

much of the South in ruins, with President Lincoln assassinated, and with slavery abolished by the 13th Amendment, the reunited Nation realized it needed to fix the damage done by the Dred Scott case, and to do so, it needed to finally add a definition of citizen to the American Constitution. And that is what Congress and the States did in adopting section 1 of the 14th Amendment.

All persons—all persons—either born in the United States or naturalized by law are citizens so long as they are subject to U.S. jurisdiction.

This sentence, this one sentence, turned the formerly enslaved and all free African-Americans born here into citizens.

The 13th Amendment rendered them not slaves, and yet they were not yet citizens so long as Dred Scott was the law of the land. This sentence was what turned liberated slaves and free African-Americans into U.S. citizens: If you are born in America, citizenship is your birthright.

In the 1890s, the notion of birthright citizenship was tested in the Supreme Court. A man by the name of Wong Kim Ark was born in San Francisco to Chinese parents who were not U.S. citizens. He traveled to China, and then, in traveling back to the United States, his birthplace and home, he was denied reentry into this country based on the Chinese Exclusion Act, an egregious law of the time attempting to bar Chinese immigration. He sued to overturn the congressional ban, and the Court ruled in 1898 that he was a U.S. citizen based on the plain language of the 14th Amendment, and the Chinese Exclusion Act could therefore not apply to bar him entry into this country.

Lawyers in the case attempted to argue, as some do today, that Wong Kim Ark, although born in the United States, was not subject to the jurisdiction of this country, but the Court dispatched this argument quickly by finding that Wong Kim Ark was clearly subject to the laws of the land of his birth.

This ruling from 1898 has been the clear understanding of American law ever since. Birthright citizenship means that you are a U.S. citizen if you are born in America. Your right to citizenship does not depend upon the status of your parents. Dred Scott, Wong Kim Ark, and Donald Trump all meet that test.

This birthright was only guaranteed following incalculable bloodshed, the centuries-long depravity of slavery, and the mass slaughter of the Civil War. The citizenship clause in the 14th Amendment was meant as an atonement for and a repair of that suffering.

Anyone who wants to reverse or curtail birthright citizenship is acting directly contrary to the plain meaning of the Constitution, and they are attempting to move the United States back to a pre-Civil War mentality where certain kinds of people, although born in and long residing in the United

States, are viewed as subordinate and unequal because of their parents' status or their ancestry.

One additional point is important: The President-elect's claim that only the United States recognizes birthright citizenship. This statement is either ignorant or willfully deceptive. Thirty-three nations—many in the Americas, including Canada and Mexico—grant full birthright citizenship to all born within their borders. The United States is not alone in embracing birthright citizenship. In fact, I would argue that the United States has been the leader of a global movement to embrace birthright citizenship.

I have described the painful history of how America reached the conclusion that all born here are entitled to citizenship so long as they are subject to the jurisdiction of this country. In future weeks, I will return to the Senate floor to describe the many benefits that birthright citizenship has bestowed on our Nation, and I will do so by telling the stories of Americans born to immigrant parents, whose contributions have enriched this country and even enriched the place we stand today—the U.S. Senate.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Ms. BALDWIN). The Senator from Florida.

TRIBUTE TO MIKE BRAUN

Mr. SCOTT of Florida. Madam President, it is my distinct opportunity to talk about my good friend Senator MIKE BRAUN from Indiana.

Senator BRAUN and I came up here at the exact same time. He was 99th in seniority and I was 100th in seniority 6 years ago. We both have very similar backgrounds. Both of us had built businesses. Both of us have very similar backgrounds in how we got started. Neither of us started with any money. We got to build successful businesses. We had to figure out how to control our costs because, you know, you are not going to succeed if you don't figure out how to control your costs. He had a very similar experience as I did on how you control healthcare costs: You make your employees consumers of healthcare. You make them be the ones that make the decision on how they are going to spend healthcare dollars.

He also is very focused on the problems of Federal debt, the problems of Federal spending. From the time he got up here, he was a champion of fiscal sanity.

With our wives, we had the opportunity to travel to Israel—I think our first summer here; I think it was our first summer—and spend a week there just learning everything we could about Israel. Senator BRAUN has a wonderful family, a wonderful wife—also an entrepreneur like he is. So I am going to miss him a lot.

He talked about the fact that we were so naive when we first came up here. They were supposed to have lunch from 12:30 to 2 o'clock, and the business guys would show up on time, and there were only two of us there. The food

wasn't out. So we were told that it doesn't really—they say it starts on time, but it never did.

We both saw the difficulty in trying to get things accomplished here and the difficulty in trying to control spending here. But his voice has been very important on the fight for fiscal sanity here, and his voice has been very important on the ability to try to figure out how we get our healthcare costs in line so people can afford it—not just government affording it but individuals can afford it.

So I am going to miss him. We both have—we had the worst times together. I think he had the 3 to 6 and I had the 6 to whenever we finished on Thursday. Every Thursday, we were here. So he was very—he was smart. He put it together so that at least every Thursday, one of us could go home a little bit earlier, which was smart.

He did talk to DAN SULLIVAN, who does a great job with—if you haven't had the opportunity to listen to DAN's Alaskan of the Week, talking about an Alaskan, he does a great job with that. He got him to move it up so we could get out of here earlier.

He is just a great person. We served on the Aging Committee together and the Budget Committee. He is just a wonderful person to serve with.

He is going to love being Governor. I had the opportunity to be Governor from 2011 to 2019. It is a great job. If you care about families, if you want to help people get a job, if you want to help people get a better education, if you want to keep people safe, that is exactly what you get to do.

I think Senator BRAUN is going to be the best Governor in the country soon. He is going to make sure that Indiana is a State where people can get a great-paying job, their kids get a great education, and people feel safe. It is still a little cold for me. Florida is a little bit warmer than Indiana.

I just want to say I am very appreciative of MIKE's friendship. I am very appreciative of his hard work. I appreciate his tenacity.

I can tell you that they are always going to live within their means because MIKE will not waste a dime. Indiana will have probably the best budget in the country, and all their debt, if they have any, will be paid off quickly.

I just wanted to say to MIKE, thank you for your friendship. I look forward to working with you, and I am going to miss you up here.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MERKLEY. Madam President, I just wanted to note first that I really appreciate Senator MIKE BRAUN's support on our effort to protect American's privacy and take on the rapid expansion of TSA use of facial surveillance. Stopping the establishment of a national surveillance system is very important to freedom and privacy in America, and I much appreciate his partnership in undertaking this topic

and wish him all the best in his return to be Governor of Indiana.

STOP INSTITUTIONAL CHILD ABUSE ACT

Mr. MERKLEY. Madam President, I rise to say a few words about S. 1351 and ask for its passage, as amended. But before I formally ask, I just want to know what this is all about; and that is, across our country, there are institutions that say they will help with your troubled teen. In fact, this has become known as the troubled teen industry.

Now, some of these institutions are long established, huge amounts of oversight, the best practices and the best results, and we certainly need these types of places to assist families when they are challenged in the family setting by the difficulties experienced by their children. But we also have a whole series of companies that have sprung up, whether for-profit or non-profit, without the expertise, and saw an opportunity to make a lot of money and jump into a space without the proper foundation for actually being beneficial to teens. We had an experience with one of our Oregon children who died at just such a facility.

One of the individuals—really the individual who proceeded to draw attention to this largely unregulated troubled teen industry is Paris Hilton. Paris wrote a memoir, and she shared in it, as summarized by, well, the summary of her book, that her childhood was shattered by 2 years of strip searches, isolation, beatings, restraints, and brainwashing in this troubled teen institution. Her story is not alone. There are multiple stories of broken bones, of sexual assaults, of solitary confinement, even stories, as with our child in Oregon, of them dying in these institutions.

We found that there really is a lack of detailed information about what is going on across America, so 12 Democrats and 12 Republicans have come together to sponsor this bill to say: We need to understand and therefore have recommendations on how to avoid the horrendous outcomes at some of the institutions. So this bill calls for just such a study.

This bill proceeds to say: We want our kids safe. We want our kids respected. We want our children to have the very best care.

I am struck by the tragedy that occurs when parents searching for help for their children strive to send them to a safe place and end up sending them to a very dangerous place. This is unacceptable.

This bill says: Let's get a complete map of these institutions. Let's understand where they are and what they look like and what they cost and how long kids are staying there and how children are treated, how they are treated in ways that are inappropriate, and how, in some institutions, the gold-star institutions, how their best

practices should be shared across the Nation, and how we should inform decision makers and policymakers across the country with the findings.

So that is the simple story of this bill, and I am pleased that I am able to come to the floor now with a lot of support: Senator JOHN CORNYN, a lead on the Republican side, and a lot of help from TOMMY TUBERVILLE. Senator CASSIDY, who is ranking member of HELP, was involved in helping this bill go forward.

I am thankful for the information we received from the Florida Sheriffs Youth Ranches, an institution that is highly respected and that has been in operation since 1957, providing support and help to literally thousands of young boys. Actually, that is the type of information we want collected—institutions that are working well, that have those best practices.

So, Madam President, as if in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions be discharged from further consideration of S. 1351 and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1351) to study and prevent child abuse in youth residential programs, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the committee was discharged, and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. MERKLEY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Merkley-Cornyn substitute amendment at the desk be agreed to; that the bill, as amended, be read a third time and passed; and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

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

The amendment (No. 3316), in the nature of a substitute, was agreed to.

(The amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Text of Amendments.")

The bill (S. 1351), as amended, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MERKLEY. Madam President, I failed to mention my appreciation for the conversations I have had with Senator RICK SCOTT, who helped facilitate dialogue with the Florida Sheriffs Youth Ranches and their contributions to how we should go forward.

With that, I am really excited that we are getting this bill done. Thank you. Hopefully, the House will be able to expedite it, and we will start to understand an industry that we need to understand and America needs to understand so children are helped, not hurt.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

ELECTRIC VEHICLE SUBSIDIES

Mr. BARRASSO. Madam President, the new Senate Republican majority begins on January 3, 2025. So our day one starts in 3 weeks. Republicans are going to enter the next Congress with a long "fix it" list on behalf of the American people. And at the top of the list is an agenda to lower costs and to restore American energy dominance.

Prices today, we know, are 20 percent higher than they were 4 years ago, and, just this morning, we learned, once again, that prices have gone up in November. And we know the culprits, the problem behind the high prices: wasteful Washington spending. And we have seen a lot of it the last 4 years. The other reason, of course, is the Democrats throttling American energy production.

Republicans are going to fix the fiscal insanity of the last 4 years. We will put Americans—not Washington bureaucrats—back into the driver's seat.

We are going to start by repealing the Biden car bribe. This is something that President Trump strongly supports, and he is supporting what we are promoting. He has asked for it. He has campaigned on it. Eliminating this car bribe by the Biden administration—it is one of the most wasteful policies we have seen from this administration over the last 4 years. It is the Democrats' \$7,500 subsidy for people buying electric vehicles. It was included in their reckless tax-and-spend legislation. It received zero—zero—Republican votes, not a one.

It is an attempt by the Democrats to bribe the American people to go along with their unpopular climate fantasy. It is a welfare check for wealthy elites and for green corporations. It is a giveaway to communist China, which controls key parts of the EV supply chain.

We were initially told by the Joint Committee on Taxation that these subsidies would cost about \$14 billion. Well, the pricetag has continued to tick up since then. Today, there have been some revised estimates, and they have ballooned to projected costs of way over \$300 billion. That is right, over \$300 billion. And that is for vehicles that most Americans don't want, can't afford, and don't work for them or their families.

The auto dealers in Wyoming tell me it takes much, much longer to try to sell these things compared to the traditional gas-powered vehicles. They say they can't even sell them at a loss, and they are stockpiling them on the lots.

Less than 10 percent of the new car sales in America last year were EVs. The sale figures have been abysmal. EVs lost market share. It is hard to believe. They actually lost market share in 2024.

So you have these carmakers from around the country who are hemorrhaging cash. They are losing tons of money. And we have autoworkers who have lost their jobs.