafficking with Senator BLUMENTHAL, and we have had a number of good meetings and conferences here on the Hill bringing experts together and raising awareness of this issue.

Unfortunately, this horrible crime affects every single part of our country. In Ohio this came to my attention initially because in parts of Ohio, along the I–75 corridor, particularly in Toledo, there were higher incidences of prosecutions of human trafficking. A school group actually brought this to my attention several years ago. The more we looked into it, the more we realized that this affects so many of our constituents, and it particularly affects the most vulnerable in our society—children, runaways, the missing. In the greatest country on the face of the Earth, almost 300,000 of our American children are at risk of trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation, more than 1,000 each year in Ohio alone.

In 2000 I did support the last major bill that directly addressed this growing problem of human trafficking. It was called the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. And I supported the reauthorization in 2011. But since that time we have learned a lot more about the problem. We now know more about how to eradicate what is really a modern form of slavery. Our new legislation, which is called the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act of 2015, builds on what we know works, and it strengthens protections for the victims.

I would like to take a moment, if I could, to talk about two of the bills that are contained within this underlying legislation that are the product of a lot of bipartisan work that exemplifies some of the finest traditions of this body.

The first is the Bringing Missing Children Home Act. The Bringing Missing Children Home Act is something I coauthored with Senator SCHUMER on the other side of the aisle, and we did it because we know there is unfortunately a strong correlation between victims of sex trafficking and children who have recently been in and out of the child welfare system. We also know that children who have run away or who are missing are the most vulnerable to being abused, trafficked, and exploited.

In 2014 an FBI sting recovered 168 children who were victims of sex trafficking. Nearly each one of those children—nearly all of them had been involved in some kind of foster care or the child welfare system. Many of them had been reported missing—by the way, with insufficient information to find them.

It is a strong correlation, and it is one that any effort to stop human trafficking must also address. That is what my legislation does. The Bringing Missing Children Home Act strengthens law enforcement reporting and response procedures, making it easier to communicate and work with child welfare agencies. It accomplishes this in a number of ways.

First, it amends the current Missing Children's Assistance Act so that Federal law makes clear that children who are trafficked or sexually exploited are treated as victims and not as criminals. You will hear this in this debate, and this is one of the great underlying aspects of this legislation, we are changing the way we look at this, to understand that there is simply no such thing as a child prostitute.

Second, this legislation requires law enforcement to update their records of missing children within 30 days with all the relevant information obtained during the initial investigation. This is very important because this new information will allow us to find these children more easily and more quickly, to avoid them falling into the trap of sexual trafficking and traffickers.

Specifically, the bill requires new dental and medical records, as well as photograph, if available. For almost all of these children, there is a photograph available if you take the time to try to find it. I can't stress this last part enough. It is so hard to find these kids, and without having a photograph, it is made much more difficult. Yet in most instances we apparently don't.

We tracked this in Ohio. Let me give an interesting statistic. Since January 1 of this year there have been 87 children reported missing in the State of Ohio—87 kids. We only have photographs for 21 of them, so for 66 of these young people we have no photographs. It is tough to find them when you don't know what they look like. This bill will help change that.

Third, it requires law enforcement to work directly with State and local child welfare systems after someone is reported missing so that all the relevant information can be obtained as quickly as possible.

Finally, it removes all the roadblocks that prevent State attorneys general from modifying records in the National Crime Information Center. We want these records to be updated

constantly as new information is provided.

To put it simply, we think it is a commonsense bill that streamlines how missing children cases are handled. It makes it easier to share information that could lead to recovery.

The second bill I wish to talk about that is part of this underlying legislation is called the Combat Human Trafficking Act which I coauthored with Senator FEINSTEIN. The Bringing Missing Children Home Act is about helping victims. This legislation, the Combat Human Trafficking Act, is about punishing the traffickers.

We start by giving prosecutors expanded tools to put traffickers behind bars. Our legislation enlarges the number of charges Federal prosecutors can level against traffickers and those who conspire with them. It also makes those engaged in trafficking strictly liable for their crimes. We also expand the training available for our Federal law enforcement tasked with investigating and prosecuting traffickers, and we require that the Bureau of Justice Statistics prepare an annual report detailing our success in this fight.

Just as importantly, this bill strengthens victims' rights by providing more information to victims on ongoing prosecutions, requiring them to be informed in a timely manner of any plea agreements or prosecution agreements in cases in which they are involved.

The legislation we are considering passed out of the committee unanimously for a reason. There are things that do divide us in this place. We talk about those a lot, and everybody reads and hears about them. But this is an exception. This is about bringing us together, in this case to protect our kids from human trafficking. Human traffickers and sexual trafficking are issues on which we should not have any divide. This is legislation both Republicans and Democrats can enthusiastically support.

Earlier today I joined with some of my colleagues in introducing some amendments to the legislation because although I support the underlying bill—it is a good bill—it can be made even better, and I am looking forward to the debate. In the process, I hope we will raise awareness about the issue, raise consciousness about the issue not just among our colleagues and around Capitol Hill but around the country because ultimately, if we are going to solve this problem in our communities, everyone needs to be part of it, everyone needs to be vigilant, and everyone needs to understand that this happens in your community, it happens in your State, and it happens, unfortunately, in our country.

If we can raise awareness about this wicked practice of human trafficking and sex trafficking, that would do a lot to try to curb it, to reduce it, and eventually to stop it. This is what we came to Washington to do—to pass legislation that actually helps back home. With this legislation, we can stand together to protect the most innocent among us from the most heinous of crimes.

I thank you the Presiding Officer.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks I am going to make now not be part of the remarks on the bill that is before the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The remarks of Mr. GRASSLEY are printed in today's RECORD under ''Morning Business.'')

Mr. GRASSLEY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, yesterday the Democratic leader, Senator REID, told us that Democrats and Republicans could finally agree on one thing; that is, we ought to focus not on the partisan politics and the ideology that so often divides us, but we ought to focus on the victims of human trafficking, largely middle school-age girls who are bought and sold like commodities.

I came to the floor yesterday and said that I believe we are all created in the image of God, and it is a sin, it is the very personification of evil for people to treat those same human beings as if they were things. That is what the scourge of human trafficking is all about.

I was very glad to see that finally we seemed to be chipping away at the dysfunction of the Senate that we have experienced over the last few years and, in the new majority, given an opportunity for an open amendment process on a subject that we all agree needs to be dealt with that we could work on together. So imagine my surprise when earlier today the same Democratic leader said the Democrats were going to filibuster this anti-human trafficking legislation. Why in the world would they take a 180-degree turn? Why would they do such an about-face or flip-flop? Well, they said because there was language contained in the bill they disagreed with. No, they didn't say they would use this open amendment process to file an amendment and have a vote to strip it out or to modify it or otherwise change it; they said: We are going to block the bill; it is dead unless this language comes out. Yet they do nothing to try to effect that outcome.

We might wonder what this language is that they are so upset about that they would literally kick the tens of thousands of children and other victims to the curb because of their outrage that this language is contained in this legislation. Well, imagine my surprise to find out that the reason why the Democratic minority is going to filibuster this antitrafficking bill is because they object to language that has been the law of the land for 39 years—39 years. So I guess they woke up this morning and thought, well, we better do something about it. What is the provision that causes them so much discomfort, that they are so upset about that they are willing to block this legislation? Well, it is something called the Hyde amendment. Basically what that does is it prohibits the use of taxpayer funds for abortions.

I realize that in America we are of different minds on the subject of abortion. I am proudly pro-life, but others in our Senate are pro-choice, and we probably have a whole spectrum of views on this very personal issue. But we have had a bipartisan consensus—unanimity almost—for the last 39 years that whatever else the law is, as handed down by the Supreme Court or by Congress, we are not going to use taxpayer funds for abortion.

So imagine my surprise when that very language and very reference was included in the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act bill that now today I find out for the first time our Democratic friends object to.

Imagine my surprise when that very language was part of the bill that was filed in mid-January and a month later was marked up and voted on in the Senate Judiciary Committee and all members of the Judiciary Committee, Democrats and Republicans alike, voted for it. They voted for it unanimously. Well, I don't believe that was a mistake. Our friends across the aisle have outstanding staff. They are very talented people. I don't always agree with them, but they are good at what they do. I don't believe for a minute that they would have missed a reference in this legislation to a restriction on funding taxpayer-provided abortions, and I don't believe that those staff members, being the diligent professionals they are, didn't tell their principal, their member of the Senate Judiciary Committee. So this idea that there has been some kind of ambush is preposterous. It is just not credible.

Well, imagine my surprise when not only did we have a 15-to-0 vote, I believe it was—in other words, a unanimous vote of the Judiciary Committee—for this bill, we have Democratic cosponsors of this bill. Not only do they support the bill, they have been actively working with us on the legislation. Just looking at the face of the bill, I count 10 Democratic cosponsors. Do you think they didn't read the

bill before they put their names on it? Do you think their staffs didn't tell them what is in the bill?

Well, as we all know, this sort of thing is ordinarily very hotly debated. There are no shrinking violets in the U.S. Senate, no people who sit passively on the sidelines and say: Well, I better not speak up and express my views. That doesn't happen. We have strong-willed, talented people on both sides of the aisle, and there are no shrinking violets. Let's just lay that to rest. People are willing to speak up, and they do speak up every day, every hour, virtually every minute on things they feel strongly about.

So this idea that we have created an ambush, that we have surprised our colleagues by including this language in a bill that is on the floor, the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act—voted unanimously out of the Judiciary Committee, all Republicans and all Democrats, with 10 Democratic cosponsors—that we have somehow surprised them by including this restriction on taxpayer-funded abortion that has been the law of the land for 39 years is patently ridiculous. It is just not believable.

Let me provide a little more information. The reference in the bill is on page 50 under limitations. It says: ''Amounts in the Fund, or otherwise transferred from the Fund''—that is, the crime victims compensation fund created by this legislation, $30 million that goes to help treat victims and help them heal and get on with their lives—this bill says that this fund ''shall be subject to the limitations on the use or expending of amounts described in sections 506 and 507 of division H of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2014 . . . to the same extent as if amounts in the Fund were funds appropriated under division H of such Act.''

I went to see how many Democrats voted for that consolidated appropriations act in 2014 that contained the Hyde amendment language and the limitations on taxpayer-funded abortions. Imagine my surprise when I saw that 55 Democrats voted for that language in the 2014 consolidated appropriations bill that is referred to on pages 50 and 51 of the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act.

This is the same bill the Democratic leader said Democrats were going to filibuster because they were so outraged, they were surprised, they were bushwhacked, they were ambushed, they were tricked. Twenty-three Democrats voted for that same appropriation language in 2014.

But it gets better—or worse, as the case may be. Democrats have supported legislation consistent with the Hyde amendment for a long time. As I have said, it has been the law of the land for 39 years. When was the last time? Well, the Department of Homeland Security funding. Remember this back-and-forth we had over the defunding of the President's Executive action on immigration that so many on our side of the aisle are upset about because it is not within the President's authority to do it—and that is not just my opinion; it is the Federal judge's in Brownsville who has issued a preliminary injunction—but how many Democrats voted for the Department of Homeland Security funding bill that contains that same limitation on taxpayer funding for abortions? Forty-five Democrats voted for it.

So imagine my surprise when 45 Democrats recently voted for that appropriations bill to come to the Senate today and be told: We are outraged. We are never going to support that. And, by the way, we didn't know it was in the bill when we voted for it in the Judiciary Committee or when we cosponsored the bill.

Well, they presumably knew about it when they voted for the Department of Homeland Security funding in February of 2015, when 32 of them voted for the CR omni or CRomni in December of 2014. And, oh, by the way, remember ObamaCare? Every single Democrat voted to support ObamaCare which contained the same restriction on taxpayer funding for abortions.

They have also voted for the Children's Health Insurance Program, the so-called SCHIP, for Defense authorization bills. In other words, our Democratic friends have voted time and time and time again for the exact same language they now say they are going to filibuster on the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act, language they said they weren't aware of when they voted for it—they didn't read it, their staff didn't tell them about it.

Well, if that is true, I would get new staff. But I know the staff on the Democratic side, like the staff on the Republican side, are highly professional people and they wouldn't fail to identify offensive language that their Senator could not and would not and never has voted for, or they would be out of a job.

So I plead with our Democratic friends, please don't make this Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act another political football. For heaven's sake, if we can't agree to protect the most vulnerable victims of this heinous crime, what can we ever agree on? If we can't agree on that, if we are going to try to find a way to flyspeck legislation and say, well, I won't allow this bill to go forward if that language is included in there—even though it has been the law of the land for 39 years, even though routinely Democrats have voted for that restriction on taxpayer-funded abortion time and time and time again—why start now, when we are talking about the most vulnerable victims of this heinous crime, and say: Well, we are going to punish you. We are not going to provide you the services you need in order to heal and get better and get on with your life, because we woke up this morning, March 10, 2015, and after 39 years we decided this is where we draw the line. We are drawing the line here. Never again will we ever vote for the Hyde amendment to be applied to any funds appropriated by or in the possession of the Federal Government.

So I really would ask my colleagues: Please reconsider. Please let's not do this. Don't do this to these children and these victims of trafficking. Don't do it to this institution.

We all understand that Washington can be a pretty tough place. All of us are volunteers, and we understand politics can sometimes be a tough business. But let's not take it out on these victims of human trafficking. That should be beneath us. They don't deserve that. They deserve better.

If we pass this legislation and we get it to the President's desk and he signs it—which I believe he will—hundreds, if not thousands, of victims of human trafficking have a safe place to sleep, they will have people who love them and care for them try to help them heal and get better. We will take the money from the people who perpetrate these crimes and we will use that money to help provide needed services to these children and other victims of human trafficking.

We will say ''no more'' to the teenaged girl who is arrested for prostitution, because she is a victim of trafficking—we will tell her, no more are you a criminal. We will recognize her for the victim she is, and we will treat her appropriately.

We will deal not only with the supply side of this terrible crime, we will deal with the demand side—people who get off the hook too easily with impunity, people who purchase these illicit services, and somehow always seem to avoid responsibility and continue to participate in this crime with impunity.

So the domestic trafficking victims fund in our legislation supplements existing authorized grant programs that are already subject to appropriation laws such as the Hyde amendment. They are already subject to the same provisions. Our legislation clarifies that the Hyde amendment also applies to any funds that are used to supplement those existing grant programs. Our legislation does not in any way expand or change the scope of the Hyde amendment. It just says these funds operate under the same rules that cover the existing grant programs they supplement.

Everyone agrees the programs we supplement in this legislation need more funds. I know the distinguished ranking member, the Senator from Vermont, has made an impassioned plea to add more money beyond the victims compensation fund that we created. He is saying there needs to be more money. As a long-time member of the Appropriations Committee, I hope the Appropriations Committee looks at that and makes a decision whether they ought to supplement what we do. But these funds are being subjected to the same limitation on spending as

every dollar the Senate Appropriations Committee has appropriated during the last 39 years.

So my hope is this, that Members of the Senate will rise above this disagreement, this posturing, this attempt to try to play ''gotcha'' at the expense of these victims of human trafficking. No Member should attempt to make this bill a debate about extraneous issues and policies that have been settled on a bipartisan basis for 39 years.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. AYOTTE). The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I have listened very carefully to my good friend from Texas. We have worked together on many pieces of legislation over the years. In fact, I hoped we could have gotten this trafficking bill up during the last Congress, as he knows. Unfortunately, there were objections raised and we couldn't. I hope we are not going to get into a question where we compare apples and oranges and forget what we are supposed to be doing.

The distinguished Senator says on the one hand during the debate on the Affordable Care Act, according to him—and I will take him at his word—that this language was in there and every Democrat voted for it—which meant, of course, that every Republican voted against it. If you are going to use and follow his argument that the language in the Affordable Care Act was voted for by Democrats, it was voted against by Republicans.

I am not suggesting they don't care about the Hyde amendment because they voted against it, according to the Senator from Texas. But let's talk about things that should be on appropriations bills.

I am one of the few Members of either party in this body who has actually prosecuted child molesters. I am one of the few Members of this body who has actually gone to crime scenes and seen the results of child molestation. I am one of the few people in this body who has prosecuted a child molester, not with evidence from the child, but because the child was dead. The young boy had been raped by the man whom I prosecuted, and molested over a long period of time.

So I don't need to have people tell me about the horrors of child molestation. I have seen it. I remember being in a room and looking at that dead child, the same age as one of my children. And I remember the man who did it who would have done anything to escape my prosecution, and I worked day and night around the clock for weeks. I was a young prosecutor in my twenties, and I prosecuted him and convicted him. He went up on appeal to the Supreme Court—our Supreme Court—and I argued that appeal myself, and his conviction was upheld.

So I know the need for this. Let's not let political ''gotcha'' games stop us from legislation that might protect these people.

The Senator from Texas suggests I want more money. That is not quite what I said. He said he wanted $30 million based on fines. I said I just want to guarantee that $30 million was there. I think again of that child molester, that child murderer. He was just one of the many cases I prosecuted. We could have fined him $1 million or $20 million or $1 billion—or $200—and he would not have been able to pay it and wouldn't have paid it. If the victim had lived, there would be no money.

All I want to make sure of—and I would be happy to see—is that if there are fines collected, that they go to help victims as they should. But if no money is collected from fines, I want to make sure there is money. We will prosecute somebody who has been involved with child trafficking or child molestation. We will prosecute them, as we should. They will go to prison and we will spend $25,000 to $35,000 a year of taxpayer dollars to keep them in prison, and we should. But we will say to the victim: I am sorry; we fined him $100,000 to go to the victims' fund, but he is basically judgment proof. I just want you to know we had good intentions. If he had paid that $100,000 fine, we would have given it to you to help you. But, gosh, go in peace. Have a good life.

All I am saying is this: If there is money from a fine, sure. The Senator from Texas and I agree that it should be put in the Fund. But if there are no funds, don't promise a $30 million pot of money that will never be filled if there are no fines, if there is no money in it. If there is money from fines, put the money from fines in, but where there is a difference between the amount that is in there and the $30 million, then shouldn't we, as a country that spends trillions of dollars, give the difference between the fines and the actual $30 million? Shouldn't we care about these victims? Shouldn't we care about the people who are victimized?

Shouldn't we also do this: If we have the money in there, we could take increased steps to prevent victims from becoming victims in the first place. I would have given anything if there had been some program, some money, to have found out that this child I talked about was being victimized, and then we could have stopped it before the State's attorney got called in to look at the dead body. How much better it would have been if we could have stopped it to begin with.

So all I am saying is this: I am happy to work with the senior Senator from Texas on this bill, just as I was last year. We had a bill without this provision, and I was hoping and trying to get consent to bring it up and pass it when we had a bill without this provision. It is important to note, though, that when it didn't have this provision last year, I wish we could have passed it. Now let's work on a bill that will pass. If you want to score political points, do it on something that doesn't involve vulnerable children. Let's work together to get a bill passed that helps them. And let's make sure that on the point I raised, that we address this at some point. If there is going to be $30 million worth of fines that go in there, I am all for it. My guess is that we would be lucky to get a small percentage of that.

Back when this came up in the House of Representatives, they rejected this method of funding, and they called it budgetary gimmickry. Actually, what the House did in authorizing the bill—they did what they were supposed to do. They authorized actual funding so we could stand up for the victims of human trafficking, not just stand here trying to score political points.

In other words, let's have the money. Let's make sure the money is there. This is like saying: If you commit a crime, we are going to fine you $100 million or $300 million or $1 billion. But if the person never had more than a net worth of $1,000, what difference does it make? Put real teeth in here. Stop the traffickers, and ensure there is money to help the victims. Have money to help the victims.

The distinguished Presiding Officer was one of the senators who testified at the Judiciary Committee hearing on human trafficking last month. Other senators testified as well. Their testimony had people tearing people up. The distinguished Presiding Officer was attorney general for her State. She understands the reality of this, as I do and others do.

It has been years since I was State's attorney, but, I say to my friend from Texas, I still wake up some nights from nightmares about the crime scenes I went to. I would wake up from them at night when we were debating the Violence Against Women Act, and I am glad that Republicans and Democrats joined together on that both here and in the other body so we could pass it. A victim is a victim is a victim, not a number, not a concept. Those of us who have spent time with victims and those of us who have been at crime scenes of victims understand this. Too often victims could no longer speak, could no longer testify. We would hear about them at their funeral.

We can do better. So let's not talk about who scores points or who doesn't score points. There are good people who worked on this, good people in both parties. We are not going to be voting on something tonight, I imagine. Let's spend the time between now and tomorrow sitting down and trying to work out a way forward. Save the political points for something where the most vulnerable in society do not suffer. We can talk about what we will do on stock frauds or who gets taxed or what regulations we will have for corporations. There, raise your points. Make political points there. But for anyone who has seen these victims and anyone who has talked with these victims and anyone who has been with these victims, they know this is not the time for politics.

Let's get together this evening or tomorrow. Let's work it out so we can have something that will really protect victims, something that will have real funding to protect them—not something illusion, but real funding. And maybe if we can do that, I might have less nightmares about some of those victims I saw.

My friend from Texas was a judge; he certainly saw those cases. The Presiding Officer was attorney general; she saw those cases. We have a number of former prosecutors on both sides here. Any one of us who has handled these cases has to remember every single aspect of them.

I remember preparing for trial in these cases, having young children at home. I would work late in the office. I wouldn't bring the materials home at all because I didn't want my kids to see what I was looking at. I will admit there is another reason: I didn't want my children to see their father cry as I read these police investigations. These aren't statistics; these are real people. Let's work together.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. VITTER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. VITTER. Thank you, Madam President.

I have an amendment at the desk which has been slightly modified from its original form, and I ask unanimous consent that it be called up.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there an objection?

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I will object until I have had a chance to see the modification.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. VITTER. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. VITTER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. VITTER. Madam President, I have now filed my slightly modified amendment—I will explain the modification in a minute—and it is at the desk.

I ask unanimous consent to set aside the pending amendment so my amendment can be called up.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I object. Some Members on my side of the aisle have concerns about certain aspects of the Senator's amendment, so on their behalf, I object to setting aside the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. VITTER. Madam President, I will explain and speak on this amendment even though it is not pending as we speak.

I will also file an ongoing objection to anyone setting aside the pending amendment for another or for any votes being scheduled until this matter can be worked out.

Mr. VITTER. Madam President, the amendment I have at the desk is about a very important issue. Before I explain what it is, I will say that I strongly support the underlying bill.

I compliment Senator CORNYN and others who have worked on a bipartisan basis on this bill. I certainly look forward to supporting this bill irrespective of how the vote goes on my amendment, but I obviously hope my amendment is adopted in the context of this bill.

Clearly, this issue of human trafficking is a very serious one. It takes many forms, all of them ugly. One form is a phenomenon I am going to talk about today, which is the issue of birth tourism and trafficking in women and families who want to get into this country in order to physically have their children in this country because present policy recognizes those children immediately as U.S. citizens simply because they were born in this country.

This phenomenon of birth tourism is a very real one, and it often puts these birth mothers and families in very dangerous situations, quite frankly, at the hands of human smugglers or the equivalent.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to have two news reports which illustrate this phenomenon printed in the RECORD.

The first news report is an article entitled ''No vacancy at California birth hotels,'' which underscores some of the abuses and horrendous conditions that go on as a result of this, and the second article is from the Washington Post, which is entitled ''Inside the shadowy world of birth tourism at 'maternity hotels.' ''

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From WorldMag.com, March 12, 2013]

NO VACANCY AT CALIFORNIA BIRTH HOTELS

(By Alaina Gillogly and Les Sillars)

It started last summer. Neighbors of a tan, sunbaked mansion in Chino Hills, Calif, knew something was going on in the large Spanish-style home with stucco walls and a tiled roof overlooking the community. Cars sped up and down the quiet little road:And a remarkable number of pregnant Asian women came and went throughout the day.

Then in September, disgruntled neighbors became anxious citizens when 2,000 gallons of raw sewage spilled down the hillside.

City authorities discovered in the subsequent investigation that the seven-bedroom house had become a 17-room ''birth hotel.'' The 7,964-square-foot residence on Woodglen Drive had been housing up to 30 pregnant Chinese women who wanted to give birth to their children on American soil. Each room had matching bedding and furniture, room keys, monogrammed towels, and a portable hot water kettle.

Last month, a local court shut down the operation, owned by Los Angeles Hermas Hotel Inc., for building code violations that included exposed wires, missing smoke alarms, improper ventilation, and carpet stretched over a 3-foot-wide hole in the floor. The owners have six months to fix the problems and get the proper business permits, or they face permanent closure.

This operation was just one of about 15 baby hotels in the heavily Asian Chino Hills area, with dozens more around the country.

''Birth tourism'' has made the news recently, but the Chino Hills incident touched off a crackdown in California as local authorities apply zoning and building codes in an effort to control the operations.

It's also reopened the debate over the Fourteenth Amendment. Birth hotels are legal in the U.S. because the Fourteenth Amendment gives citizenship to children born on American soil. They have the right to vote, immigrate from their parents' home country, and apply for permanent visas for their parents once they turn 21.

Birth tourism is a rising industry in countries like China, South Korea, and Saudi Arabia. A three-month stay, plus medical fees, can easily run more than $50,000. Although the Chino Hills operation had a variety of safety and health issues, other birth hotels offer luxurious accommodations with chefs to prepare food from the home country.

Recent studies by the National Center for Health Statistics have reported the number of babies born to non-resident women topped 7,000 per year, up 50 percent since 2000, although it's not clear how many are the result of birth tourism.

That is a tiny fraction of the number of children born with at least one parent in the country illegally—350,000 in 2009, according to the Pew Hispanic Research Center. But critics say ''birth tourism'' is an abuse of an American law designed to enfranchise slaves born on American soil.

''The practice is a misinterpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment,'' said John Fonte, Hudson Institute senior fellow and director of the Center for American Common Culture. ''U.S. citizens should be very concerned.''

Some Californians are concerned. Rosanna Mitchell started a group called Not in Chino Hills to protest against the facility. ''Our mission is to keep a vigilant eye and use all our efforts necessary to do so,'' wrote Mitchell on the website.

She told WORLD that, aside from worries about sanitation, traffic, and under-the-table businesses, she doubts those patronizing birth hotels are genuinely pursuing the American dream. ''Something needs to be done,'' she said. ''It's outrageous that they would take advantage of the U.S.''

Rep. Steve King, an Iowa Republican, introduced a bill in January to amend the Fourteenth Amendment to ''clarify'' that citizenship applies to those born in the U.S. provided at least one parent is a U.S. citizen, a lawful immigrant, or serving in the military. The bill, with 13 co-sponsors, is currently in committee.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 5]

INSIDE THE SHADOWY WORLD OF BIRTH TOURISM AT ''MATERNITY HOTELS''

(By Abby Phillip)

In luxury apartment complexes in Southern California and in grand, single-family homes in New York, ''maternity hotels'' are brimming with pregnant women and cooing newborn babies.

For wealthy foreign women, the facilities offer the promise of a comfortable, worry-

free vacation complete with a major perk: a U.S. passport for their newborn.

One such maternity hotel in New York resembled a nursery: Newborn babies rested in a row of bassinets that lined the wall, according to an NBC News report that offered a look inside the facility.

Women who book rooms at these properties can expect to live in well-stocked apartment complexes or large suburban homes with laundry and catered food as part of the package. Once their babies are born in an American hospital, they are cared for by nurses while the mothers rest for at least a month. They can pass their time with shopping trips to luxury stores, trips to amusement parks or poolside at the ''hotel'' while attentive caretakers look after the infants, feeding, bathing and putting them to sleep on a regimented schedule, NBC News found.

The cost—$40,000 to $80,000 per stay—is worth it for the prospect that the visitor's child will automatically be afforded the benefits given to U.S. citizens—and perhaps will have an easier time gaining legal residency in the United States when that child turns 21.

''For my baby, it's a chance to, a step to two countries'' cultures . . . Chinese culture and American culture,'' one woman told NBC.

There's nothing illegal about foreign nationals giving birth in the United States. But traveling to the hotels requires the illegal practice of lying about the real reason for visiting the United States. Pregnant women purporting to be tourists enter the country in the latter stages of pregnancy, some overstaying their visas to recover in the comfort of the ''maternity hotels.''

Birth tourism companies have flourished in recent years, according to federal officials—and many of them prefer hard-to-track cash to fuel their operations.

That money, federal officials allege, is being pocketed by a group of individuals who have skirted tax law, flouted immigration laws and helped their clients defraud U.S. hospitals of tens of thousands of dollars for each baby born.

On Tuesday, federal agencies, including Immigration and Customs Enforcement and the IRS, along with the Los Angeles Police Department, conducted a massive operation to raid more than 30 California locations operated by ''birth tourism businesses.'' Officials collected piles of evidence that will likely be used against some of the ''maternity hotel'' operators in future prosecutions.

The companies advertise their services online—and no foreign language skills are necessary to guess the subtext.

What are the benefits of a U.S. passport for a foreign national's unborn child?

''Too many,'' the Web site of StarBabyCare explains to prospective clients. ''You can enjoy the free education from junior high school to public high school. . . . You can apply loans or grants which is only for the U.S. citizen. . . . You can receive your senior supplement benefits when you are living overseas. . . . To the parent, after the baby becomes an adult, he/she can petition the parents for a green card.''

According to court documents, an undercover investigator was told: ''The baby will then have a birth certificate and 'freedom.' The baby will have a bright future having United States citizenship.''

Federal officials say that Chao Chen and Jie Zhu, the couple that operated the You Win baby tourism company, engaged in ''sham marriages'' to get green cards for themselves. In documents filed in federal court this week, officials said that the two ''divorced'' in 2012, but married U.S. citizens in Las Vegas months later.

Both applied for permanent residency, and an immigration officer reviewing the cases noted that the marriages were ''suspect'' based on the timing.

Such companies have openly encouraged women willing to pay for the service to commit visa fraud as well. They were counseled not to tell customs and immigration officials that they were pregnant, to wear loose clothes and to avoid traveling to the United States while looking visibly pregnant.

''U.S. might refuse entry due to the belly is too big,'' StarBabyCare's Web site informed potential customers. ''Therefore the size of the belly is quite important to determine when you should arrive in Los Angeles.''

According to court documents, birth tourists were told to avoid traveling directly.to Los Angeles International Airport from overseas, to avoid raising suspicion. They might even consider studying U.S. culture and booking recreational visits in order to make their travel seem more legitimate, the company advised. Alternate arrival ports such as Hawaii or Las Vegas were preferable.

You Win paid more than $60,000 a year to rent Southern California apartments that housed the women, according to court documents. Federal officials believe that StarBabyCare operated a ''maternity hotel'' from at least 10 units at one complex.

As more attention has been trained on the practice in recent years, the outrage has—predictably—followed.

Los Angeles County officials have cited the ''hotels'' for illegally operating business in residential homes in 2013. Angry neighbors at a Chino Hills ''hotel'' picketed as the report became public. Among its findings: The 17-bedroom, 17-bathroom operation was blamed for overloading the septic tank in the community.

Usually, the women participating in the programs paid several thousand dollars up front as a deposit and thousands more upon arrival in United States, according to investigators. The balance was paid after childbirth.

But ''some or all'' of that money—which for You Win likely amounted to over $1 million—went unreported to federal authorities in 2013.

''Chen failed to report hundreds of thousands of dollars in income on his 2013 federal tax return,'' according to federal officials.

As women went into birth, they were taken to local hospitals and declared jobless. As many as 400 babies associated with just one of these companies were born after 2013 in Orange County, Calif., hospitals. Despite the fact that many of these women paid tens of thousands of dollars to participate in the ''maternity hotel'' scheme, they claimed to be unable to pay the hospitals, which typically charged about $25,000 per birth.

Some paid nothing at all, while others paid a fee closer to $4,000.

No one was arrested during Tuesday's raids. But Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents collected evidence and potential witnesses for use in future prosecutions on tax, immigration and fraud charges.

Mr. VITTER. Madam President, recently the Obama administration conducted a raid on some of these shadowy operations. I compliment them for doing that. There needs to be a crackdown on these operations, but the ultimate crackdown and ultimate solution is to change the policy of the Federal Government that recognizes these children immediately as U.S. citizens simply because they are physically born in this country even though both of their parents are here illegally. No parent is here under any sort of legal status, and that is the ultimate response and ultimate solution we need, and that is what my amendment—that I will call up as soon as that is allowed and get a vote on—is about.

My amendment would change the present practice, policy, and law to say that only somebody born in this country who has at least one parent who is a U.S. citizen, a legal green card holder, or a serving member of the U.S. military, immediately gets that recognition as a U.S. citizen.

As I suggested, this issue and practice—including this shadowy world of birth tourism and human smuggling—is a very serious issue. In fact, it is an exploding issue, as these recent cases in the press have brought to light.

According to the Center for Immigration Studies, each year about 300,000 to 400,000 children are born to illegal aliens in the United States, and under our present practice, all of them are immediately recognized as U.S. citizens. This is a huge magnet for more illegal crossings into our country, often at the hands of very dangerous people.

Birthright citizenship draws women from Mexico and Central America to make that dangerous trek north, often in the hands of coyotes and drug cartels. These women put their lives into the hands of criminal gangs with a demonstrated pension for sexual assault and sex trafficking.

In addition, there is a huge business of birth tourism, including those who market to women and families in China. As I mentioned, on Tuesday, March 3, Federal agents broke up an alleged birth tourism ring in southern California, raiding several homes and apartment complexes where pregnant Chinese women, who were here on fraudulent visas, paid up to $80,000 in some cases so their babies would be born here.

DHS and IRS investigators were seeking evidence and statements against those alleged in the scheme. Besides visa fraud, authorities are looking into possible tax and money laundering charges. As I referred to the news reports that are now part of the RECORD, in some cases this involves horrendous conditions and a very shadowy world in terms of this so-called birth tourism.

The ultimate solution to this enormous magnet for illegal crossings—often at the hands of very dangerous people—is to not recognize everyone who is simply born in the United States to be a citizen of the United States because of that fact alone. Again, that is what my amendment would do. That is far more effective than any set of raids on these operations or on any enforcement provisions.

If we move toward this, we would be in the company of a huge majority of countries in the world. Of advanced economies, only Canada and the United States grant automatic citizenship to children born to illegal aliens. No European country does that. No other advanced industrialized country does

that, nor should we. As I suggested, it is a huge magnet for more and more illegal crossings, and my amendment would fix that.

Some people will argue this is not possible with a statutory change. This is embedded in the U.S. Constitution through the 14th Amendment and any change would have to be a constitutional amendment. I believe that is not the case and is a result of a fundamental misunderstanding of the Constitution in this regard, including the 14th Amendment.

The 14th Amendment does not say that all persons born in the United States are citizens, period, end of story. If we look at the precise language, it is very instructive. It states that citizenship extends to ''all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof.'' That latter phrase—''and subject to the jurisdiction thereof''—was included because it means something, and its original meaning clearly refers to the political allegiance of an individual and the jurisdiction that a foreign government has over that person.

That is exactly why American Indians and their children were not immediately recognized as U.S. citizens simply because of their birth in this country. There was actually litigation about that going directly to this language of the 14th Amendment. The courts decided, no, the fact that these American Indian children were born in the United States in and of itself did not make them U.S. citizens because ''and subject to the jurisdiction thereof'' had a meaning. It meant these children could not be subject to any other governmental or quasi-governmental authority and an American Indian tribe was such an authority.

Because of that litigation and interpretation, in order for those American Indian children to be recognized as American citizens, it actually took specific congressional action, and Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. I believe that goes directly to this issue that this practice is not embedded in the Constitution and in the 14th Amendment, and so that allows the statutory fix my language would offer.

Senator HARRY REID, the minority leader, actually introduced a bill in 1993 titled the ''Immigration Stabilization Act,'' which included nearly identical language to my amendment and stand-alone bill. This language has broad support in the country, including broad bipartisan support.

In Senator REID's bill—now that is going back a ways—it stated ''in the exercise of its powers under section 5 of the 14th article of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the Congress has determined and hereby declares that any person born after the date of enactment of this title to a mother who is neither a citizen of the United States nor admitted to the United States as a lawful permanent resident will not be a U.S. citizen.'' So there we have language from a leading Democratic Member that goes to the same issue.

There is broad bipartisan support, not just in the Congress but in the country for this fix, particularly in the context of these huge illegal alien flows into the country. I believe Americans recognize that we cannot continue to adopt and recognize this policy. It is an enormous magnet for the continuing flows of illegal aliens into the country.

It brings up industries such as this shadowy world of birth tourism which was recently raided by Federal authorities. It puts those mothers and families in the hands of very unsavory criminal elements in many cases, and we should not allow this to continue.

My amendment would stop that practice, stop those abuses, and stop encouraging those flows of illegal aliens. I strongly encourage the Senate to directly consider this amendment, vote on it, and to adopt it as part of this very important underlying bill.

Finally, I ask unanimous consent to have two letters that were written by leading groups on immigration reform, FAIR and the Eagle Forum, printed in the RECORD.

They are in strong support of this measure. I will submit additional letters of support as they develop over the next day or two.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERATION FOR AMERICAN IMMIGRATION REFORM,
Washington, DC, March 10, 2015.

Hon. DAVID VITTER,
U.S. Senate, Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR VITTER: I am writing to thank you for your efforts as a United States Senator to end birthright citizenship—the practice of automatically granting U.S. citizenship to anyone born in the United States, regardless of the parents' immigration status.

Your amendment to the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act of 2015 (S. 178) would close this loophole that is based on a misinterpretation of the 14th Amendment. Specifically, your amendment would amend the Constitution so that children born in the U.S. only gain citizenship automatically if one parent is either a U.S. citizen, legal permanent resident, or a non-immigrant active member of the Armed Forces. Your language is consistent with the intent behind the ''subject to the jurisdiction thereof' clause of excluding from automatic citizenship American-born persons whose allegiance to the United States is incomplete.

Even the Obama Administration recognizes that the current practice of birthright citizenship encourages unlawful behavior and abuse of the system. Indeed, just last week federal and local law enforcement officials raided the Southern California offices of a company that encourages foreign pregnant women to come to the U.S. to give birth, promising them benefits like citizenship and free education. Known as ''birth tourism,'' these companies arrange for pregnant women to come to the U.S. and advise them to provide false information on visa applications. This particular Irvine business made approximately $2 million in 2013, with fees ranging from $15,000 to $50,000.

Your amendment would end this magnet of illegal immigration because the U.S.-born children of illegal aliens will not be eligible to sponsor family members for legal permanent resident status (green cards) once they reach the age of twenty-one. Again, we thank you for sponsoring this commonsense legislation.

Sincerely,

DAN STEIN,
President.

EAGLE FORUM,
Washington, DC, March 10, 2015.

DEAR SENATOR VITTER, On behalf of Eagle Forum and the families we represent, we express our support for your amendment to S. 178 ending the practice of birthright citizenship. Automatically granting citizenship to any child born on U.S. soil, even if the child's parents are temporary visitors or illegal aliens, cheapens the value of American citizenship. Action by Congress to clarify the long-misinterpreted intent of section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment is both necessary and appropriate.

Birthright citizenship is an invitation to exploit the benefits of American citizenship. Simply being born in our country, whatever the citizenship of the parents, entitles a child to government aid. It circumvents the lengthy process of naturalization, including the pledge of new citizens to ''support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States.'' This loophole encourages illegal immigration and even ''birth tourism,'' which brings pregnant women to this country just in time to give birth. Both illegal immigration and birth tourism fuel human trafficking, which stems from a desire to claim the protections of our laws and the support of the welfare state.

Permitting birthright citizenship is a misreading of the Fourteenth Amendment. The amendment states that U.S. citizens are ''all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof'' Those final five words are critical and clearly limit the application of the amendment. Visitors who are not U.S. citizens are ''subject to the jurisdiction'' of their country of origin, not the United States. Furthermore, the Constitution vests control over immigration law to Congress. It is past time for the legislative branch to exercise its power to end birthright citizenship. Eagle Forum thanks you for your leadership on this critical issue and stands ready to assist you.

Faithfully,

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY,
Chairman.

Mr. VITTER. I thank the Presiding Officer and yield the floor.

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KIRK. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KIRK. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to set aside the pending amendment to consider my amendment No. 273.

Mr. LEAHY. Reserving the right to object, and I have to object.

The Senator has the right, of course, to file his amendment, but there is an amendment presently pending and it would have to be set aside. There is

someone on this side who does not want it set aside, so I will object. Of course, the Senator can file his amendment, but the request, as I understand it, is to set aside the pending amendment. On behalf of several Senators on this side, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. KIRK. Madam President, I ask the Senator from Vermont if he opposes the amendment that was also cosponsored by Senator FEINSTEIN.

Mr. LEAHY. I don't know who is cosponsoring the amendment.

Madam President, addressing the Senator through the Chair, as we are required to do by the Senate rules, I would say that my objection is to setting aside the pending amendment. I would further address the Senator from Illinois—but through the Chair—that when the amendment is up, I will be glad to look at it and take a position on it. Of course, he and I have known each other for a long time. I will be happy to tell him whether I will vote for it or not.

Mr. KIRK. Madam President, I would say that this amendment is directed at backpage.com, probably the largest provider of online slavery services in the United States. I would hope the Senator is not defending Lacey and Larkin, who make $30 million a year off of slavery.

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, to respond to the Senator, I may very well support his amendment. The technical question is, Should the amendment of the Senator from Ohio be set aside so that this one may be the one pending? On that issue, there is objection. When the Senator's amendment is pending before the Senate, it may very well be one I will vote for, and I will be happy to discuss it at that time.

Mr. KIRK. I thank the Senator.

Madam President, this is an amendment that is directed at attacking backpage.com, which stands on the principle that was well established in the Civil War—that we Americans have freedom and we should not be free to enslave other Americans. I think, as the largest provider of online slavery services, Lacey and Larkin should be put out of business.

I think it is incumbent on us, in the underlying legislation—I would remind the Senator from Vermont that we would live up to the full spirit of this legislation to make sure that just because the Internet was invented, slavery should not be empowered by the Internet.

Mr. CORNYN. Madam President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. KIRK. Yes, I will yield.

Mr. CORNYN. Madam President, through the Chair, I ask my friend from Illinois, who has been a warrior on these issues, particularly with this backpage.com and this advertisement of children and other people trafficked as part of this modern day slavery, if the Senator's amendment, the HERO Act, is actually included, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. KIRK. Amendment No. 273 would include the SAVE Act, which has already substantially passed with huge bipartisan support of the party of the Senator from Vermont in the House of Representatives. If we look, we will find that backpage.com is active in every State, providing online services to the public.

Mr. CORNYN. My question and point was that the SAVE Act, I understand, is the subject of the amendment that the Senator is seeking to offer and for which I hope our friends on the other side will relent and allow us to go forward, debating and amending this important piece of legislation. As distinguished from the SAVE Act, which is the subject of the Senator's your amendment, the HERO Act, I believe is already a part of the underlying legislation. I just wanted to congratulate the Senator from Illinois and thank him for his longstanding dedication to this issue and the contribution he has made to the underlying piece of legislation.

Mr. KIRK. As a Senator from Illinois, our true gift to the people of this country has been individual freedom and dignity, epitomized by the Lincoln candidacy for the Senate, and by the victory in the Civil War. We should not allow the freedom of the Internet to allow freedom to enslave others. These two men have made tens of millions of dollars.

I yield back to the distinguished majority whip.

Mr. CORNYN. I would just ask the Senator to yield for one final question.

Would the Senator please outline his bill, his amendment, the SAVE Act?

Mr. KIRK. The critical issue is how to restrict the ability of Americans to enslave each other. I don't think we should have that freedom. We want to make sure we thread the needle very carefully here, to make sure the freedom and commerce available on the Internet is not going to help people such as Lacey and Larkin to enslave others. We want to make sure that there is an ever-widening sphere of freedom inside the United States that is not inhibited by the Internet.

Mr. CORNYN. I would ask, is the Senator's amendment targeted in a way that respects the freedom of the Internet and the right of the people?

Mr. KIRK. Very much so. The way we thread the needle here is to make online providers of slavery services liable for the costs that local governments incur in cleaning up the mess they create.

In the case of Cook County, IL, we have had our crusading sheriff, who I would note is also a Democratic sheriff, establish a great effort to recover the young, underage girls involved and to make sure the costs incurred in helping out these young women—these citizens of the United States—to make sure they can charge it against the online provider, which makes eminent sense.

I would say that our freedoms are protected because Tom Dart was elected by the people of Cook County. As an elected official, he is trying to simply carry out his goal there. This makes eminent sense to do this.

Mr. CORNYN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. KIRK. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REMEMBERING JONATHAN MYRICK DANIELS

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Madam President, this past weekend we saw a huge commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Selma to Montgomery voting rights march. I rise to honor the work and sacrifice of Jonathan Myrick Daniels. He was a young Episcopalian seminary student from Keene. The Presiding Officer certainly knows his name and Keene, as well. He was from Keene, NH, and he answered the call of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., for clergy to travel to Alabama to join him on that march.

Jonathan lost his life 5 months later, in an act that Reverend King called ''one of the most heroic Christian deeds of which I have heard in my entire ministry.'' Although Jonathan had originally intended to spend a short time in the South and then return to his studies at the Episcopal theological school in Boston, he felt compelled by events to remain in Alabama through the spring and summer to register voters with the Episcopalian Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

On August 14, 1965, Jonathan was arrested along with a number of other civil rights activists at a demonstration in Fort Deposit, AL, a small town outside of Montgomery. They had gone there to protest segregation in the town's stores. But their demonstration was over within minutes. Armed white men from the town descended on them and took them to jail.

Jonathan and his fellow activists spent 6 days in the Hayneville jail. Many in the group were still teenagers. Despite the conditions, Jonathan somehow maintained an unflaggingly upbeat attitude and good humor. He wrote his mother in New Hampshire a brief letter from the jail, apologetically describing it as a peculiar birthday card for her. He wrote:

> The food is vile and we aren't allowed to bathe (whew!) . . . As you can imagine, I'll have a tale or two to swap over our next martini.

He declined an offer of bail money from an Episcopal organization because the amount would not have covered the release of the rest of his group. On Friday, August 20, the whole group was suddenly released. Strangely, their bail had been waived, but no one was there to meet them or take them home. The town seemed completely deserted.

Jonathan and a few others walked a block away to a store to buy something to eat and drink. As he climbed the steps of the porch to the store, he suddenly heard someone shout from inside

and threaten to shoot if they didn't leave. Jonathan barely had time to react before the man opened fire, but somehow he managed to jump in front of his friend Ruby Sales, a 17-year-old African-American girl. He saved Ruby's life, but Jonathan was killed by the close-range shot that was intended for her. He was just 26 years old.

The shooter called the murder in to the sheriff's office himself. He said: I just shot two preachers. You better get on down here. An all-white jury later acquitted the man, taking just 2 hours to find him not guilty. While Jonathan was sacrificing his life for civil rights in Alabama, here in the Senate debate raged over the Federal Government's role in protecting the voting rights of disfranchised American citizens.

Since 1870 the 15th Amendment to the Constitution had prohibited State governments from denying a citizen's right to vote based on race. However, in precincts throughout the South, Black Americans were subjected to discriminatory poll taxes, literacy tests, and other forms of voter intimidation. In many places, town clerks outright refused to register Black voters.

Just 2 weeks before Jonathan was killed, Congress finally passed the Voting Rights Act, which outlawed electoral practices that discriminated against minority groups. Well, 2015 marks the 50th anniversary not just of that march in Selma but of this landmark law. While this anniversary presents an obvious time for reflection, it is also a time to look forward and address the challenges still facing our country.

The impact of the Supreme Court's 2013 ruling in Shelby County v. Holder, which struck down a critical section of the law requiring Federal approval for electoral law changes in districts with the history of discrimination, is particularly troubling. This ruling now allows States to implement restrictive voting requirements that will make it more difficult for voters to cast their ballots. In fact, since this ruling, almost all of the affected States have already begun attempts to restrict voting, targeting seniors, students, minorities, and threatening their access to the polls.

The right to make your voice heard as a citizen of this Nation is a fundamental principle of our democracy, and it should never be infringed upon. We have a responsibility to protect this right and address these injustices.

While our Nation has made a lot of progress since the 1960s and 1970s, the struggle is far from over. Inequality and racism remain in our society. As long as discrimination and racial disparities exist, the full protections of the Voting Rights Act are necessary to guarantee the rights of citizenship for every American.

Jonathan Daniels should be turning 76 years old in March. He is widely recognized as a martyr of the 20th century. In Keene, his hometown, an elementary school bears his name. As we mark the 50th anniversary of his passing, as well as the passage of the Voting Rights Act, we must strive to honor his legacy by ensuring that all current and future American citizens can exercise the rights he died to protect.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GARDNER). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

MANDATORY MINIMUM SENTENCES

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, on a number of occasions I have had to take to the Senate floor to note my opposition to the so-called Smarter Sentencing Act. Does that mean I am against all sentencing reform? No. But there are some issues that are particularly wrong with the suggestions that have been put in bill form so far.

My speeches on this issue have been necessary because there are so many misconceptions about that legislation and Federal drug sentences and prisoners. Before addressing them, I want to let my colleagues know that I do believe there are some inequities in the criminal justice system, and the Judiciary Committee will be looking at ways to address them. I will set out that part of the committee's agenda after discussing sentencing.

The Smarter Sentencing Act would arbitrarily cut in half the mandatory minimum sentences which are imposed on a host of serious—very serious—drug offenses. Those offenses include the importation, manufacture, and distribution of serious drugs, such as heroin, PCP, LSD, and meth.

As an example, the Governor of Vermont devoted an entire state of the State address to the heroin epidemic. The Governor of Maryland just launched an anti-heroin initiative following the near doubling of heroin overdose deaths in that State in the 2 years between 2011 and 2013.

The Smarter Sentencing Act would cut mandatory sentences in half for importing, distributing, and manufacturing heroin. It would cut the sentences for the same activities with respect to LSD, a drug that causes psychosis and suicide. It would reduce sentences for the drug trade that two of President Obama's appointees in the Drug Enforcement Administration and in the Justice Department have warned that the world's most dangerous terrorist organizations are engaged in this trade to fund their operations. It would harm the ability of prosecutors to obtain cooperation from lower level offenders to obtain intelligence regarding terrorist-planned attacks.

As President Obama's own U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York has warned, ''[T]here is a growing nexus between drug trafficking and terrorism, a threat that increasingly poses a clear and present danger to our national security.'' The threat should determine the response. It would be foolhardy to meet the threat of narcoterrorism by cutting drug sentences.

Under Federal sentencing law, those who are low-level offenders avoid mandatory minimum offenses. Just under half of all drug courier offenders were subject to mandatory minimum sentences, but fewer than 10 percent received mandatory minimum sentences. One reason for the difference is that offenders who cooperate in prosecuting high-level drug conspirators avoid the mandatory minimum sentences.

As a Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association wrote:

> [A]ny change in the mandatory minimum sentencing standard does a disservice to the brave men and women who are asked to put their lives on the line to protect us from terrorists and criminals.

Currently, the system in place allows Federal law enforcement agents to infiltrate and dismantle large-scale drug trafficking organizations and to take violent armed career criminals off of the street. In turn, this allows progression up the scale of criminal organizations from low-level subjects to higher ranking members through the effect of the mandatory minimum sentencing act.

A second reason mandatory minimum sentences are not imposed on many eligible drug couriers is the so-called safety valve. Defendants can qualify if they have no or a very light criminal history. That means those who are convicted but are not violent do not serve mandatory minimum sentences.

The average sentence for a Federal drug courier offender is only 39 months. The offenders who qualify for the safety valve are drug couriers and drug dealers. They are not people who are in prison for the possession of drugs. That is because drug possession does not trigger Federal mandatory minimum sentences, and it is also because, according to the sentencing commission, almost no citizen is in Federal prison for mere drug possession.

Eighty-eight percent of the drug possession prisoners were apprehended along the Southwest border, and the median amount of drugs in their possession was 48 pounds. I wish to emphasize ''48 pounds.'' These, then, with 48 pounds are not low-level, casual offenders. Only 270 mere Federal drug possession cases were brought anywhere else in the country in the most recent year for which the sentencing commission has statistics. And the average sentence for drug possession for citizens is