national interest and not special interests, or will it continue to encourage illegal immigration? Are we just drifting through, once again, a charade, a predictable cycle where every few decades amnesty is rewarded to lawbreakers and enforcement never follows? Would that not be a tragedy?

This Senator has no intention and will not vote for and will oppose in every way he can—and others share this view—a bill that is going to be like 1986, that will fail again. When this cycle occurs again, as I predict it will if this legislation passes, those who ignore our laws will be rewarded; those who dutifully comply will consider themselves to be chumps for going through that process.

In recent days, I have had three people who have entered our country legally, done it correctly, come to me and tell me: Senator, stand in there; we support you. We did it the right way. We don't appreciate these people doing it differently.

There was a good article in the Montgomery Advertiser about a lady named Singh—I assume she is of Indian ancestry—who spent several years, hired a good lawyer, spent $4,250, and eventually got her citizenship, for which she was most proud. She was absolutely crystal clear that she did not appreciate it that other people came into our country illegally and would get the same privileges she got that she had to work hard for doing it the correct way. I think there is a moral order here that we need to respect. Repeated amnesties erode a moral approach to the law of this country.

In the past 2 months, we have heard other Senators and the President make promises that this is going to work. The political elite have all said to our top magazines and newspapers that they promise real enforcement will begin following the passage of this bill. They promise this bill will decrease illegal immigration, it will secure the border, and reform our legal immigration system to better serve the national interests. That is a great promise. If that is what this bill did, I would be for it. In fact, I was quoted in the paper several times this spring when I heard the masters of the universe, our friends who tried to write this bill, promise those very principles. I said that those are principles that are getting close to something I can support. I am really interested in it. But as I read it and studied it, I became more and more discouraged, and as independent critics and other experts examined it, they indicated the same.

So will the promises be fulfilled? That is a question I would like to discuss today. Remember this: Even in 1986, President Reagan was the President, and he was a law-and-order man, and when the bill passed in 1986, what did he emphasize? Did he emphasize the amnesty they granted? No, because people were dubious about that. He emphasized the future law enforcement—and this is so familiar today—and he said:

> It is high time we regained control of our borders, and Senator Alan Simpson's bill will do this.

Well, President Reagan was wrong. We had 3 million people here illegally then. Now we are talking about providing amnesty to 12 million, maybe 20 million. It didn't work. Nobody had the Congressional Budget Office score at that time, our own Congressional Budget Office which tells us this bill won't work and we are going to have another 8.7 million people enter our country in the next 20 years.

At least we have been warned this time. Why shouldn't that cause us to pause? Why shouldn't that cause us to give a decent respect to the opinions of our own constituents who strongly oppose the bill and have great doubts about it? Why don't we pull back, rethink it, and begin to do what one of the pollsters suggested the American people are saying, which is take some smaller steps incrementally, emphasizing enforcement? That is what I would suggest we should do.

I would like to make this point. Even if President Bush—who has done some things in recent years that are better than we have had done in a number of years but still isn't using all the powers of his office—even if he kept the promises he is making, he is not going to be in the White House after another 18 months. Somebody else is going to be there. There will be a new Congress here. So the test is really going to be when these trigger events are met, and that will be in 2009 when we will have a new President in office.

Now, let's think about this: Some of the Democratic candidates already oppose the core components of the bill, such as the merit-based system, like Canada's. Governor Richardson and Senator OBAMA—if they win the Presidency, are we going to assume they will fulfill the promises made by this administration? It won't be their priority.

Let us talk in a little more detail about this No. 1 issue which is so critical: Will we secure the border, and is this legislation going to help?

The bill proponents all make the same claims—that without this bill, the border cannot be secured. But if we pass the bill, they say, we will secure the border. Essentially, they are claiming that enforcement can't be done unless we get amnesty and enforcement. They also claim to be adding 18,000 Border Patrol officers, increasing the detention bedspace, and expanding fencing. Now, you have heard that said. Of course, I want to remind everyone we passed a law which already requires that last year. In my view, that is not contingent on this bill being passed. And I will go into that in some detail.

In its first articulated principle about the immigration legislation, the White House PowerPoint that was shown to Senators this spring—and that was intriguing to those of us who have been concerned about creating a lawful system of immigration—the PowerPoint promised ''to secure U.S. borders'' and ''not to repeat the 1986 failure.''

Senator KENNEDY, at the famous press conference just about a month ago, said this:

> The agreement we have reached is the best possible chance we will have in years to secure our borders.

Best chance in years.

> In this legislation, we are doubling the border patrol, we are increasing detention space.

Senator MCCAIN said this:

> This legislation will finally accomplish the extraordinary goal of security at our borders.

Another Senator:

> I am delighted we are going to secure the border.

Another one:

> It will make sure our borders become secure. We have had broken borders in this country for 20 years. It is time to get them fixed. This bill will do that.

Another:

> What happens if we fail? Our borders continue to be broken at a time when we need to secure our country.

That is what they all said. Oh, gosh. Well, let's talk about it. They said: Well, we started out in this legislation with 18,000 additional Border Patrol officers; we will increase detention capacity to 27,500 beds; and another one—this is former Governor Jed Bush and Ken Melman—''It doubles the border patrol and expands the border fence.'' That is what they said in their May 31 Wall Street Journal Open Borders editorial. It doubles the Border Patrol and expands the border fence.

Maybe these people think this. All right. Let's see if we can get this straight. Before we address whether this bill actually will secure the border, it is important to clarify for the record that the bill does not require a doubling of the Border Patrol, it does not require more bed space than required by current law, and it does not require more fence than current law requires. If anybody doesn't agree with that, come on down and show me that I am wrong. This is a promotion.

What about agents? The bill does not add 18,000 Border Patrol agents, Senators. When these statements were made, the trigger only required that a total of 18,000 Border Patrol agents be hired.

Since then, Senator JUDD GREGG got the number up to 20,000. I think we have that. So we are close to that number now. We are close to 18,000 now and are already on track to have that number hired by the end of 2008, so no more Border Patrol agents are required to be hired under this bill's enforcement trigger than current law requires. Those of you who want to see enforcement are not being given anything on Border Patrol officers.

What the bill does do for agents outside the trigger is add 6,000 to the total authorized level by requiring 2,400 agents to be hired in 2011, and again in