

38. John Pettit—2 Years 2 Months—(1853-1855)
 39. Joseph Wright—11 Months—(1862-1863)
 40. Samuel Jackson—10 Months—(1944)
 41. Thomas Taggart—7 Months—(1916)
 42. Robert Hanna—4 Months—(1831-1832)
 43. Charles Cathcart—2 Months—(1852-1853)

SENATOR RICHARD LUGAR—A
 MAN OF CHARACTER

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, Henry Clay, one of the most eloquent men to serve in the U.S. Senate, once said, "Of all the properties which belong to honorable men, not one is so highly prized as character."

I know I speak for my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in saying that Senator RICHARD LUGAR is truly a man of character. And I join today in saluting Senator LUGAR as he becomes the longest serving Senator in Indiana history.

Today marks Senator LUGAR's 7,059th day in this Chamber. They have been days spent making a difference in nearly every issue that has come before this body, including agriculture, trade, the budget, foreign policy, and nuclear security.

As chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator LUGAR played a key role in bringing freedom to the Philippines. And as chairman of the Agriculture Committee, he produced legislation which will bring freedom to America's farmers.

DICK LUGAR's service to his State and his country are not limited to the time he has served in the Senate.

It was Naval Officer LUGAR who prepared intelligence briefings for the Chief of Naval Operations and President Eisenhower.

It was Mayor LUGAR who led the city of Indianapolis for 8 years, earning a reputation as one of the Nation's most innovative and successful mayors.

And it is husband and father DICK LUGAR who stands as a role model for countless young Americans.

Mr. President, over the last few years, Senator LUGAR has asked summer interns in his Washington office to research an Indiana Senator of their choice.

I am confident that in decades yet to come, when young Indiana students research those who have served their State, they will conclude that not only did RICHARD LUGAR set a standard in terms of longevity, he also set a standard in terms of integrity.

COMMENDING SENATOR RICHARD
 LUGAR

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I rise to congratulate my friend and colleague, Senator RICHARD LUGAR, on his remarkable achievement and extraordinary service to the people of Indiana. He has had the privilege of representing Hoosiers in the U.S. Senate longer than any other Senator in Indiana history. His tenure has been distinguished and well deserved.

In Indiana, we are proud of DICK LUGAR and his leadership. Both in the Senate and on the campaign trail, he has consistently raised issues our Nation cannot afford to ignore. His thoughtful and skillful approach to policy has made our Nation safer and America's influence in the world more secure.

We are proud of his long record of accomplishments: fighting for freedom in the Philippines, enhancing the world's nuclear security, working for American farmers.

But DICK LUGAR brings more to the Senate than his skills as a legislator. His politics are informed by character. DICK LUGAR understands that values count and that principle is worth defending. He represents the best of Hoosier values—honesty, integrity, determination.

On behalf of the people of Indiana, I thank RICHARD LUGAR for his service to our State and to our Nation. It is my privilege to serve with them in the U.S. Senate.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING
 BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

IMMIGRATION CONTROL AND FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT OF 1996

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. 1664, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1664) to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to increase control over immigration to the United States by increasing border patrol and investigative personnel and detention facilities, improving the system used by employers to verify citizenship or work-authorized alien status, increasing penalties for alien smuggling and document fraud, and reforming asylum, exclusion, and deportation law and procedures; to reduce the use of welfare by aliens; and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Dole (for Simpson) amendment No. 3743, of a perfecting nature.

Simpson amendment No. 3853 (to amendment No. 3743), relating to pilot projects on systems to verify eligibility for employment in the United States and to verify immigration status for purposes of eligibility for public assistance or certain other government benefits.

Simpson amendment No. 3854 (to amendment No. 3743), to define "regional project" to mean a project conducted in an area which includes more than a single locality but which is smaller than an entire State.

Simon amendment No. 3810 (to amendment No. 3743), to exempt from deeming requirements immigrants who are disabled after entering the United States.

Feinstein/Boxer amendment No. 3777 (to amendment No. 3743), to provide funds for the construction and expansion of physical barriers and improvements to roads in the border area near San Diego, California.

Reid amendment No. 3865 (to amendment No. 3743), to authorize asylum or refugee status, or the withholding of deportation, for individuals who have been threatened with an act of female genital mutilation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues. I thank the ranking member, Senator KENNEDY. I think we are in a position, now, to perhaps conclude this measure, at least on the so-called Simpson amendment, today.

We had some 156 amendments proposed a day ago. We are down to about 30 today. Some are known in the trade as place holders—pot holders or whatever might be appropriate, some of them. Nevertheless we will proceed today. The debate will take its most important turn, and that is the issue of verification; that is the issue of the birth certificate and the driver's license, changes that were made yesterday and adopted unanimously by voice vote in this Chamber. We will deal with that issue.

But one thing has to be clearly said because I am absolutely startled at some of the misinformation that one hears in the well from the proponents and opponents of various aspects of immigration reform. It was said yesterday, by a colleague unnamed because I have the greatest respect for this person, that tomorrow to be prepared to be sure that we do not put any burden on employers by making employers ask an employee for documents.

That has been on the books since 1986. I could not believe my ears. Someone else was listening to it with great attention. I hope we at least are beyond that point. Today the American employer has to ask their employee, the person seeking a job, new hire, for documentation. There are 29 documents to establish either worker authorization or identification. And then, also, an I-9 form which has been required since that date, too. In other words, yes, you do have to furnish a document to an employer, a one-page form indicating that you are a citizen of the United States of America or authorized to work. That has been on the books, now, for nearly 10 years. If we cannot get any further in the debate than that, then someone is seriously distorting a national issue. Not only that, but someone is feeding them enough to see that it remains distorted.

So when we are going to hear the argument the employer should not be the watchdog of the world, what this bill does is take the heat off of the employer. Instead of digging around through 29 documents they are going to have to look at 6. If the pilot program works, and we find it is doing well, and is authentic and accurate, then the I-9 form is not going to be required. That is part of this.

Then yesterday you took the real burden off of the employer, and I think it was a very apt move. We said, now, that if the employers are in good faith

in asking for documents and so on, and have no intention to discriminate, that they are not going to be heavily fined, or receive other penalties. That was a great advantage to the employer.

So I hope the staffs, if there are any watching this procedure, do not simply load the cannon for their principal, as we are called by our staff—and other things we are called by our staff—principals, that they load the cannon not to come over here and tell us what is going to happen to employers having to ask for identity, having to prove the person in front of them is a citizen or authorized to work, unless you want to get rid of employer sanctions and get rid of the I-9. Those things have been on the books for almost 10 years.

With that, I hope that is a starting point we take judicial notice thereof.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, my friend and colleague has stated absolutely accurately what the current state of the law is. For those who have questions about it, all they have to do is look at the Immigration and Nationality Act, section 274, that spells out the requirements of employment in the United States. I will not take the time to go through that at this particular moment, but for those who doubt or question any of the points the Senator has made, it is spelled out very clearly in section 274(a).

That is why we have the I-9 list, which is the list, A, B, and C. This is the part of the problem which we hope will be remedied with the Simpson proposal, and that is there will be just the six cards. You have list A, you can show one of these items, because under the law you have to have identity and employment eligibility. You can have one of the 10 items on A. Or you can have an item listed on B and an item listed on C, in order to conform with the current law. As has been pointed out both in the hearings as well as in the consideration and the presentation of this legislation, and the consideration of the Judiciary Committee, the result is that there is so much mischief that is created with the reproduction and counterfeit of these particular cards that they have become almost meaningless as a standard by which an employer is able to make a judgment as to the legitimacy of the applicant in order to ensure that Americans are going to get the jobs. Also it makes complex the problems of discrimination, which we talked about yesterday.

It is to address this issue that other provisions in the Simpson proposal—the six cards have been developed as have other procedures which have been outlined. But if there is any question in the minds of any of our colleagues, there is the requirement at the present time, specified in law, to show various documents as a condition of employment. That exists, as the Senator said, today. And any representation that we are somehow, or this bill somehow is altering that or changing that or doing

anything else but improving that process in the system is really a distortion of what is in the bill and a distortion of what is intended by the proposal before the Senate. So I will welcome the opportunity to join with my colleague on this issue.

It has been mentioned, as we are awaiting our friend and colleague from Vermont, who is going to present an amendment, that what we have now is really the first important and significant effort to try to deal with these breeder documents, moving through the birth certificate, hopefully on tamper-proof paper. Hopefully that will begin a long process of helping and assisting develop a system that will move us as much as we possibly can toward a counterfeit-free system, not only in terms of the cards but also in terms of the information that is going to be put on those cards.

We hear many of our colleagues talk about: Let us just get the cards out there. But unless you are going to be serious about looking at the backup, you are not really going to be serious about developing a system. That is what this legislation does. It goes back to the roots, to try to develop the authoritative and definitive birth certificate and to ensure the paper and other possible opportunities for counterfeiting will be effectively eliminated, or reduced dramatically. Then the development of these tamperproof cards; then the other provisions which are included in here, and that is the pilot programs to try to find out how we can move toward greater truth in verification that the person who is presenting it is really the person it has been issued to, and other matters. But that is really the heart of this program.

Frankly, if we cut away at any of those, then I think we seriously undermine an important opportunity to make meaningful progress on the whole issue of limiting the illegal immigration flow. As we all know, the magnet is jobs. As long as that magnet is out there, there is going to be a very substantial flow, in spite of what I think are the beefed-up efforts of the border patrol and other steps which have been taken.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DEWINE). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LEAHY. 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. LEAHY. Mr. President, I understand the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin has asked for time in morning business. I will yield for that purpose.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for 5 minutes.

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

Mr. FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. President.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, just briefly, before we go back on to the important business at hand, the immigration bill, I just want to call to the attention of the body an article today in the Washington Post entitled "Campaign Finance Proposal Drawing Opposition From Diverse Group." Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, May 1, 1996]

CAMPAIGN FINANCE PROPOSAL DRAWING OPPOSITION FROM DIVERSE GROUP

(By Ruth Marcus)

An unusual alliance of unions, businesses, and liberal and conservative groups is trying to defeat campaign finance legislation that would abolish political action committees and impose other restrictions on election spending.

The informal coalition, which met for the second time yesterday, includes groups that usually find themselves on opposite sides of legislative and ideological battles: unions including the AFL-CIO, National Education Association and National Association of Letter Carriers, and the National Association of Business Political Action Committees (NABPAC), which represents 120 business and trade association PACs.

Also among the 30 organizations at the meeting were conservative groups such as the Cato Institute, Conservative Caucus and Americans for Tax Reform; liberal groups such as EMILY's List, the women's political action committee; and others, including U.S. Term Limits, the National Women's Political Caucus, the National Association of Broadcasters and the American Dental Association.

Yesterday's meeting, at AFL-CIO headquarters here, was organized by Curtis Gans of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, a nonpartisan organization that studies voter turnout. Gans opposes the campaign finance proposal pending in Congress.

"The unifying principle is essentially that the approaches that have been pushed by Common Cause and Public Citizen are wrong . . . and their answers to the problems are wrong," Gans said, referring to two of the leading groups pushing the campaign finance legislation.

He said the groups that met yesterday were "unanimous" about the need to do "public education" activities to counter a debate that Gans said "has essentially been dominated by the Common Cause position." But the diverse assemblage was unable even to agree to Gans's draft joint statement about the issue.

Common Cause president Ann McBride said the meeting showed "labor and business . . . coming together and agreeing on the one thing that they can agree on, which is maintaining the status quo and their ability to use money to buy outcomes on Capitol Hill."

The meeting reflects a stepped-up effort by foes of the proposal. NABPAC has launched a print and radio advertising campaign here and in districts of members who support the bill. The ads target individual lawmakers by name.

"Legislation sponsored by Rep. David Minge . . . will make it harder for average