

growth. That does not mean we are not going to provide the services that we need. It is not going to mean Grandma is going to be out of her wheelchair and out in the street. But she said between 6 and 7 percent. Our plan calls for a 7.2-percent growth—from \$4,800 this year to nearly \$7,200 in 7 years. They know it. They have been written up in the newspapers for demagoging Medicare. They have no shame. They continue to come and talk about it. Then they say we have to be polite and we cannot be partisan.

Personal attacks. I am not attacking individuals, I am attacking policy. This is not the right policy. Fairness, American values. How do you take more from our hard-working people and say you have to send more to Washington because we need this, we have to have more money here?

The fact again is that the President does not have a plan. The Democrats do not have a plan. We have had a balanced budget on the table for months. The President signed a pledge that said before the end of this year he would put a balanced budget on the table for 7 years scored by CBO numbers. We hate to get into calling people liars, but when we do not see the information here, I will let people draw their own conclusions of whether that pledge has been lived up to.

The Republican budget proposal that was put on the table today was different. It was a movement in the other direction. It was trying to find some common ground here. How do you find common ground when you are shadow boxing, when somebody will not come to the table and honestly put on a budget?

Then they talk about no personal attacks. I do not know if people in the gallery or people at home had a chance to watch the news tonight, but the President did not take off his gloves when he came after the Republicans and spewed more of this rhetoric. I cannot understand for the life of me how people can stand on the floor here and defend this type of action.

Talk about defense—defense is declining in actual dollars 20 percent over the next 7 years. It is not going up. Medicare is going up 53 percent; defense is going down 20 percent. Yet, they hang on to this as using this as some kind of example.

Then we have some Senator saying 80 percent of the tax cuts are going to the wealthiest in the country. Then they have others that say 50 percent is going to the wealthiest. When you pull numbers out of the air and make up stories—maybe they should go back and get the stories straight. The fact is, 80 percent of the tax reduction in this package goes to families that make less than \$100,000—not \$100,000 tax credit for someone making \$350,000. It sounds good. It is rhetoric. It might get headlines, but it is not fact. Rhetoric, half-truths, distortions.

I have been the author of the \$500-per-child tax credit and I have worked

for it for 3 years because I thought it was important that families were able to keep more of the money they made. Families out there expect this. Republicans better remember it and the Democrats should remember it because I think this is going to be one of the telling tales in the election of 1996.

I will wrap up quickly. I see the leader on the floor. Americans know why they voted for Republicans in 1994. Why are there 11 freshman Republicans in the Senate and not 1 Democrat? I think it is pretty clear. There was a clear message. Not one Republican freshman lost his seat in the House. It was pretty clear what Americans wanted. If they listened to the Republican plan, the Contract With America—you might not agree with everything in the contract—I think the majority of people in this country agree with the majority of the contract, and at least it is moving this country away from a bigger, faster growing, bloated, inefficient, money-wasting Government, to try to streamline it to make it more effective, more cost friendly for taxpayers, and to provide the better services, to provide the Medicare, to provide the welfare, to provide Medicaid, Head Start, and other programs to the kids that need it, but to also ensure that those programs are going to be here tomorrow and the next day, and the next year and the next year.

If we are going to spend their money today, if you think we are facing tough budget battles today, if we do not face this problem today, by the year 2000 this is going to be an animal that we will not want to grab the tail of because it is getting away from us now and we do not have much time to get it fixed. If we spend more money and increase the size of this Government, it will make that problem harder and harder to control. I yield the floor.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Minnesota for his statement. Let me indicate that we will be in session tomorrow by 11 o'clock. I do not believe there will be any votes tomorrow, but I am not certain. I cannot promise anyone. We will have meetings tomorrow morning on welfare reform on the conference report. There will be a meeting tomorrow morning on the D.C. appropriations bill. There will be debate tomorrow on the Labor-HHS appropriations bill, and we will again hopefully maybe get consent tomorrow to move to take that bill up. If that is the case, we could be considering amendments that might bring about some votes.

We will probably have to be in session late Sunday afternoon in the event there should be a CR come over from the House. That may or may not happen. It depends on whether we get back into serious discussions on the balanced budget. If that happens, I assume the House would send us a 1- or 2-day continuing resolution. That would take us through Monday or Tuesday.

I just say to my colleagues, I do not anticipate votes, but if votes should occur we will try to work out a way to give ample notice. It is pretty hard if you are on the west coast or somewhere in the western part of the United States to get back very quickly. We will try to figure out some way not to disadvantage anyone.

Let me say before I conclude, I will ask Senator BOXER have whatever time she may need when I finish.

Are we in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is considering the motion to proceed to the appropriations.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask there now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business with Senators not to exceed 10 minutes each.

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

TRIBUTE TO ANDREW CHASE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I know all Senators join with me in paying tribute to Andrew Chase, who will soon be retiring from the Senate.

Andrew began his Senate career July 28, 1975, as an employee of the Sergeant at Arms' custodial service operation. In 1981, Andrew was promoted to assistant supervisor of Custodial Services and served in that position until 1988, when he accepted the position of night shift foreman for the environmental service operation.

Now, after more than 20 years of service to the Senate, Andrew is retiring to spend time with his wife, Brenda, and his remarkable family—14 children, 25 grandchildren, and 3 great grandchildren.

Andrew is also very involved in his community of Brandywine, MD, serving as president of the usher board at the Asbury United Methodist Church, and as a volunteer with the Kidney Foundation, where he visits and educates dialysis patients on kidney transplants.

On behalf of the Senate, I extend our thanks to Andrew Chase, and our best wishes for a long and happy retirement.

TRIBUTE TO DARNELL CLARENCE JACOBS, SR.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Darnell Clarence Jacobs, Sr., who will soon retire from the Senate after nearly 30 years of outstanding service.

"Jake," as he is known to his family and friends, began his Senate career in March 1966, as an employee of the Sergeant at Arms' custodial service operation.

In 1981, Jake was promoted to supervisor of custodial services, and served in that position until 1988, when he accepted a position working in the Senate Chambers.

Jake has been a dedicated and valuable member of the Senate family, and we wish him well as he retires to spend more time with his family—his wife Jacqueline, and his three sons, Jeman, Derrick, and Darnell, Jr.

I know all Members of the Senate join me in thanking Jake for his service, and in wishing him many more years of health and happiness.

NEW STUDY SUPPORTS LEGAL IMMIGRATION

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, earlier this week, a new study was released which highlights the many benefits that immigrants bring to the United States. It is vitally important that we be aware of the contributions of immigrants to the American economy, to American families, and to American communities as we debate the very difficult issue of immigration reform.

The study was published by the National Immigration Forum and the Cato Institute with support from a wide array of business, civil rights, Hispanic, and religious organizations. It was conducted by Prof. Julian Simon of the University of Maryland, who has published a number of works or immigration over the years.

This study joins the impressive group of other important studies which demonstrate that legal immigration is not a source of major problems for our country. In fact, it brings significant benefits to the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that the executive summary of the study and its opening chapter be printed in the RECORD, along with an article about the study which appeared in the Los Angeles Times.

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

IMMIGRATION: THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC FACTS

(By Julian L. Simon)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The following facts emerge from the data and material examined in this volume:

The rate of U.S. immigration in the 1990s is about one-third the rate of immigration at the beginning of the century. The total number of immigrants—including illegals—is about the same as or less than the number then, though the country's population has more than doubled.

The foreign-born population of the United States is 8.5 percent of the total population, which is significantly lower than the proportion—13 percent of higher—during the period from 1860 to 1930.

Immigrants do not increase the rate of unemployment among native Americans, even among minority, female, and low-skill workers. The effect of immigration on wages is negative for some of these special groups and positive for others, but the overall effects are small.

Total per capita government expenditures on immigrants are much lower than those for natives, no matter how immigrants are classified. Narrowly defined welfare expenditures for immigrants are slightly more than for natives, but this has been true in the past, too. These welfare expenditures are

only small fractions of total government expenditures on immigrants and natives. Schooling costs and payments to the elderly are the bulk of government expenditures; natives use more of these programs, especially Social Security and Medicare.

The educational levels of immigrants have been increasing from decade to decade. No major shifts in educational levels of immigrants relative to natives are apparent.

Natural resources and the environment are not at risk from immigration. As population size and average income have increased in the United States, the supplies of natural resources and the cleanliness of the environment have improved rather than deteriorated. Immigration increases the base of technical knowledge. That speeds the current positive trends in both greater availability of natural resources and cleaner air and water.

1. SUMMARY OF IMPORTANT FACTS ABOUT IMMIGRATION

These are the most important demographic and economic facts pertaining to policy decisions about the numbers of immigrants that will be admitted by law into the United States:

The Quantities of Immigration

The total number of immigrants per year (including illegal immigrants and refugees) now adays is somewhat less than it was in the peak years at the beginning of the 20th century when U.S. population was less than half as large as it now is.

The rate of immigration relative to population size now is low rather than high. Immigration as a proportion of population is about a third of what it was in the peak years.

The foreign-born population of the United States is 8.5 percent of the total population (as of 1990). The proportions in the United States during the period from before 1850 to 1940 were higher—always above 13 percent during the entire period from 1860 to 1930—and the proportions since the 1940s were lower. The present proportion—8.5 percent—also may be compared to the 1990s' proportions of 22.7 percent in Australia; 16 percent in Canada; 6.3 percent in France; 7.3 percent in Germany; 3.9 percent in Great Britain; and 5.7 percent in Sweden.

Though the volume of illegal immigration is inherently difficult to estimate, a solid body of research, using a variety of ingenious methods, has now arrived at a consensus: the number of illegals in the United States is perhaps 3.2 million, pushed downward by the amnesty of 1987–1988, not very different from a decade before. Many of these persons are transitory. The million-plus persons who registered for the amnesty verify that the total was and is nowhere near the estimates that often have been given in public discussion.

The rate of illegal immigration is agreed by all experts to be about 250,000 to 300,000 per year.

More than half of illegal aliens enter legally and overstay their visas and permits. "Less than half of illegal immigrants cross the nation's borders clandestinely. The majority enter legally and overstay their visas" (Fix and Passel 1994, 4).

The Economic Characteristics of Immigrants

New immigrants are more concentrated than are natives in the youthful labor-force ages when people contribute more to the public coffers than they draw from it; natives are more concentrated in the childhood and elderly periods of economic dependence when the net flows are from the public to the individual. Of all the facts about immigration relevant to its economic effects, this is the most important, and the one which is most

consistent in all countries, in all decades and centuries.

Taken altogether, immigrants on average have perhaps a year less education than natives—much the same relationship as has been observed back to the 19th century.

The average education of new immigrants has been increasing with each successive cohort. The proportion of adult immigrants with 8 or fewer years of education has been trending downward, and the proportion of adult immigrants with 16 or more years of education has been trending upward.

The proportion of adult new immigrants with eight or fewer years of education is much higher than the proportion of adult natives.

The proportion of immigrants with bachelor's or postgraduate degrees is higher than the proportion of the native labor force.

Immigrants have increased markedly as a proportion of members of the scientific and engineering labor force (especially at the highest level of education). Immigrants also have increased rapidly as proportions of the pools of U.S. scientists and engineers. Scientific professionals are especially valuable for promoting the increased productivity and growth of the economy.

Immigrants, even those from countries that are much poorer and have lower average life expectancies than the United States, are healthier than U.S. natives of the same age and sex. New immigrants have better records with respect to infant mortality and health than do U.S. natives and immigrants who have been in the United States longer.

New immigrants are unusually mobile geographically and occupationally, in large part because of their youth. Such mobility increases the flexibility of the economy and mitigates tight labor markets.

First- and second-generation immigrant children do unusually well in school. They win an astonishingly high proportion of scholastic prizes.

The Effects of Immigrants in the Labor Market

Immigrants do not cause native unemployment, even among low-paid or minority groups. A spate of respected recent studies, using a variety of methods, agrees that "there is no empirical evidence documenting that the displacement effect [of natives from jobs] is numerically important" (Borjas 1990, 92). The explanation is that new entrants not only take jobs, they make jobs. The jobs they create with their purchasing power, and with the new businesses which they start, are at least as numerous as the jobs which immigrants fill.

Re wage effects, one recent summary concludes, "Immigration has no discernible effect on wages overall. . . . Wage growth and decline appear to be unrelated to immigration—a finding that holds for both unskilled and skilled workers" (Fix and Passel 1994, 48). My interpretation of the literature is slightly different: a minor negative effect.

Welfare Use and Taxes Paid

Immigrants who enter legally through regular quotas are not permitted to receive public assistance for three years, and they may be deported if they obtain such assistance (though few are). Refugees, however, are entitled to such assistance immediately upon entry, which (together with their needy circumstances) accounts for their high rate of welfare use soon after arrival.

Re the use by immigrants of welfare services including food stamps, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Supplemental Security Income (SSI), and Medicaid: these expenditures are the tail that wags the dog in policy discussions. Expenditures called "welfare" now comprise about \$404 per person annually for immigrants and about \$260 for natives. Total government social outlays are roughly \$3,800 for natives.