

So what do we have in our bill, the bill that is on the floor today? We have legislation that will place each one of the 11 million people here, virtually every one of them, on a direct path to citizenship. They say: Well, it is not automatic; they have to earn their way. They are supposed to work. How many hours? Well, 150 days. How much work do you have to do each day? Well, 1 hour. So you work 150 hours a year, and that qualifies you as a working person. But either way, that is what people come here for, to work. So what kind of earning is that? That is the benefit. That is why people come. That is the magnet.

So they say that because they work, they earned the right to gain their complete citizenship by violating the American law, by coming here illegally, and then they are rewarded with every benefit this Nation can give them. They are rewarded with every social benefit, every welfare benefit, every medical care benefit, every legal benefit—even citizenship—rewarding them for coming in ahead of the line, ahead of those who stayed and waited their turn.

So my point about that is this: Let's keep focusing on that. Let's figure out what the right thing to do is for these people. I am just saying that those who come illegally should not get every single benefit that those who come legally do.

It is a myth that somehow a person here who is not a citizen is somehow mistreated and not appropriately treated. I had the great honor—and I have the great honor—to know Professor Harald Rohlig at the college I attended. He is in his eighties. He came here from Germany right after World War II. He is a great organ master. He has performed and recorded the entire work of Bach. He is one of the most delightful people I have ever had the pleasure to know, and a decent person. His wife died, and before that, she had decided she didn't want to become a citizen. But he decided—he always wanted to be a citizen. He wanted to be a citizen. He was in his eighties. Now, here he was, the head of the music department, recorded the entire works of Bach, and had done so many other wonderful things and was loved throughout the whole area, but he wasn't a citizen. He came in legally and was qualified and he, in his eighties, decided to become a citizen. The point of that story is you can be a great participant in America and have many wonderful things available to you, even if you are not a citizen.

My next point is this: We are moving toward one of the most historic and generous proimmigration pieces of legislation this Nation has ever had. As we study the numbers, assuming that those who qualify are only 11 million to 12 million, we are looking at the numbers that come in legally on top of that—on top of the ones who come now, we are going to have 400,000 per year. And they are supposedly guest work-

ers. So we are told there are 400,000 guest workers, but they come in for 3 years with the automatic ability to apply for another 3 years. It is my understanding that if an employer desires an alien to get a green card, the employer can apply on behalf of the alien almost as soon as the alien begins work. And for the first time we have made it so that the guest workers, after 4 years, can apply for a green card themselves.

So within 4 years, anybody who comes in under this 400,000 per year, they will be allowed to get a green card, and a green card, of course, is an automatic step toward citizenship. It is just a matter of time after that—additionally, being able to speak English and not having been convicted of a felony or a serious crime—a felony.

We need to make sure. When we go through this tremendous move to regularize, it is what we calculate to be 30 million people in the next 10 years. Counting the ones who are not here now, counting the ones who are coming in, plus the 10 or 12 million who are here, we are talking about 30 million people. Are we certain? Will anyone come on this floor to explain and say with confidence: "Jeff, after we do all that, don't worry about illegal immigration, we have the border system under control now; we are not going to have any"? I don't think they can. I don't think they will. Because it is not secure under the legislation that is before us.

Second, many of the things in the legislation that are good, that call for increased Border Patrol officers or increased detention space, are not funded. We have not appropriated the money. When this legislation passes, which gives legal status to millions, we have no guarantee that any Congress will ever fund border control and security adequately. They have not yet. We have had that opportunity since 1986—20 years—and we haven't done it. I believe the American people have a right to be concerned about the bait and switch. It is like Lucy holding the football for Charlie Brown: Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me.

In 1986, I think that is basically what happened. We did the amnesty. We didn't mind calling it amnesty then. We acknowledged it was amnesty. This bill does exactly the same thing we did in 1986 in all significant and important respects, but they didn't get the enforcement at the border. Now, instead of 3 million people as we had in 1986, here illegally, we have 11 million.

By the way, I would note that in 1986, they estimated this would be 1 million to 1.5 million people claiming amnesty. When they opened it up and let people qualify, 3 million qualified, twice the number that was expected.

Some think we have 20 million people in our country illegally, and we could see quite a large number there move up.

I would say to my colleagues, we do not need to move forward with this leg-

islation. A few tinkering amendments is not going to do the trick. What we need to do is decide what we are going to do about the people who are here, how we are going to handle them in a fair and just way that is consistent with our law. Second, we need to assure the American people in a confident and effective way that our borders will be fixed; we will have the computers, the aerial vehicles, the fencing, the barriers, the ability to deport people who do not live on our borders—so-called "other than Mexicans," OTMs—to China and Brazil and Ecuador and Haiti and El Salvador, that we are going to deal with those criminal gangs which are here.

Once we can do that with confidence, I think maybe we can reach an agreement and accord. It is within our grasp to do so. But I have not sensed the will to see it done.

We hear a lot of talk. I urge my colleagues, my citizens, to listen to the remarks that are made on the floor by those who want to justify how we have allowed this system to get out of control. Listen carefully to their promises to fix it. If you examine them carefully, I think you will find that they are not substantial enough and we are going to end up, again, as we did in 1986, getting the legalization without getting the enforcement.

I hope a lot of talk will continue in the days ahead. We will have a lot of debate on amendments on the floor, and as we move forward, I hope we get to the point where a bill could be passed such that we could go home to our constituents and with integrity say we have done something worthwhile—we have improved the situation.

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

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

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent there now be a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

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

ZACARIAS MOUSSAOUI

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, today at 4 p.m. the jury in the Zacarias Moussaoui trial rendered their verdict that Mr. Moussaoui is eligible for the death penalty. It is reported that after the judge and jurors left the courtroom, Moussaoui shouted his defiance and declared his unyielding enmity toward this country.

Although none of us gets any satisfaction from the Moussaoui ordeal, I