

Mr. ALLEN. What is so startling is all this has happened in just a few months, so those of us who were saying this is a reckless approach, this an irresponsible approach back in March and April, now find ourselves saying, you know, we told you this was a possible outcome. We told you that the policy was irresponsible. Now, Mr. President, how do we dig ourselves out of that?

I think that the point the gentleman was making about Social Security and Medicare, it is very true. But it is also true when I travel around my State of Maine and talk to business owners, for example, they say to me, apart from health care, which seems to be their number one problem, the high cost of health care, they talk about the qualifications of the workforce. They realize that they are only going to succeed if they have well-trained, well-educated, well-qualified workers for the jobs which they need.

It gets harder and harder. If too many kids do not get Head Start, if you do not have enough spending on title I funds for kids from disadvantaged areas, if you are not fully funding special education in accordance with the promises made by this Congress in the past, if young people in this country do not have the funds to go on and get the college or technical college education they need, we are not going to be as strong a country, as competitive; and our businesses will not do as well. Those are simple facts.

Yet the examples I have given are examples of public investments. They cannot be made by our businesses. They cannot be made by individual families, many of whom are struggling and do not have the funds for private school or private college. They are only the kinds of investments that we can make together. We cannot make those investments together if all the money has gone in a tax cut that is too large to be responsible, where most of the money, or at least half of the money, is going to people in this country who make over \$300,000 a year.

We have to look again at this tax cut. We have to figure out how we can make sure that our overall budgeting over the next few years is reasonable, responsible, disciplined and conservative, not irresponsible and reckless, I guess I would say.

Mr. KIND. If the gentleman will yield further, with the drastic change in the budget numbers, and there is no sign of immediate economic recovery on the horizon, I think the responsible thing to do, one that really requires real leadership right now and a gut check, is for the administration to submit a new budget proposal, in light of the fact that their own numbers, a 7 percent increase in discretionary spending, is just not affordable right now within the context of the overall budget, unless, again, they are willing to dip into the Social Security and Medicare Trust Funds, which I do not think there is a lot of bipartisan support to do.

I think just about everyone in this Chamber now is on record supporting the lockbox proposal, walling off those trust funds, the surpluses being run in those programs for debt reduction; and that is why we are hoping that the administration, the President, will take a look at this and realize that things have changed.

That is okay. Mistakes are made from time to time. But we are still in a position of being able to recover. We are not down this road that far yet. These numbers have just come out. We have not passed the next fiscal year's budget, so there is still time to recover.

It is going to require, I think, a whole lot of cooperation across the aisle and shared responsibility across the aisle to make this add up, to maintain some fiscal discipline, but also meet our obligations that exist.

We have an Elementary and Secondary Education Act we are trying to reauthorize that is going to require resources, bipartisan thinking, in order to solve that dilemma. We have the next farm bill reauthorization to come to the floor here shortly. Lord knows our family farmers are struggling to survive. You talk about a national security issue, food security ranks right up there at the top as well. We have that obligation to meet.

We also need to be thinking long term and maintaining the solvency again of these important programs, like Social Security, Medicare, so we are not just punting on this issue, which would be the easiest thing for us to do today. I think that is one of the reasons why the President appointed his Social Security commission, because he realizes we need to take a hard honest look at this and start finding some bipartisan solutions to the challenges we face.

We still have time to recover. I guess that is one hopeful note in tonight's discussion. Hopefully, we are going to get enough consensus and enough bipartisan work here in the coming weeks before the ultimate budget is passed to recover from the new economic realities and do the right thing for our kids.

I have got two little boys myself. I am a little concerned about the fiscal obligations they are going to be facing. The numbers are not working in their favor right now. With the generational trends with the aging population, more and more will be asked of the next generation to deal with these challenges. We can help by starting today in dealing with accurate economic numbers and making some probably pretty difficult choices in the weeks ahead.

I thank the gentleman again for organizing this Special Order and highlighting in such a coherent fashion the dilemma we are in and the challenges we face.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for being part of this debate. I know we can do better, and we will do our best to do better.

CHALLENGES FACING AMERICA: THE BUDGET AND IMMIGRATION REFORM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GRUCCI). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2001, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDI) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. TANCREDI. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to address the House tonight and to bring to the attention of this body and to the Nation an issue of, I think, extreme importance to us. My original intent was to speak on the issue of immigration, immigration reform, in light of the visit of President Vicente Fox. I intend to do so. I will certainly do so for the majority of my remarks.

But as I sat here in the House waiting for my opportunity to present my observations, I was, of course, listening to the discussion that preceded me with regard to the fiscal dilemma in which the United States finds itself at the present time; and my colleagues on the other side of the House, the Democrats, have concluded that the problem is that we are not taxing Americans enough. They have suggested, for over 1 hour what we have heard, is that we have an enormous task ahead of us because revenue projections are lower than had been anticipated as a result of a turn down in the economy and that, therefore, this Congress is faced with a major dilemma: How do we deal with the fact that we do not have enough money coming into this body?

It is their plan, when they ask the question, how did this problem come about, the answer they provide is that we gave Americans tax breaks. We allowed Americans to keep more of their money. As a result of that, the Democrats say, we are now in this fiscal bind. We now find ourselves in a situation where we may "dip into the Social Security Trust Fund," a trust fund, may I remind you, Mr. Speaker, that was raided, not just partially, but totally, 100 percent, every single year that the Democrats had control of the Congress of the United States. Every single year.

All of a sudden, this new-found concern about the Social Security Trust Fund is, I must admit, greatly appreciated. I am so happy to hear that my friends on the other side of the aisle are worried about this fund, which they successfully raided every single year for 40 years, took every single penny out of it and spent it in the general fund. Now they are worried about getting into that particular fund.

Well, I am glad. This is a major shift in thinking in this body. I hope and I pray that it lasts for a long time. I hope and I pray that every Member of this body will in fact adhere to the pledge to not spend any money out of the Social Security or Medicare Trust Fund in the general fund.

I am one of the 150 Members who have signed a letter to the President of the United States telling him that if he

vetoed any appropriations bill that forces us to dip into that trust fund, we will support his veto. By the way, I did not see a single name of a Member of the other side on that letter, not one.

I was intrigued by the fact that in all this discussion, the 1 hour that has preceded me here about the horrible state of our economy and the horrible state of our budget, not once did I hear, Mr. Speaker, even though there was constant reference to the fact that we may have in fact given too much back to the people in terms of tax breaks, gone way too far, that was said over and over again, way too far in giving back the people of the United States their hard-earned money, giving back, as if it was ours to begin with.

Of course, the appropriate way to phrase it is we allowed them to keep more of their money. But to my friends on the other side of the aisle, any money that we allow an American taxpayer to keep is money we are giving back to them; money that first belongs here in the Congress of the United States, first belongs to be spent by this body, and, if we deign, we will allow Americans to keep part of their tax dollars. But not once, Mr. Speaker, not once in that 1-hour presentation that preceded me, did you hear any one of the various Members on the other side who addressed this issue say the words "let's repeal the tax cut."

You see, Mr. Speaker, every one of us has a wonderful opportunity, being a Member of the Congress of the United States, an incredible, enormous opportunity, and that is to introduce legislation that we believe to be important, that we believe to be helpful to this country. Every one of us here, that is something that we can do. Every one of the Members who spoke here tonight, Mr. Speaker, every one of them, could introduce a bill tomorrow to repeal the tax cut.

We have only sent out half of the checks so far. They could introduce a bill to say stop where you are; we desperately need the money. They could introduce a bill saying for all of the other tax cuts we have passed, for the elimination of the marriage penalty tax, for the elimination of the death tax, for the reduction in the tax rates, we will not reduce them. We will eliminate them. We will get rid of them, because we believe we are in desperate financial straits; and those straits can be addressed, they can be changed, they can be dealt with successfully by taxing Americans more.

You did not hear that, did you, Mr. Speaker, because they did not say it, because they, of course, know that it is politically very unpopular to tell people that we cannot live within our budget in this body; because, my friends, the problem here in Washington is not a lack of revenue from you, from the taxpayers of the United States of America. That is not the problem. Mr. Speaker, the problem is the fact that we in this body collectively spend too much and have spent too much.

One of the other speakers referenced Reaganomics. I am glad he did, because it is, in a way, Reaganomics all over again. But let us look at what Reaganomics really means and what it really was.

□ 2130

It was a time in the Nation's history when we reduced tax rates, not taxes, but tax rates, and we reduced them significantly.

What happened, Mr. Speaker? Was there a dramatic decline in revenues to this government as a result of that reduction that caused deficit spending that we, of course, had? We definitely had deficit spending during the 1980s. Was it because the Reagan tax cuts produced fewer dollars coming into the coffers of the government? No, of course not. It is simply because we spent all of the money.

Not only did it not reduce the revenue coming into the government, it dramatically increased the revenue. Revenues tripled, quadrupled because, of course, we stimulated the economy, more people were employed, so more people were, therefore, paying taxes. That is the effect of Reaganomics. It increased revenues to the Federal Government.

We definitely had deficit spending, absolutely true. Why?

Mr. Speaker, the reason is because this body, this body spent the money. Not only did it spend all of the revenues that came in, which were significantly more than had been experienced in the past, but it went on and spent beyond that. It did, in fact, deficit spend. So it was not Reaganomics, Mr. Speaker, it was this body. It was the Congress of the United States in profligate spending that caused the deficits of the 1980s, and it may very well be this body which causes that problem again. It may very well be, because no one can accuse us of being very judicious in the way we approach budgets.

In the last several years, because of the past President's urging and the fact that this Congress could not say no very often in terms of spending, we outdid ourselves. We increased budgets dramatically. And now, of course, we may have to look at reducing expenditures.

That was something that was never mentioned in the 1-hour as we listened to the other side talk about our problem. Never once did they say, we need to reduce expenditures. Every single time they talked about the problem we face, they said it was because we gave people a tax break. Now, is that not intriguing, and does that not simply tell us something about the nature of this body?

Today, Mr. Speaker, a newspaper which comes out every day here in the Congress, it is called The Hill. For most people, they may not have heard of this, because it is really just a newspaper circulated in the Capitol and around the Capitol, and it is certainly not a paper that I would call, or I think

anyone would call partisan in favor of Republicans. It is a very liberal-leaning newspaper; most of its reports have that sort of slant to it.

But today a very interesting headline in The Hill newspaper, especially in light of the discussion we just heard about the problem we are having with the deficit, with the budget, and about why we may actually be sort of dipping into the Social Security Trust Fund, remember, a fund that the other side spent 100 percent of every single year in the general fund. But now they have great concerns about it. Again, I am happy to hear that, I am very happy to hear that we have had sort of an epiphany for the people on the other side here.

But here is The Hill newspaper and here is the headline: "Senate Dems Wield Power, Feast on Pork." The whole article is about the degree to which the Senate Democrats, the Democrats now having taken control of the Senate, have gone bananas essentially in a spending frenzy.

Senate legislation would give the Corps of Engineers \$500 million more than the President requested in his budget, which sought to reduce superfluous spending by that agency. The Corps currently has a \$40 billion backlog, and there is no greater pork barrel project in this Congress than the Corps of Engineers.

It is everybody's engineering firm around here. Believe me, I know. I have tried to reduce the funding, and whenever we do, we run into a buzz saw around this place, because many, many, many Members see the Corps of Engineers as their personal construction company. It is not just unique to the Democrats, I should say, but in this case: "Senate Dems Wield Power, Feast on Pork."

We should take that into consideration, I say to my colleagues, when we think about the degree to which the words of our Members on the other side hold any water whatsoever when they discuss the issue of budgets and tax reductions and the reasons for coming up to a budget crisis.

So anyway, as I say, Mr. Speaker, these were not the original remarks I intended to give, but I simply could not sit here and listen to the other side discuss this issue without trying to at least shed a little light on the reality of the situation.

The real reason, of course, that I took to the floor this evening is to discuss the issue of immigration into the United States, massive, uncontrolled, illegal and legal immigration into the United States. I take this opportunity to address this issue, of course, because of the visit today and tomorrow of President Vicente Fox of Mexico.

I was privileged to be able to be on the south lawn of the White House this morning when President Bush greeted Mr. Fox, President Fox, and it was truly a very exhilarating experience. It is always exciting to be able to go to the White House, to be able to participate in an event of that nature, a lot of

pomp and circumstance and 21-gun salutes and all of the rest of it. It was very, very interesting, very enjoyable.

As I stood there with the crowd watching, I listened to both the remarks of the President of the United States and the remarks of Mr. Fox. To a large extent, those remarks centered on the issue of immigration.

Now, when I say "immigration," I think most people understand the meaning of the word "immigration," immigration meaning people coming from one country into another. In this case, more specifically, people coming from Mexico into the United States. "Immigration," that word was never once spoken by either the President of the United States or President Fox, interestingly, although a great deal of the time and a great many of their remarks dealt specifically with immigration.

Mr. Speaker, let me tell my colleagues how they addressed it. Let me tell my colleagues the word they used. Throughout this whole speech, there were several times, from both the President of the United States and President Fox of Mexico, I thought, gosh, that is a different sort of phrase, that is a different way of addressing that particular issue; I never heard it like that before, they have changed.

In this debate about immigration, we have found that there have been many, many times actually that the words have been changed. For instance, we started talking about a month ago, I guess, and we used a word to describe a process called amnesty, the word "amnesty." The word has a definition; one can look it up in the dictionary. We all pretty much understand what it means. It means, if you have done something wrong, we are going to forgive you for it. That is amnesty. If you have broken the law, we are going to say, that is okay, no problem. Everybody go back to square one and start over again. That is amnesty.

Well, because the word "amnesty" has a relatively bad connotation, and let me tell my colleagues how bad it is, by the way. There were recently several polls done, the most recent is the Zogby poll on amnesty for illegal immigrants, but by the way, everything I am going to say in this poll is substantiated by other polls, by the Gallup Poll, USA Today; all of them say the same thing.

Consistent with other polls, Zogby finds that the majority of Americans, 55 percent, think that amnesty is a bad or a very bad idea, compared to 34 percent, who think it is a good or very good idea. The strongest opposition to amnesty can be found among conservatives with 60 percent thinking it is bad, and most troubling for those who are supporting this idea is that 32 percent of the conservatives said they would be less likely to vote for anybody who supported amnesty.

Among Democrats, 55 said they thought amnesty is a bad idea, 55 percent of the Democrats; 36 thought it

was a good idea. Some of the strongest opposition was found among voters in union households, a key Democrat constituency. Sixty percent of the voters in union households said it was a bad idea, compared to 32 percent who said it was good. And amnesty splits the party's liberal base right down the middle with 46 percent of the liberals thinking it was good idea and 45 percent of the liberals, people identifying themselves as liberal Democrats, saying it was a bad idea, 45 percent.

By the way, amnesty does not even appear to be winning Hispanic votes. Fifty-one percent of the respondents identifying themselves as Hispanic said it was a bad idea; 51 percent of Hispanic Americans said that amnesty is a bad idea. This according again to the Zogby poll, but believe me, every single poll that has been taken says the same thing.

So, all of a sudden, as a result, Mr. Speaker, as a result of this kind of information, these kinds of facts being brought to the forefront, all of a sudden, the word "amnesty" disappeared. We will not hear anyone who favors this concept use the word.

We have now changed "amnesty" into "regularization." Yes, that is right, "regularization." Or, another one I have heard is "earned legalization." These are the euphemisms that have been constructed to describe the fact of amnesty, but nobody wants to use the word because of the polling data that tells them, everybody is against it.

Do we know why they are against it, Mr. Speaker? They are against it because they are, in fact, logical, common-sense people, common-sense Americans. When we say to Americans, do you think it is okay for people to come into this country illegally, take jobs, many of them, of course, hard-working, nobody is suggesting that that is not the case, but do you think that that is okay? Do you think that we should reward that behavior with amnesty? Do you think it is all right that there are literally hundreds of millions of people around the world who would give their eye teeth to come to the United States, and who go through a process every year signing up, going through the application process, which is laborious, and hoping and praying that their number will come up and that the quota that they are in will not be filled until they get in.

And those people who do the right thing and come to the United States expect, of course, that they are coming to a country which is governed by the rule of law and not by the rule of man. That is the basic underpinning of the American republic, the rule of law.

So we ask Americans, do you think it is okay that those people who choose to ignore that particular avenue, albeit for probably very, very good reasons, probably because they are in economic deprivation in the country of their birth. They are seeking to get into the United States for advancement. Again,

I do not blame them for trying. But do you think that we should reward them for doing that? Is that a good idea, America? Do you think that will help us deal with our illegal immigration problem?

And America says, golly, I do not think so, to the tune of some 65 to 67 percent in the CNN poll, Gallup-CNN poll, 66 or 67 percent saying, no, I do not think that is a good idea.

So, therefore, in the speeches today, from both President Bush and of President Fox, we never heard the word "amnesty." Never. And we will not hear it emanating out of the administration or any of the people in this body who support immigration. What we will hear are these other things, these other euphemisms: "regularization" and "earned legalization" and all that stuff.

□ 2145

But I ask my friends when they hear that word to remember that it means one thing, amnesty, which means rewarding people for breaking the law. That is it, pure and simple.

They went on; both Presidents today went on in their remarks. I mentioned earlier that although a lot of the discussion revolved around the whole concept of administration, I never once heard the word "immigration" ever spoken. Never once did either one of the two gentlemen speaking today use the word "immigration."

What they used instead, and this is President Bush speaking, "We understand our two nations must work together in the spirit of respect and common purposes to seize opportunities and tackle challenges on issues that affect the lives of our citizens, including migration," migration; "the environment, drugs, crime, corruption, and education."

President Fox went on in his remarks: "Likewise, we want to continue making progress towards the establishment of an agreement on migration which will be of mutual benefit to us, and will recognize above all the value of migrants. The time has come to give migrants and their communities their proper place in the history of our bilateral relations. Both our countries owe them a great deal."

Well, that is an issue we will explore a little bit more here as time goes on.

Mr. Fox goes on: "For this reason we must and we can reach an agreement on migration before the end of the year which will allow us before the end of our respective terms to make sure that there are no Mexicans who have not entered this country legally, and those who have come to this country do so with proper documents." Once again, two or three times, migration.

Mr. Speaker, there is a difference between a migrant and an immigrant. A migrant moves from place to place. An immigrant moves from country to country. This is an important distinction which is attempting to be blurred by these kinds of statements.

I know these are small things. People would say, it is just a word. It is just a word. But these are important, very important. Do Members think it is odd at all, even intriguing, put it both ways, that both gentlemen in their discussions never use the word "immigration," but also use the word "migrant" or "migration"?

It is important. There is a distinction here between those two words. The attempt is to make us feel as though there is essentially no border; that the movement of people back and forth between what we now call Mexico, or by the way, which has actually had a name change in the recent past. Today when I got the invitation to go to this particular event over at the White House, I was intrigued because it said, "Please come here. President Vicente Fox, President of the United States of Mexico." That was on my invitation.

That was interesting. I did not know Mexico had changed its name from the Republic of Mexico to the United States of Mexico. There were all kinds of interesting really semantic things in terms of discussing this issue which I think are intriguing, to say the least: the United States of Mexico.

But the whole purpose of the discussion today was to make us simply think about the idea of illegal immigration as being nonexistent. And when Mr. Fox suggests that "there will be no Mexicans who have not entered this country legally," what he is saying, of course, is there is only one way in which that particular phenomenon could occur, one way. That is to essentially remove the border, eliminate the border in a de facto way and even a de jure way. That is the only way we would eliminate illegal immigration is by everyone coming here as legal.

There are people here in this body, there are people certainly throughout the country, who believe that that is exactly what we should do; that we should in fact eliminate the border, not just the border between the United States and Mexico but all borders, because, of course, nowadays the free flow of capital and people should not be impeded, and, what the heck, it is all one big world, anyway.

The European Common Market has formed itself into the European Union, they have established a single currency, and they are now establishing a single government in the European Congress. So that should be sort of the model for the rest of the world: that we should simply eliminate borders and let nature take its course.

If that is the case, Mr. Speaker, then I think that that is a debatable point. I hope and I pray that this body will debate that point, because that is the end result of our whole debate on immigration.

We have sort of talked around the edges of it: How many people, what should we call them, how long should they be here, how should we deal with the millions who have come to the United States illegally.

What really and truly people are saying, people who are pushing the pro-immigration side, and I am saying "immigration," mind you, not "migration." Migration is what happens if I move to Kansas. It is not what happens if I move to Mexico or Canada or Guatemala. That is immigration.

But when we talk about immigration in this body, and in this context, in the context of the discussions, the speeches given today by President Fox and by President Bush, I am concerned that what we really are beginning to discuss is the elimination of the borders.

In the June 22 Time Magazine, they had a very, very interesting series of articles. In fact, the front page, and I wish I had it with me tonight, I forgot to bring it, but the cover of Time Magazine June 21 says, "Mex-America," and the real gist of the story was that we have in fact, in a way, completely eliminated the border between the United States and Mexico, and that the Mexican culture, not just culture but many other aspects of life, has changed in the South, southwest parts of the United States because of massive immigration, both legal and illegal. There are, in fact, people who believe that we should do that.

Well, then let us get to that point, Mr. Speaker. Let us really and truly simply get to the basic debate point here in the issue of immigration; that is, should we have a border, or should we not?

Mr. Speaker, here is what we have to decide as a nation. If we want a border, if a border is meaningful, if it has any reason to be, if there is a reason to draw a line around this place we call the United States, then it is the responsibility of this Congress, uniquely of this Congress, by the way, and this administration, to defend it, to give it integrity.

What that means is to make sure that only the people who are allowed to come in by law are able to come in, and if that means defending that border with one's armed forces, that is what it means.

That is what we have to do if we want a border. We establish an immigration policy. Every Nation does. It says, here is how many people we will allow in this year; and by the way, not just how many people, but here is how many people with what we need in this country. We need doctors or lawyers although I must admit I do not know why we need any more of the latter. But we need people with various skills, various attributes to come into the United States, or any country. That is not just us, that is what most countries do. They say, here is who we need, here are the kinds of skills we need, and we will establish that as our immigration policy. We will defend our borders to make sure nothing else occurs.

The United States essentially has surrendered that degree of sovereignty by saying, hey, listen, we will wink at all the millions, and I mean millions, of people coming across our borders il-

legally every year; we will wink at the employers who employ them illegally, and we will do so because it provides profits for many employers, and in a way it provides future voters for various political parties. Let us face it, there is a very political issue here.

So we do not care about the fact that this Nation's population grows approximately 60,000 per week. That is the net gain over deaths and over emigration, people leaving the country, 60,000 a week. And we ignore the fact that approximately 70 percent of that amount is a result of immigration.

All of the issues with which we deal day in and day out in terms of the enormous strain on our infrastructure, the increase in demands, in the State of California, by the way, 95 percent of that State's increase in population over the last year, 95 percent is the result of immigration, legal and illegal. And because of that, Mr. Speaker, the State of California has to build a school a day to keep up with the demand. And, of course, there are highways, hospitals, and social services.

It has been estimated that the cost of adding every new person to any community is about \$15,200 a year, and that is the initial cost. It is not the costs we incur every year from that point on. There is no way that people coming into the United States today with very few skills or none at all, taking the lowest-paid jobs available, will ever pay back that cost. So all the talk about immigration being important for the United States, important economically, is hokum.

If we were to really be concerned about what was good for America, we would say that we will take in about 300,000 a year, and here is who we need, people with certain skills, high-level skills, primarily, who will come into the United States, become very highly successful in terms of whatever trade they are involved with, and become net taxpayers, not tax users. That is the present state of affairs, that by far, by far the people coming into the United States today are net tax drains on the United States over even in the short run and over the long run.

We tend to ignore this for a lot of other reasons, a lot of political reasons. I have developed a list of questions that I would like to be able to pose to President Fox while he is here. I have a feeling they will never be asked, but this is my only opportunity to present them.

I am the chairman of what we call the Immigration Reform Caucus in this House. I have many times attempted to contact the administration, the White House, and talk to them about this issue. We have been unsuccessful in arranging for a meeting to this point in time. Therefore, I have only this way of bringing these issues to the attention of my colleagues, to the administration, and to the people of the United States.

Recognizing full well that it is extremely important for Mexico to reconstruct itself economically in order to

provide a standard of living for its own people that will keep them in Mexico, will allow them to live in their homeland, will allow them to prosper, achieve a better life for themselves. Recognizing a significant change has to occur in Mexico, I would ask President Fox, in order to achieve that degree of change, I would ask him: Number one, Mr. President, exactly how do you plan to reduce the massive and pervasive corruption which, in your country, unfortunately is endemic? For everyone from the cop on the beat to the highest levels of government, we know, everyone knows, the world knows the level of corruption.

I had a gentleman in my office 2 days ago, in my Denver office, my Littleton office. He wanted to open up a business in Mexico. It is sort of a unique enterprise. He was not sure exactly who he needed to talk to in order to get permission from the Mexican government to import certain, in this case, tires to be recycled. And if he opened a plant in Mexico, he thought, how can I get permission from the Mexican government?

He was going around and beating around the bush. Finally he said, look, what I am trying to say is, can you find out for me, Congressman TANCREDI, who I have to pay off in Mexico to get the permits? Because he had done business in Mexico before, and anybody who has done business in Mexico and in fact in many third-world countries recognizes that that is the cost of business. That is the cost of doing business.

□ 2200

If you have been stopped in Mexico for a traffic ticket, I mean, I could go on and on and on. We know that the best way to handle it is to hand the policeman your driver's license and a \$20 bill, probably now more like a \$50 bill. It does not matter. The corruption goes from that level up to the top.

I assure the Speaker that until we begin to address this particular problem in Mexico we will never have a viable economy. NAFTA has got nothing to do with it.

We could have completely 100 percent free trade between these two countries. We would lose many, many jobs in the United States, but it would not improve the economy of Mexico because the economy in Mexico is stuck in two ways.

It is stuck in a socialistic enterprise. It still has not been able to get itself out of the old government control, government ownership. The government owns the oil industry. The most significant industry in Mexico is owned by the government. This is not a good idea.

If I had the opportunity, I would ask Mr. Fox, What are you going to do about that? Are you going to divest yourself of the oil industry because, of course, you will never prosper as a nation under these conditions?

What are you going to do, President Fox, about corruption? Tell me specifically how you are going to handle it.

President Fox demanded of the United States not too long ago, attacking our current immigration policies, and this was in Milwaukee on July 17, an integrated Mexican-U.S. labor market. An integrated Mexican-U.S. labor market.

Again, I would ask Mr. Fox, What do you mean by that? That is an interesting statement. An integrated labor market. I would like to know specifically how you define that.

He demanded that U.S. laws be rewritten to bring about open borders between the United States and Mexico and that we give illegal aliens in the United States driver's licenses, even though, of course, they cannot read the road signs and do not have insurance; and that we give Mexican illegals a university education and other taxpayer benefits.

Mr. Speaker, we do now presently provide K-12 education to all illegal immigrants' children in the United States. He wants us to go farther. He asked us to, in fact, provide university education to illegal immigrants from Mexico.

So I would ask President Fox, Will your government, the Government of Mexico, provide a free education, K-12 and post-secondary, to any foreign national in Mexico as he has requested of the United States? Is he willing to do the same thing?

I would ask President Fox, Since you own the oil company, President Fox, will you agree to sell the United States oil at below OPEC prices when that cartel punishes the United States by reducing its production? Because at a certain point, about \$27, they go, oh, it is too low. OPEC says we have got to decrease production in order to increase prices.

So, President Fox, you said that you wanted to be a friend to the United States. We have to build a relationship on trust.

Okay, I would say. Mr. Fox, let us start here. I want you to agree to sell us oil at below OPEC prices every time they try to blackmail us. What do you think the answer would be? I wonder.

I would ask him again, President Fox, What specific step is your government willing to take in the direction of increased privatization of the Mexican industry, Mexican economy. Are you willing to give up the oil company? Are you willing to privatize in order to spur economic growth?

If not, do not look to the United States to be your safety valve, to take all of your unemployed, all of your poverty. Because I assure you, Mr. Speaker, as long as we continue to do that there will never be any pressure on Mexico to reform itself, as long as we are there acting as that safety valve.

I will ask him, Mr. Fox, Will you stop the practice of handing out survival kits to those people about ready to come into the United States illegally? An agency of the government hands out a paper bag, 200,000 at last count, to people coming across the border into

the United States illegally, paper bags filled with maps, little how-to-survive in the desert, condoms. Go ask them what is the purpose. But, anyway, that is what they give them, some water.

Will you stop that, Mr. Fox? Because you say you want to stop illegal immigration in the United States, why are you promoting it by handing them out "survival kits"? Will you stop that as a friendly nation?

Will you publicly condemn those members of the Mexican Government who have called for the recolonization of the southwestern United States by Mexican nationals? They have done so. Bizarre as that sounds, they have done so.

I guess also, Mr. Fox, I would have to ask you, Why are you encouraging your people to take dual citizenships in the United States? In 1998, Mexico passed a law allowing for dual citizenships of their people. Since then somewhere close to 6 million Mexican-Americans, or I should not say Mexican-Americans because there are probably others involved, but so far 6 million people have accepted that particular identification as a dual citizen. Why are you doing that, Mr. Fox? I ask our own government, Why do we allow that?

When a person becomes a citizen of this country, they are supposed to raise their hand and swear that they give up allegiance to any foreign power or potentate, I think is the word that they use. How is it that you can have a dual citizenship and call yourself an American? How can that happen, Mr. Fox? President Bush, I would ask you the same question.

So those are some of the questions that I would pose to the President of Mexico, the Republic of Mexico or the United States of Mexico, whatever it calls itself now. Those are the questions I would pose. I hope that someone will ask them. I doubt if they will.

I will tell you that those are the questions I want answers to before I would move one step forward in the area of immigration, liberalization. In fact, Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill to reduce legal immigration in the United States from the present 1 million a year to about 300,000 a year.

I would, of course, take any action I could to stop illegal immigration. I would fine those employers who continue to use this form of illegal employment. I would put troops on the border. I would do what is necessary to protect our border; or I would say let us dissolve it. But let us have the debate here. It is one or the other. Either you have a border or you do not. Either it is meaningful or it is not. But before we go 20 years down the road and we look back and say, gee, how did it happen, that it sort of just evaporated, it is just gone, how did that occur, I would just as soon have us in this body debate that topic, have a vote up or down. Shall we eliminate the borders or not? If we decide not to, then we have to decide to enforce them.

MILITARY STRATEGY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2001, the Chair would recognize the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for half the time remaining before midnight, or approximately 56 minutes.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to address a crucial issue for the future of our Nation, the military strategy that will govern our armed services.

In 1923, then-Major George C. Marshall was asked to give a speech on national defense. He briefly recounted the history of the Army's end-strengths since the Revolutionary War and noted a consistent pattern. After every conflict the United States immediately and significantly decreased the size of the Army, only to have to increase it dramatically the next time a conflict broke out.

U.S. leaders continued to act as if the absence of an immediate threat justified a dramatic decrease in the size of U.S. forces and the defense budget. The astonishing fact, Marshall said, is that we continue to follow a regular cycle in the doing and undoing of measures for national defense.

Nearly 80 years later in the aftermath of the Cold War, we find ourselves caught in the same pattern. Our active duty military has shrunk from 2.1 million people in fiscal year 1989 to 1.4 million for the coming fiscal year, a decline of 34 percent.

Some in the administration may argue that this decline is reasonable and that further forced cuts are justified because we do not face a global peer competitor, but neither did the United States in 1923. Yet less than 20 years later it found itself at the center of a massive global conflict.

Mr. Speaker, this pattern must stop. Why must we as Members of Congress think about questions of national strategy? My first answer goes back to that 1923 Marshall speech that Congress and the administration must bring stability to the size of our force and the resources that support it, both in the current budget and in the out-years. Stability ensures the United States can counter any threat to its interest, can fulfill its responsibility as the world's lone superpower, and can live up to the trust all those who serve in the military should have in their government.

Second, the Constitution charges the Congress to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a Navy, and to make rules for the Government and regulation of the land and naval forces. This is a sacred duty that transcends merely authorizing and appropriating annual funds for defense department and military services.

Remember, it was Congress that crafted the Goldwater-Nichols legislation that strengthened the chain of command to U.S. benefit in conflicts like the Gulf War, and Congress had upgraded professional military edu-

cation. We must now give thoughtful consideration to where our Nation is heading and what the proper role and size of our military is in this current world.

Third, I have had the great fortune of serving on the Committee on Armed Services for over 2 decades. In that time I have participated in scores and scores of briefings and hearings and have conferred widely with active duty and retired military officers, defense experts, military historians and, most importantly, our troops. Through their wisdom and generosity, I have learned quite a bit; and I have come to some opinions about what our military should be doing for our country.

It is an old speech-writing ploy to say that the United States stands at a unique moment in history, but in this case it happens to be true. There is no single overwhelming threat to the United States and its interests. There is no political-economic ideology to rival our democracy in capitalism, the United States the world's leading military and economic power. It has brought not only economic progress, but democracy and stability to many parts of the world.

On balance, the United States has provided great benefits to the world through its leadership. We should feel a great sense of accomplishment at that. But this elevated position creates responsibilities. The United States must continue to lead; we must consciously fan the fire of our leadership to serve as a beacon for those friends and allies who would follow us. We must work with them as partners without arrogance, recognizing that together we can make the world a better and safer place.

Leading in the 21st century means leading globally. The Asia-Pacific region is increasingly critical to our future security because of its population, growing economic strength, advancing military capabilities, and potential for conflict. Yet our leadership cannot focus on this region at the expense of others where U.S. interests remain strong, particularly Europe and the Persian Gulf.

In addition to requiring global leadership, our world position makes us a tempting target for those who would attack us. We may face direct challenges, attacks on our homeland, our citizens and soldiers overseas and our military and commercial information systems. We may face indirect challenges as well as those who resent our leadership seek to increase the cost of our global position and seek to block access to the ports and battlefields of the future.

We may face challenges to our allies and friends in conventional and unconventional forms that affect our own national interest. We may continue to face challenges associated with being a global leader as others ask us to contribute troops to keep the peace and stem violence.

Given the breadth of these challenges, our national military strategy

continues to matter, and the size and strength of our military matter as well. A good force structure with the wrong strategy is useless; so is a good strategy with the wrong forces.

Getting the strategy right requires asking what the military must be able to do. In basic terms, we ask the military to prevent attacks on U.S. interests and to respond if prevention fails.

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Mr. Speaker, let us look at each in turn. I use prevention to mean two broad categories of activities that together protect U.S. interests, maintain U.S. world leadership, and minimize the likelihood that the military will have to fight.

The first preventive element of our military strategy is the protection of the U.S. homeland as it is our most fundamental national interest. We know of a number of states and nonstate actors that may seek to counter U.S. conventional strength through attacks that may involve weapons of mass destruction.

To counter these threats, the United States needs a comprehensive homeland security strategy, and I have called for this in legislation. To be sure, a limited missile defense system is part of such an effort, but the obsession of national missile defense by some as a "Maginot line in the sky" has become theological. Secretary Rumsfeld rightly points out that we cannot predict all of the threats that we will face, just as no one predicted Pearl Harbor or Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. But yet his strategy lacks the flexibility to deal with a range of threats when it puts such significant emphasis and resources on a single threat to be countered with missile defense. Missile defense systems should be treated as a weapons system like any other, and it should be only one part of the U.S. approach to protecting its citizens.

Homeland security must include continued support for nonproliferation programs, including cooperative threat reduction programs with states of the former Soviet Union. It must include great resources for intelligence and coordinated response mechanisms among a range of government agencies. Comprehensive homeland security, not merely the one element represented by missile defense, should be the focus of our efforts.

Beyond physical attacks, the United States is now vulnerable to increasingly sophisticated information warfare capabilities targeted at our military communications or at critical domestic infrastructure. The diffusion of technology allows many states and nonstate actors to target the United States directly through cyberspace at a fraction of the cost of confronting us with conventional forces.

Our own information operations war games, like 1997's Eligible Receiver, showed that even a small group of attackers could break into the power