

And because of the progressive benefit structure of Social Security, those with higher incomes collect less per dollar paid in.

This underscores an under-appreciated bonus of the Senate immigration bill. The bill shifts U.S. immigration policy somewhat more toward skills-based entry rather than family unification. It also increases green cards for foreigners who graduate from American schools in science and engineering, thus raising the education and skills of new immigrants. This means the future fiscal immigration windfall is likely to exceed \$4.6 trillion.

Immigration won't solve all of Social Security's financial problems. The program still needs reform in its benefit formula and to allow private accounts. But immigrants unquestionably narrow the funding gap. More generous immigration is a wise step toward solving the entitlement crisis in Washington.

Mr. LEAHY. Likewise, an article dated June 6, 2013 in *Commentary* debunks the myth that immigration would bankrupt the Medicare trust fund. The title of the article is notable: "Message to Congress: Immigrants Pay More Than Their 'Fair Share' of Medicare." According to the article, "it turns out that closing the borders would deplete Medicare's trust fund." In fact, "over a seven-year period, immigrants paid in \$115.2 billion more than they took out. Meanwhile, native-born Americans drained \$28.1 billion from Medicare. In other words, immigrants are keeping Medicare afloat. And it's non-citizen immigrants who make the biggest contribution. On average, each one subsidizes Medicare by \$466 annually." It concludes that "Scare-mongering about the cost of immigration has become a staple of political debate . . . But our findings indicate that economic fairness, not just morality, argues for immigrants' rights to care."

The goal in this bill is to encourage undocumented immigrants to come out of the shadows so we can bring them into our legal system and then do what all Vermonters tell me, what Americans everywhere tell me: Play by the same rules. I mean, that is a sense of fairness we should agree to. If we create a reason for people not to come out and register, this is going to defeat the purpose of this whole bill. It makes all of this work: the hearings, the hours and days and weeks of markups and consideration, makes it for naught. Amendments that seek to further penalize the undocumented would just encourage them to stay in the shadows. These steps are not going to make us safer and they are not going to spur our economy.

One of the many reasons we need immigration reform is to ensure there is not a permanent underclass in this Nation. As part of this effort, we need to continue the vital safety net programs that protect children, pregnant women, and other vulnerable populations.

Too often immigrants have been unfairly blamed and demonized as a drain on our resources. Facts prove the opposite.

We are a nation of immigrants. As I have said many times before, my ma-

ternal grandparents came from Italy to Vermont seeking a better life. They created many jobs when they did that. They sent their children to college and saw their grandson become a Senator.

My wife's parents came from the Province of Quebec, speaking French. She was born here. Her family contributed to the economy of Vermont, and our whole region, with the jobs they created. They raised three wonderful children at the same time.

We are a nation of immigrants. Let's fight to maintain our tradition of protecting the vulnerable. Let's allow the American dream to be a reality for all those who are in this country because they want to be in this country.

Time is not now divided from one side to the other, is it?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is not.

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

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

TRIBUTE TO DOUG BAILEY

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, I come to the floor to talk about Doug Bailey. Doug Bailey died last week at age 79. The New York Times reported on Tuesday that Doug Bailey helped define the role of political consultant in the 1960s and 1970s and that he founded the Hotline. He was much more than that to me and to countless others for whom he was an example of how to live a public life.

I am aware that when offering a eulogy it is good form to speak more of the deceased than of oneself, but that is hard to do with Doug because he cared so much about everyone he met and everyone he worked with. I first met Doug Bailey in Washington, DC, in the spring of 1977. I was here for a few months working with Howard Baker, the former Senator from Tennessee, who had just been elected to be the Republican leader of this body. He asked me to come work for him. I think part of that was to console me, to let me lick my wounds for having lost the Governor's race a couple years earlier in Tennessee. There wasn't much prospect for a political future for me then because the Nashville Tennessean had written that there wouldn't be a Republican Governor in Tennessee for another 50 years.

So I was here in Washington, and while I was here I became energized by the Republican Senators. It looked to me as though Jimmy Carter was already in trouble, and my friend Wyatt Stewart introduced me to Doug Bailey. The reason I thought it was an important meeting was because at that time he and his partner John Deardourff represented 7 of the 12 Republican Gov-

ernors in the country who were still in office after the Watergate debacle of 1974.

Doug came to Nashville. He sat down with my wife Honey, Tom Ingram, and me, and we talked about the idea of another Governor's race—this time in 1978. Doug's view was that I had lost, among other things, because I wasn't a very interesting candidate, that I campaigned in a blue suit and talked to Republicans and to rotary clubs. So the talk was about what would be authentic, what did I really like to do.

To make a long story short, I ended up walking 1,000 miles across Tennessee over 6 months in a red-and-black plaid shirt, followed by a group of four University of Tennessee band members in a flatbed truck. And several times a day we would get up on the truck and play in Alexander's washboard band. Doug put all that on television, and I won the election.

Now, to some, that would seem like an ultimate political gimmick, but if you think about it, the idea of the walk across Tennessee was a good deal more authentic than the photo-ops and the press releases and the 5-second sound bites that are often what we end up with in politics today. But let me just say it this way: I would have never been elected Governor if it hadn't been for Doug Bailey.

He also did something else I had never seen anybody else do—no other political consultant. He actually wrote a plan and we actually followed it during the campaign.

The important thing for me to say today is that political consulting was not the end of Doug Bailey's help. He came to Nashville once a week during my first term as Governor not so much to talk about politics, but to talk about how to be a better Governor, which was his idea of how to be a political success. Our conversations were usually not about how to follow, but how to lead, and how to deal with the political implications, for example, of wanting to have three big road programs and do it on a pay-as-you-go basis so we could attract the auto industry to our State without running up debt and persuade all the Republican Members to vote for three gas tax increases, which every single one of them did.

Doug's advice was that a good tactic was to do the right thing because it would confuse your opponents; they wouldn't understand what you were up to.

His advice about recruiting people to work in the cabinet, for example, was not to just invite someone who might take the job, but to make a list of the four or five best persons to do the job and then ask the best one. He said: You might be surprised—that person might be waiting for an opportunity to serve the public. That was some of the best advice I ever got because some of the best persons were waiting for the right opportunity for public service.

All this sounds hopelessly naive, especially today, in a time when there is

so much cynicism about politics. But that is the way it was then, and that is the way I was trained, and that is the way I tried to do my job. I would wake up every day literally thinking about almost nothing else other than how I could help our State move ahead.

I called Doug Bailey throughout the last 30 or 35 years whenever I needed good advice. I called him when the Democrats swore me in early to remove a corrupt Governor who was selling pardons for cash in Tennessee, and he gave me a few words I used to speak to the public on that day.

One of the best pieces of advice he gave me was when the first President Bush called me while I was the University of Tennessee president. I knew President Bush was going to ask me to be the new Education Secretary, and I had about 2 hours to think about it.

Doug said: Ask these two questions. One, Mr. President, may I come up with a plan, subject to your approval? Two, may I go and recruit a team, subject to your approval? Well, that may not seem like much, but after I was announced by the President, I walked into the White House personnel office, and they tried to tell me whom to hire. I said: I don't have to do that. I already have the President's assurance that I can recruit a team subject to his approval. So I was able to recruit David Kearns, former head of Xerox, and Diane Ravitch and others who never would have ended up in President Bush's administration, and he was delighted with them.

Doug always had a project. Some were zany. Some were downright brilliant. One of the most recent was to try to persuade someone to run for President on an Independent ticket online. He didn't succeed at that. He was starting another project when I saw him last at a dinner at the end of January in Washington this year.

Ironically, Doug Bailey was an expert in the technology, TV ads, and the Hotline, which have contributed to today's polarization in politics. But he withdrew from politics after a while and from political consulting because he didn't like what politics had become. He thought more elected officials needed to understand that there is a difference between campaigning and governing and that differences should be resolved in the middle rather than entrenched in the fringes or on the extremes.

In a tribute, Judy Woodruff wrote about perhaps Doug's greatest passion and his greatest legacy: inspiring youngsters such as Chuck Todd and Norah O'Donnell—whom he paid almost nothing to work at the Hotline—to care about and be involved in America's political system. I am sure Chuck and Norah would tell you that Doug considered it even more important and an even nobler calling to actually serve in government, and that he spent most of his life teaching and helping those who were willing to do it.

I would never have been elected Governor without Doug Bailey's help. More

important, I will give Doug most of the credit for whatever success I had as Governor and in politics. It has been a long time since I regularly checked with him before I made a political move, but when I did, I always felt as though the next step was a surer step and a step more likely to be in a direction that served a larger purpose other than my own political existence.

I have never known a person who cared more about each person he met in every issue he tackled. So I wanted to come to the floor today and express this tribute to a public life well lived, and to offer my condolences to his wife Pat, his children Kate and Edward, his brothers and his grandson.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD following my remarks the New York Times story about Doug Bailey's death and Judy Woodruff's blog about his passing. It has lots of comments from other people, and I have not seen a blog in a long time where all the comments are positive. Usually that is not the case.

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

[From the New York Times, June 13, 2013]

DOUG BAILEY, G.O.P. POLITICAL CONSULTANT, DIES AT 79

(By Paul Vitello)

Doug Bailey, who helped define the expanding role of political consultants in the 1960s and '70s and later founded The Hotline, a digest of political news, distributed by fax, that became an indispensable tool of the political trade in the pre-Web 1980s and '90s, died on Monday at his home in Arlington, Va. He was 79.

Mr. Bailey, who had health problems in recent years, was working at home on several projects when he died, apparently in his sleep, said his daughter, Kate Bailey.

His consulting firm, Bailey Deardourff & Associates, which he started in 1967 with a fellow political hand, John Deardourff, worked mainly for moderate Republican candidates like Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York and Senator Charles H. Percy of Illinois. At one point in the late 1970s, the firm had 11 of the country's 19 Republican governors as clients.

Its work on behalf of President Gerald R. Ford's campaign in 1976 against Jimmy Carter, then a former Georgia governor, was widely credited with helping to narrow Mr. Ford's deficit of much as 20 points in the polls—most of it attributed to his pardon of President Richard M. Nixon for his role in Watergate—to 2 points by Election Day.

The firm made some commercials featuring ordinary Americans questioning Mr. Carter's lack of national experience, and others focused on Mr. Ford's likability and long government service, all to the tune of a campaign song, "I'm Feeling Good About America."

"We said to ourselves, what the country knows about Gerald Ford is that he pardoned Nixon," Mr. Bailey told The New York Times. "Let's tell them more, let's give them a view of Jerry Ford the man that's upbeat."

Mr. Deardourff died in 2004 at 71.

Mr. Bailey, who had grown dismayed by the polarization of national campaigns in the 1980s, started The Hotline in 1987 partly as an experiment in bipartisanship, he said. With the Democratic strategist Roger Craver as

his partner, he sought to expose the professional political class to a broad range of issues across the ideological spectrum.

Mr. Bailey told interviewers that in The Hotline's first year, potential subscribers asked three main questions: "You're going to do what?" "You want me to pay you how much?" And "What's a fax?"

The Hotline's 500 or so paying subscribers—among them politicians, pundits, political operatives and Congressional staff members—received an exhaustive aggregation of information at 11:30 each morning, including news about state and local election campaigns and grass-roots trends like tax revolts, term-limit drives and environmental initiatives.

It also offered a roundup of political jokes from the previous night's talk-show monologues. Before "The Daily Show," The Hotline was one of the most prodigious purveyors of political humor in the country.

"That's part of political communication these days," Mr. Bailey said, presciently, in a 1991 interview with The Washington Post. "As a practical matter, if you want to know where the people are, their views come from television, and more from programs that don't try to influence them directly, such as the late-night monologues."

The Hotline, which was bought by The National Journal in 1996 and is part of its Web site, became a training ground for political reporters, including Chuck Todd of NBC and Norah O'Donnell of CBS. Its currency has been somewhat devalued in the past decade by free political sites like Politico and Talking Points Memo, whose creators acknowledge The Hotline in their lineage.

Douglas Lansford Bailey was born on Oct. 5, 1933, in Cleveland to Walter and Marion Bailey. His father ran a manufacturing company. After receiving a bachelor's degree from Colgate University, Mr. Bailey received his master's and doctorate degrees from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts.

Besides his daughter, Mr. Bailey is survived by his wife, Patricia, a commissioner of the Federal Trade Commission from 1979 to 1988; his son, Ed; a brother, David; and a grandson.

In 1999, again with Mr. Craver, Mr. Bailey founded the Freedom Channel, which offers politically oriented video online on demand.

In 2006, Mr. Bailey joined with the Democratic political consultants Hamilton Jordan and Gerald Rafshoon in founding a political reform organization, Unity08. It suspended its activities in 2008 after a failed effort to draft Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg of New York to run for president.

"The two-party system has worked well for 200 years and can continue to do so," Mr. Bailey said at the time, "but only when elections are fought over the middle. Our goal is to jolt the two parties into recognizing this, by drawing them into a fight over the middle rather than allowing them to keep maximizing the appeal to their bases at the extremes."

Asked in another interview about politics today, Mr. Bailey said, "Candidates listen too much to consultants because they're driven by winning and money."

This article has been revised to reflect the following correction:

Correction: June 17, 2013

An earlier version of this obituary omitted one survivor and erroneously included two brothers among the survivors. Of Mr. Bailey's three brothers, only one, David, survives him; Robert and Richard are deceased.

[From the Rundown, June 13, 2013]

REMEMBERING DOUG BAILEY

(By Judy Woodruff)

It doesn't happen often. But every once in a while, you meet a person who carries the

human equivalent of sunshine around with them. It's the guy or girl who always seems to be smiling—if not outright, then just beneath the surface. And not in a goofy way, but rather as if they love life and what they're doing and have decided not to let the gremlins throw them off course. My friend Doug Bailey, who died this week at the age of 79, was like that. I never had a conversation with him, over the course of more than thirty years, when he didn't have a piece of good news to share. He was one of the most upbeat people I've ever known.

What may surprise you is that he spent his life in politics. Given the partisanship and negativity that define today's political arena, it's hard to imagine. But Doug got his start when things were different, when candidates could be moderate Republicans (as most of those he supported were), or conservative Democrats, and still get elected to office. This was back in the 1960s and '70s when Republicans such as New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, and Sens. Charles Percy of Illinois, Howard Baker of Tennessee and Richard Lugar of Indiana were running for election and re-election. Doug Bailey worked for all of them, and for President Gerald Ford in his re-election campaign of 1976.

Tennessee Republican Sen. Lamar Alexander, whose gubernatorial campaign Bailey worked on in that era, told the National Journal in an interview this week, "He cared about every person he met and every issue he tackled."

President Ford's close loss to challenger Jimmy Carter was hard on Doug, but what caused him to leave campaign work altogether, he later told friends, was the negative tone politics started to take on in the 1980s. He went on to create the Hotline, a pioneering daily newsletter on campaigns and candidates, and later to launch a succession of projects aimed at bringing the two parties together, searching for the increasingly elusive common ground between the far left and the far right.

But what I remember best about Doug Bailey was his passion for getting young people turned on to politics. He refused to accept the idea that entire generations of Americans would grow up and be repelled by the thought of a life in public service. When I first talked to him in 2005 about a rough plan for a documentary project, traveling around the United States and profiling the group that has come to be known as "millennials," no one was more enthusiastic than Doug.

He put me in touch with the surprisingly large national network of young people he knew—all leaders, many then still in college; at the same time, he urged me not to forget to talk to young people who were not in school. In 2007, when the project was over, after two documentaries and other reports had been aired or published, he urged me to do a sequel. Since then, and as recently as this spring, he's had one idea after another about how to engage young people in public life. In the hundreds of tweets that popped up after word spread of his death, there were scores from young folks he mentored.

Doug was not only really smart; he was wise. He believed politics was meant to help people and to make this a better country, and he thought political people should work together to make that happen. He never gave up on the idea. We honor his legacy by not giving up either. Doug Bailey is survived by his wife Pat, their children Ed and Kate, and a grandchild.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, I yield the floor and 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. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the quorum call be rescinded.

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

THE DREAM ACT

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, last Saturday was the first anniversary of a very historic day. On June 15, 2012, President Barack Obama announced he would grant temporary legal status to immigrant students who arrived in the United States as children. This status, known as deferred action for children arrivals, or DACA, allows these young people to live and work legally in America on a temporary basis without fear of deportation.

June 15, 2012, is a day I will never forget. It was personal. It was 12 years ago that I introduced legislation known as the DREAM Act. This bill gives immigrant students who grew up in this country a chance to earn their citizenship. I have worked hard to pass this bill for 12 years. During that time it has been my honor to meet hundreds of the young people who would be eligible for the DREAM Act.

I don't know when it started, but we started calling them, and they called themselves, the DREAMers. They were brought to the United States as children. They grew up in this country, and they have overcome some amazing obstacles. They are tomorrow's doctors, engineers, teachers, and soldiers. They are young people who will make America a better country. But for most of their young lives they have been trapped in a legal limbo, fearing that they could be deported away from their families, away from their homes, away from the only country they have ever called home with just a knock on the door. Yet they have developed amazing lives with great potential.

Incidentally, we have already invested in them. They were educated in America. They have a great potential to make this country even better for the future generations. It just doesn't make any sense to walk away from the talents they can bring to us.

In 2010, Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana and I joined together across the aisle to ask the Obama administration to grant deferred action to DREAMers. President Obama wanted to give Congress a chance to act before using his Executive power, and he said: I know I have the authority, but let's see if you can pass the DREAM Act.

We brought it to the floor of the Senate. I remember that day. If I am not mistaken, it was a Saturday, and that gallery was filled. It was filled with young people in caps and gowns who were watching the debate on the floor of the Senate on the DREAM Act. We needed 60 votes because we faced a Republican filibuster. We have always faced a Republican filibuster.

Fifty-five Senators voted for it, which by most standards is a sufficient majority, but not by the Senate stand-

ard. We fell five votes short of defeating the filibuster.

I watched those students file out of those doors, and then I left the floor of the Chamber. I walked downstairs to meet with them. There was not a dry eye in the room. They had just watched their dreams disappear right here on the floor of the Senate—five votes short.

The House, in which the Presiding Officer was serving, had already passed the DREAM Act under the leadership of Speaker NANCY PELOSI, Howard Ber- man, ZOE LOFGREN, and especially my colleague from Illinois, LUIS GUTIERREZ. The House had risen to that challenge. We had our chance and fell short by five votes.

After that Republican filibuster of the DREAM Act, President Obama decided he needed to take charge. He established the deferred action for childhood arrivals to give those DREAMers and the thousands like them across the country a chance to come out of the shadows and be part of America.

What has happened since then? In the last year more than 539,000 have applied for DACA. So far about 365,000 applications have been granted; 140,000 applications are still being considered. I am proud to say my home State of Illinois has the third most DACA applicants, more than 28,000, and the third most DACA recipients, approximately 23,000 young people. It wasn't too surprising because shortly after the President announced his program, Congressman LUIS GUTIERREZ and I held a gathering at the Navy Pier, which is kind of a seminal site in downtown Chicago.

We invited those who wanted to apply for this deferred action. We thought: What are we going to do if 400 or 500 people show up? Then we were worried no one would show up. We didn't know what to expect. Well, we knew the night before what was coming. The line started forming at midnight. At midnight these families stood there—mom, dad, and their son or daughter—waiting for a chance for that son or daughter to apply for this decision by President Obama of deferred action.

Many times the parents were undocumented themselves and even risked deportation by showing up. But the thought of saving a child in their family and giving that child a chance was enough for them to take the risk.

Well, it turned out over 12,000 people showed up. We were overwhelmed. We couldn't even come close to processing the applications that were involved. We knew then this was an idea whose time had come.

It is especially important to note the 1-year anniversary of President Obama's announcement as we consider what is going on on the floor of the Senate this week. We are debating comprehensive immigration reform.

The reality is that DACA is overwhelmingly popular with the American people. The American people—I have always trusted—have in their heart of