

the Republican leadership once again plans to give a huge tax cut to the wealthiest Americans, and the plan that they put forth offers very little to families and middle class Americans and instead sacks them with a huge deficit, a deficit that risks the future of Social Security and Medicare and means likely future interest rate increases.

I know I sound like doomsday today, but frankly for 2 years we have seen the Republican economic policies in effect, and I think it is only fair to say they have been a failure. The economy has gotten worse. More jobs have been lost. The debt continues to pile up. So there is no reason to believe that these continued economic policies that are basically in the form of tax cuts are going to do anything more than continue the economic downturn.

Democrats, on the other hand, have proposed what I consider a true economic stimulus plan that is fair, fast acting and fiscally responsible. Again what we are essentially doing is putting more money in people's pockets, and we are giving money back to the States so they can spend the money on infrastructure, health care, education, and other needs. It would mean that more jobs would be created because there would be transportation projects and infrastructure projects in general that would need new people to go on the job.

Also, we say that we want to provide an extension of unemployment benefits to millions of Americans still looking for jobs and tax relief to small businesses to invest in new equipment. We would target tax relief for small businesses, assuming that they turn it around and they spend it for new means of production, new opportunities, new jobs.

Most important, we would provide assistance to cash-strapped States and municipalities which right now because of the fact that they are contracting their spending are also, I think, contributing to the economic downturn.

I know that many of my colleagues on the Democratic side have talked about and contrasted what the Republicans would like to do and what we would like to do on the economy, and we will continue to talk about that this week as we move forward with this Republican proposal that is supposed to come up for a vote on Friday.

But I would just say to anyone who says why would I believe the Democratic proposal is better, I would say look at what has happened over the last 2 years under the President and the Republican proposal. It has not worked. I frankly do not think we can go on another 2 years with the same failed economic policies. It is time to do something different, and we should be looking at some of the Democratic alternatives instead of just saying we are going to continue with the Republican tax cut.

ENCOURAGING INDIA-PAKISTAN TALKS

Madam Speaker, I did want to change the subject for just another 5 minutes tonight before I end this Special Order, and go to another topic which relates to foreign affairs because I do think that what we have been witnessing the last few days, particularly over the weekend with regard to the potential for bilateral talks between India and Pakistan, is a very optimistic development in an area of the world which has a great potential for future war.

Anything the United States can do to encourage negotiations, talks, between India and Pakistan I think are very important, and this is an opportune time for the Bush administration and the Congress to urge support for those kinds of negotiations and eventual peaceful settlement.

Madam Speaker, I was encouraged over the last week by Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee's leadership in seeking peace with Pakistan. Vajpayee's efforts to reinstate full Indo-Pakistani diplomatic relations and to restore cross-border transportation between the two countries exemplifies his willingness and commitment to finding a permanent peace settlement within South Asia.

I would like to express my praise for the Prime Minister's recent brave steps, given the incessant cross-border terrorism in Kashmir. In the past, India was insistent that an end to cross-border terrorism had to occur prior to any renewal of talks between India and Pakistan. Unfortunately, any efforts by President Musharraf of Pakistan to curb terrorism in Kashmir have been superficial and Pakistani militant violence in Kashmir has continued to no end.

I would urge President Bush and Secretary of State Powell to pressure Musharraf to end the cross-border terrorism into Kashmir and India in general. I would also like to note, even as we have had these murders take place by terrorists in Kashmir, this has been aggravated by the fact that the Taliban continue to find safe refuge in many of the border towns of Pakistan near Afghanistan. The U.S. worked so hard to remove the Taliban from power in Afghanistan, and to learn that Taliban members continue to receive moral and financial support from parties within the Pakistani government, including the Pakistani military, is by far the greatest hypocrisy.

Again, the Bush administration must do more to pressure President Musharraf to end support within Pakistan for the Taliban.

Madam Speaker, I also wanted to say that I am very encouraged by the fact that Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage is visiting both Prime Minister Vajpayee and Prime Minister of Pakistan Jamali, and I know he is going to recognize the recent positive developments from both sides. Again, the United States must do whatever it can to encourage negotiations between India and Pakistan that would lead to long-term peace in South Asia.

Madam Speaker, Congress also can play a role in encouraging the peaceful settlement of disputes between India and Pakistan.

□ 2045

I have at least two proposals that I would like to mention in that regard. First with bilateral dialogue already resuming, the Congress should provide funding for projects that cross the two countries' borders. This could be done as an effort to provide confidence-building measures for the future stability of this region. For example, we could include infrastructure projects, such as roads, railroads or water projects that cross the borders between Pakistan and India. Second, Madam Speaker, if negotiations lead to a settlement that is agreed upon by both India and Pakistan, the Congress should provide funding in the form of a peace dividend that could bring the two countries together and all of South Asia together as one economic union.

Madam Speaker, the peace dividend could take the form of economic development projects that tie the two countries together for trade and other business purposes. I think the United States itself would also benefit from increased trade with all of South Asia.

So, Madam Speaker, I just wanted to say in conclusion, I look forward to successful dialogue between India and Pakistan and ultimately peace in South Asia. Again, I think that the President, the administration and Congress must together encourage negotiations and not lose what in effect is a golden opportunity, not let this pass by because we might not see another opportunity like this where these two nations, both of which have nuclear weapons, seem to be willing to move forward toward peaceful negotiations. Let us not let the opportunity slip by. Let us do whatever we can to encourage the two countries to get together and ultimately bring peace to the South Asian area.

ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE of Florida). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. TANCREDO. Madam Speaker, I rise tonight to bring to the attention of the body an addition to the list of homeland heroes that we periodically bring forward to focus a little attention on because these folks face an incredible task. They have been waging a battle on their own property and their open land for quite a number of years now. I simply believe that it is deserving of our attention.

Tonight I want to talk about Larry and Toni Vance. These are homeland heroes residing near Douglas, Arizona. Larry Vance lives only one mile from the Arizona border and three miles

west of the border town and port of entry of Douglas. Larry is the son of a legal Mexican immigrant. He and his wife Toni have lived in the area for 29 years. The Vance family has seen many changes in that nearly 30 years that they have lived a mile from the border.

Among the changes they have witnessed is the character of the illegal aliens crossing their land. In the 1970s and 1980s, they told us when we were visiting down there not too long ago, there were very few drug smugglers, that most groups coming across their land were small, three or four or five people; that they were polite and often asked to stop for directions or ask for water. The Vances were friendly and accommodating. There were periods during the late 1970s and early 80s when bandits posed a real danger to the residents along the border and burglaries were common. The Vance home was burglarized twice. There was a crack-down on the border crossings, the border patrol was beefed up; and the crime problem was brought under control.

But in the mid-1990s they noticed that groups of illegal trespassers were getting larger and that there were many more of them. By 1997, the Vance family was seeing a daily pattern of 20 groups of 20 or more people passing through at all hours of the day and night.

I want to say here that this is something that we heard over and over again while we were visiting around the Douglas, Arizona, area, that is, that something is changing, something is happening in the character of the immigrants coming through, illegal immigration into this country. It is certainly not a pleasant thing for the people who live in the area. The groups were not only men. Now they were women and children and also sometimes pregnant women and elderly people. Groups were coming through their property so close to the house that they could not sleep at night because the dogs would bark so much. In fact, the dogs literally would lose their voice, become hoarse, I suppose, is one way to say it, from barking night after night.

In September of 1999, his two dogs were poisoned, the Vances' two dogs were poisoned. One of them eventually died. Bandits from across the border preyed on helpless illegal aliens that were crossing. They robbed them, they beat them, they raped them. The screams of the victims were often heard across the desert at night. The Vances had to install a high chain link fence around their house and wrought iron window guards. Such measures were unheard of in rural Arizona until the mid-1990s, and it is traceable to the rising crime from illegal aliens crossing their land.

The illegal aliens often asked for rides to Tucson or Phoenix, and on several occasions Larry Vance was offered \$300 to \$500 to transport people to Phoenix. The Vances' horses often escaped and had to be chased the next

day because their fences were knocked down or cut. Three years ago, he quit trying to keep horses; it became so difficult and expensive to keep the fences repaired. Larry Vance used to keep water troughs filled for the wildlife, but he cannot do that anymore because the illegal aliens constantly break the water lines. They do not merely drink the water. That would be okay. In fact, oftentimes I have seen where these ranchers along the border would actually put out cups, hang a cup along the water trough and along the water well for people to use themselves. But unfortunately they do not just take the cup and drink, now they destroy the water lines. The environmental damage to their land is tremendous. Trash is left in huge heaps and left everywhere. Both cattle and wildlife are killed because they eat the plastic bags and other trash. Traffic accidents caused by illegal aliens chasing other vehicles or just careening into a ditch have become regular occurrences. Many local residents have been killed by crashing with rampaging cars and trucks driven by illegal aliens fleeing across the border. A young father of two children was killed in such an accident just a short time ago.

In the weeks and months immediately following the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001, there was a dramatic decrease in the flow of illegal aliens across the land. The ports of entry at Nogales, Naco, and Douglas had been strengthened and more border patrol agents added to the ranks. But by mid-2002, the flow had resumed. The groups merely went around the ports of entry and came across the miles of unguarded fence that opened onto private lands. I often talk about the very peculiar and ironic view that we had from a helicopter when we were flying over this area, this area he is talking about here, Nogales, where there is a port of entry and there are large numbers of cars all lined up trying to come into the United States at that port of entry. We have got all these guards stationed where the cars come through, at these ports of entry; but you can, of course, see for many miles there, because it is just flat desert land, you can fly for a couple of miles either side of that port of entry and see people coming across at their will, driving cars right through the desert, walking across; but, of course, right there at the port of entry, they are checking IDs and all that sort of thing. It is ironic to say the least. It is a microcosmic look, if you ask me, of the entire system, of the entire problem.

The groups merely went around the ports of entry, as I say. By late 2002, the drug smuggling had risen dramatically and marijuana-laden trucks crossed the border regularly in the area far away from the ports of entry but right near Larry and Toni Vance's home. During December of 2002 alone, there were 41 reported incidents of drug seizures. We can only imagine how many trucks got through the border

patrol and made it to Phoenix and Los Angeles and elsewhere.

The lives of ranchers like Larry Vance and his wife, Toni, have been radically altered in the last 10 years because their government, their own government, has failed to protect them and their property from the invasion across their land. Invasion is exactly what this is. That is the proper term to use to describe what is happening on the border and what these people along the border are facing. As I say, the Vances are just one of many couples, one of many families that we visited, that we became acquainted with just a month or two ago down on that border. I determined at that point in time that it would be important to bring their story to this body and to the Nation, because frankly, Madam Speaker, not many people know about them. Not many people beyond their immediate family and the immediate area around Douglas know of the Vances. But they should know, because these people are truly in a war zone. They are fighting a war and they feel like they have been abandoned, abandoned by their own government. And, in fact, they have.

I could not bring them good news when I was down there. I could not say to them, not to worry, the government is going to come to your rescue. The Federal Government is going to do what it promises it should do and what it promises to do for every American citizen, and, that is, to protect their lives and property. I wish I could tell them that. I cannot do that in all candor. I cannot say that. Because this government has chosen to ignore the Vances, ignore all of the families, all of the homeland heroes that I have brought to the attention of the body over the last several weeks.

They have chosen to ignore the millions of people in this country who plead with us, plead with Members of Congress, to do something about illegal immigration, to try to stem the flow of illegal immigration into the country, to try to get a hold of this problem. Not to slam the door to people, not because anyone is doing this or is concerned about the issue from racial lines or any of the ugly aspects of the immigration debate. Certainly there are people like that on both sides out there. You can go to the Web sites on both sides of this issue and find people who are racially motivated. I guarantee you it is on both sides of this debate. Racism can be a factor. It is not what motivates people like the Vances, I say, Mr. Vance himself, the son of a legal Mexican immigrant. He is devoted to his land. He is devoted to the country. He is devoted to the United States of America. He believes in the United States. He believes in the rule of law. All he asks is that the law be enforced, especially in his area, that his property be protected from this invading force. Is that too much to ask, I wonder. I do not think so. I only wish the public officials of this Nation had as much courage as the Vance family.

We need to follow their example and take our responsibilities seriously. We need to gain control of our borders so citizens like the Vances can live their lives free of this constant threat.

Madam Speaker, I am going to go on to another aspect of this discussion, beyond the Vances and the homeland heroes; and I want to talk a little bit about one other aspect of this whole immigration dilemma that we face. We have tried to break down the discussion of the immigration debate into several component parts. Over the weeks I have come to the floor of the House with a discussion of one particular part of the immigration dilemma or debate. I have talked about the national security implications of open borders, of the porous borders that we now have, the fact that people can and do come into this country at their will, some of them to do great harm to the United States. It is to the credit of many of our agencies, many of the law enforcement agencies that are devoted to the task of protecting America that some events have not already occurred with people who have come into this country illegally for the purpose, as I say, of doing us great harm.

But we have a significant national security problem because of open borders and because of our unwillingness as a Nation to actually secure our own borders. That was the first night that I focused on that. And then we talked about the cost to the Nation, the infrastructural costs to the Nation of massive immigration. I talked about the fact that there are hospitals all over the Southwest that are going broke. I talked about the fact that hundreds of billions of dollars are being expended by citizens of this country through the health care process in order to provide health care for illegal immigrants into the country. Sometimes situations occur where we actually see ambulances coming up to the ports of entry carrying people who need help and they are waved into the United States, go to a hospital, obtain the help they need, and then they go back to Mexico and, of course, pay no bills. I talked about the infrastructural costs of housing, of schools, of highways, of imprisonment. Upwards of 25 percent of the population in Federal prisons are noncitizens. There is an enormous cost to massive immigration into the country, both legal and illegal.

People suggest that it is of benefit to the country to have massive immigration and that it is economically beneficial, that these people pay a lot of taxes and that they do jobs no one else would do and so our economy prospers. In reality, the costs of immigration are far greater than the contributions in terms of either the labor or certainly the taxes that are paid. Another thing that I talked about was the damage to the environment. I mentioned a little bit in my discussion here tonight about the Vances, the amount of trash that spoils the land in this area, where

people are coming through by the hundreds of thousands, in fact, over time millions of people crossing the border on foot, sometimes, of course, in an automobile simply driving off the road. We could see it time and time again where people drove off the road right into the middle of the desert, right off the desert floor. Those tracks will not go away for generations. Not in my lifetime, anyway.

□ 2100

We can see from the air where the footpaths go on and on and on, and they spread out like cobwebs over the land where people come walking across that land, thousands of feet, hundreds of thousands of feet, millions of feet, plodding the ground in areas that are quite pristine, and they destroy the environment. They affect the migration pattern of animals in the area, of endangered species. They deposit trash in huge amounts. They congest in these areas called pickup sites where people dispose of the trash they have been carrying to get ready to be picked up by the next form of transportation, usually a car or a truck, moving them into the interior of the United States, into a city in the United States away from the rural areas where they are congregated. But where they congregate in these pickup sites, the trash problem is enormous. I am going to talk about a little bit later and show something that we found in one of these trash sites, but there is that aspect, the environmental damage to the land.

I talked last week about the culture, about the danger immigration, massive immigration, poses to the culture and especially because it is connected, massive immigration is connected unfortunately with something happening in the United States. The sort of cult of multiculturalism is the best way to describe what is going on here, where we teach our children that there is nothing unique about the United States or Western civilization and if there is anything unique, it is uniquely bad, that there are no aspects of Western civilization worth mimicking. We tell our children they should not say the Pledge of Allegiance in schools. We ban it. We attempt to erase any sort of semblance of patriotism, any commitment to the idea of America, and I talked about the implications of such a phenomenon, the very serious implications of this combination of massive immigration into the country, both legal and illegal, combined with the cult of multiculturalism.

Tonight I want to talk about another aspect, and that aspect is the attack on citizenship that is represented by massive immigration into this country, especially illegal immigration into the country. It is an attack on the concept of citizenship. That is, I suppose, the best way for me to describe my concern.

There have been several very good books written about this and a lot of articles. I will quote liberally from one

book in particular by Georgie Anne Geyer. It is called "Americans No More," and, Mr. Speaker, I certainly suggest it to anyone who wants an interesting read on this particular subject. We start out talking about the importance of citizenship. Does it matter? Does the idea of citizenship matter? Is it an important element of our society, of any society? Citizenship is more than just banding together for protection against enemies. Citizenship particularly as it has evolved throughout the Western world, as Georgie Anne said, is the unique and ennobling story of the post-feudal modern relationship of the individual human to the state, of the state to the individual, and of the human being to his fellow man. It is a dignified component of respect, responsibility, even friendship and love.

Citizenship I think is important. We are seeing everywhere, however, that the whole concept of citizenship is being attacked, as I say. It is being eroded by a variety of actions, by a variety of different kinds of laws that are being adopted, by States and localities and certainly even by this body. It is being eroded by the aggressive actions of other nations.

I want to talk about one specific aspect of this. There is today a card that is being used by several governments distributed to their nationals, to their citizens and their nationals, and it is the Matricular Consular. It is a card given out by foreign governments to their people. It is an identification card that is provided by a foreign government to their nationals. Interestingly, this is not a new phenomenon. It has been available for a long time, but only recently have governments realized that it can be used, this process, this idea of the Matricular Consular, can be used as a way of avoiding and getting around the roadblock that the Congress of the United States has presented in the form of an opposition to amnesty, to amnesty for all people living here who came in illegally, which is an assault on citizenship as far as I am concerned.

The desire of many people, Mr. Speaker, the desire of many people even in this Congress, is to eventually eliminate anything that would distinguish a citizen of the country from someone who is not a citizen of the country. How do we do that? We do that by providing all of the benefits of citizenship to people who are simply here, to people who are residents, and pretty soon it simply becomes impossible to tell the difference. We just do not know, and that is the desired goal of many people, foreign governments, and the Government of Mexico is heavily involved in this process, certainly Members of the Congress of the United States. Even others I think in the administration want to push this concept that there is nothing that really should distinguish an American citizen from someone who is here "illegally" or someone who is here legally but not a

citizen. Eventually they want to reach a point where there is nothing that distinguishes any of those people from each other, and so one of the things that has happened is that they begin to push this Matricular Consular.

Here is how it works. It is interesting. I have to give them credit. This was a smart move on the part of the Government of Mexico now being followed by four or five others, most recently Honduras. As I say, every government is allowed to do whatever they want, to provide their citizens with whatever kind of I.D., identification, that they want; but only recently have they found out that this can be used to advance the whole concept of amnesty or of the elimination of a distinguishment of citizenship. By giving the Matricular Consular, this I.D. card, to all of their nationals now living in the United States illegally, and frankly that is the only type of person that would actually need the Matricular Consular or this card from the Government of Mexico and four or five other South American/Central American countries. The only people in this country, I repeat, the only people in this country who need a form of identification provided by some other country is someone living here illegally because if they are here legally they have a document that the United States gave them, a visa, green card, or a passport given to one by the Nation that they came from. But they have something. They have an I.D. given to them, and that is a legitimate form of identification. They do not need the Matricular Consular, but they are now handing them out in the thousands. One can go to almost every Mexican consulate in America, the 40 some Mexican consulates in America, and one will usually see a line of people sometimes around the block. This is just recently happening because they are now handing out the cards to people who are here illegally; then the Mexican consulate goes out and lobbies States, cities, police departments, school districts, lobbies them to get them to accept the Matricular Consular for the provision of services as identification, and they have been quite successful. Scores of cities have done this. Many, maybe in the hundreds, police departments have agreed to accept the Matricular Consular as an identification. We have already, by the way, arrested people carrying multiple Matricular Consulars with their picture on it but with a whole bunch of different names, easily forged of course, but the desire is to establish a different immigration policy from the one that the United States Federal Government runs and to get a local government, a city or a State, to accept these cards. It is happening all over.

In my own State of Colorado, four cities, Denver, Colorado Springs, Glendale, and Boulder all agreed to accept the Matricular Consular for the provision of services and for identification

purposes. Police departments all said yes, sure, we will do it. Some of them, not knowing exactly what the implications of this were, looking at it in a very short-sighted way, saying we need something to identify these people, not realizing that once they use that, once they say that we have accepted this form of I.D. that is provided by a foreign government, they have immediately conferred status upon the person who has it, a status that that person does not deserve because that person is here illegally.

Colorado, to its credit, was the first State in the Nation, I think just a couple of days ago, I think no longer ago than last week, passed legislation to stop this thing, to say no entity of the State of Colorado, no city, no department in the State of Colorado could accept the Matricular Consular, or what I think the legislation was that they could not accept any card that was not issued by the Federal Government or by the State for purposes of identification.

I hope other States do this. I understand that there are at least two other States that are looking at this, and I certainly hope that that legislation will progress. I believe Iowa and Arizona are the other two States that are looking at this.

Banks are using these cards to allow people to open up bank accounts. Remember, if one is here illegally they do not have a true Social Security number. I always wonder, when the bank allows someone to open up an account using these Matricular Consular cards for identification purposes, whether or not they are actually listing the Social Security numbers because of course they cannot because they are here illegally. So what happens to the interest on that account? How does that get identified come income tax time?

This Matricular Consular is a tool that is being used, as I say, to acquire what they could not get through this Congress, and that is amnesty, and that is an attack on citizenship. It is part of the movement to eliminate the whole concept of citizenship. Mexico and the Mexican government, as I say, has tasked these consular officials, and we have tons of documentation to show where Mexican consular officials have gone out to lobby.

Let me ask the Members, Mr. Speaker, what do they think would happen if an American consular official would go to an official in the State of Chihuahua in Mexico and say, "Look, we need your help in allowing people from the United States to come down here and violate the law?"

□ 2115

We would like you to help us out. Would you please accept an ID given by our government? Even though people are here illegally in Mexico, we would like you, nonetheless, to accept our ID for all the services that might be rendered to an illegal American citizen living in Mexico."

What do you think would happen? First of all, the Mexican Government would throw you out on your ear. The Governor of Chihuahua is, by the way, now visiting, as I understand it, the Governor of Colorado to get him to be a little more lenient with regard to the immigration issues.

That is another interesting aspect of this. We see all this communication now between the Government of Mexico and State governments, this ongoing lobbying activity with States and localities, on immigration issues.

Immigration is supposed to be uniquely a Federal responsibility; yet because of the fact that they cannot achieve their goals through this body, they are taking and doing the next best thing. And they admit this. They have stated on many occasions, Mexican officials have stated quite publicly that their desire is to obtain amnesty for, obtain all of the benefits of citizenship, for the people who are living here illegally. Even though they cannot do it through this body, they will do it through things like the advancement of the Matricula Consular being accepted all over the place.

But as I say, what do you think would happen? First of all, the Mexican Government would demand an apology from the State Department for having an American consular official go down to Mexico, or any other country on the planet, and try to lobby them, lobby their local government leaders, to get them to help people violate the national law.

That is exactly what is happening here. Yet we have said nothing to the Government of Mexico. We have filed no protest. I brought this up to the Secretary of State, Colin Powell, in a hearing on the Committee on International Relations on which I sit, and he said he was concerned. He was concerned. He did say that. That is as far as it has gone.

I want the American people to know, Mr. Speaker, that apparently the policy of this government is to allow the law of the land to be eroded; and in order to erode the law of this land, they conspire, our own government conspires with foreign governments to help them lobby State and local communities to obtain what they cannot obtain through the Congress of the United States.

The California Assembly last Monday approved legislation that would allow legal and illegal immigrants from Mexico to obtain city and county services by displaying the identification card issued by the Mexican consulate. Under the terms of the legislation, these cards would enable illegal aliens to do everything from acquiring a marriage or business license, borrowing books from the public library, securing senior citizen or student discounts or public transportation, and on and on and on and on.

According to a recent news article, few of the 5 million undocumented Hispanic immigrants had bank accounts

because they lacked sufficient identification. In late 2001 that changed for Mexicans when banks began accepting an ID issued by Mexican consulates, the *Matricula Consular*. Almost 2 million Mexicans have already obtained the card, largely because it is a key into the banking system.

Some immigrants arrive with \$20,000 in cash, according to this article. Bank of America often sends staff out to ply those waiting for the *Matricula Consular* with brochures and coffee. The banks of the country are aiding and abetting people who are here violating the law in order to get them to be customers.

Interestingly, however, is that banks in Mexico do not recognize the *Matricula* as legal identification. It is far too easy to forge, for one thing.

The Dominican consulate is planning a move that it says they hope will ease some of the lives of some of the Dominican immigrants, because they are going to start issuing the card. They are going to start issuing *Matricula Consular*. With this ID, illegal immigrants would find it easier to open bank accounts, they say, and identify themselves to the police. There are tens of thousands of illegal Dominicans in New York City and Chicago alone, for example.

The longer the government waits to develop a coherent policy on immigration, the longer we postpone efforts to improve border security, the more frequently we will see thinly disguised attempts at policy-making like the *Matricula Consular* cards emerge.

That is certainly what is going to happen, because we do have a tendency to try to ignore this issue. In a way, I can understand why there is a desire to ignore it, because they are accomplishing their goals by ignoring it. By not dealing with it here, by this body refusing to deal with it, then I assure you, the people who support the concept of amnesty and the people who oppose the concept of citizenship will achieve their goals.

What else are we doing in this country to attack the whole concept of citizenship? Well, recently both the State legislatures in Virginia and Maryland passed legislation that would give in-state tuition to illegal immigrants; but they were met with vetoes, at least in Maryland. I do not know for sure about Virginia. Perhaps they have also vetoed the legislation.

In fact, what happened in Virginia is this, that they passed a bill to stop anyone from providing illegal immigrants with in-state tuition, and that bill was vetoed, it is true. Unfortunately, I should say, it is true. The issue has come to the State of Colorado also.

A few States, California, Texas, New York and Utah, have already granted in-state tuition to children of illegal immigrants, this in violation, by the way, of the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act. It says specifically that

States cannot offer in-state tuition to illegal residents, unless they also offer it to all legal residents, regardless of what State they come from.

So, Mr. Speaker, a parent today paying out-of-state tuition prices for his or her daughter or son to go to school in California, Texas, New York or Utah, could, I believe, file a lawsuit on the basis of our 1996 Immigration Reform Act if California, Texas, New York, and Utah do not extend that same privilege to everybody. I am an American citizen, a citizen of the State of Colorado, a legal resident; but I cannot send my child to those four States and get in-state tuition.

Unless they approve it for everyone, then they should not approve it for anyone. That is the law of the land. That is the 1996 act that we passed. But these States are doing it. I would suggest, Mr. Speaker, that anyone out there who is in fact paying out-of-state tuition for their kids in these places should think about this very seriously and consider the possibility that they may have some legal action against these States to regain the tuition that they have spent.

But this is another attack on the whole concept of citizenship. If in fact you can provide all of the services, all of the benefits, all of the things that the California legislation provides, cards that would enable illegal aliens to do everything, from acquiring marriage licenses, business licenses, borrowing books, securing senior citizen discounts, getting all kinds of social services, if you can do that, if you can send your child to school in any State in the Nation, or at least these four, and several others are proposing it, and get in-state tuition, if you can get driver's licenses, which are now being proposed for illegal immigrants, do you not see, there is little if anything left that distinguishes you from a person who is here legally.

If you can obtain all that by coming into the country illegally, then why in the world would you go through the brain damage and the expense of doing it the right way? Why would you spend the money or the time or the energy? You can get everything else, because, after a while, citizenship will not matter. It will be of no consequence. And that is the desired goal of the people who support this kind of State legislation and who refuse to take it up in this body.

Luckily, there are some Members of this body who have been steadfast in their opposition to this kind of malarkey. They have been steadfast supporters of immigration reform. They were laboring in this vineyard before I ever came to this body. One of them has joined me here this evening, my friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER). I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, I would just like to take this opportunity to point out to my fellow colleagues and those who are listening in

on C-SPAN, as well as those reading the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the tremendous courage it takes for the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) to be leading this effort.

This is a thankless effort. The gentleman just suggested that when you add up these various different approaches of things that are going on that it is minimizing the importance of citizenship, and that perhaps this is being done by design.

Well, it is clear there is a coalition of a very powerful people in this country who do not really believe in the type of United States of America and the laws of the population we grew up with, but instead have more of a "global concept" and are willing to basically experiment with the rights, if not discard the rights, of American citizens in order to create this new dream.

These are powerful people. These are people who have attacked the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO). They are people that have great deals of financial resources and political power.

I personally am just rising tonight, when I saw the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) here again trying to be like Paul Revere and spreading the word and talking about the danger ahead of us, I wanted to come down here and let everyone know what a risk the gentleman is taking, that he is doing this at great personal expense.

The gentleman could be a "go-along, get-along" guy. Those of us who try to make waves here, I try to be very amicable and I know the gentleman from Colorado does as well. He has a wonderful laugh and smile. We try to be fun-loving, good people, with good hearts and of good will; but at the same time, we are having to tackle issues that mean life and death to the people of the United States. It means whether our people are going to have their children go to school or not, whether the standard of living of our people is going to decline.

Why do we have a situation where dramatically during the 1990s, there was such a huge increase in the GNP in our country, and, yes, the top 20 percent of our country did benefit, but the working people of this country, by and large, were kept behind? If you really trace it back, and the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) has done this many times before, we have looked at the charts, illegal immigration, this overwhelming flood of illegal immigration in the 1990s dragged down the standard of living, dragged down any pressure for an increase in wages for the working people.

I know that I do not come from a wealthy family, and I am sure the gentleman from Colorado does not either. We identify with working people.

There is no doubt that in the Federal Government there are many people who come from the elite of our society. But our job is to watch out for the working people and the regular human beings who go off to fight the wars, and

go to work every day, and our good citizens by way of every race, of every ethnic group, of every religion. America, what we are so proud of, it is the fact we are a combination of the whole world; but we are working together, and because we have this love of liberty and justice and these ideals that keep us together.

That is why it is so ever-important to recognize that we are a unit, that Americans are a family; and if we have policies that are bringing in strangers, even though they may be very good strangers and very positive people, from the outside, but it is happening in such a magnitude as to prevent our people from sharing in this great prosperity that we had in the 1990s, keeping wages down, that it is wrong. It is a wrong thing.

Ordinary people are having their standard of living brought down by helping strangers. Our first and foremost job is to watch out for America and Americans and do what is right. Sometimes it takes a very courageous person to do that, and the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) has demonstrated that time and again.

For those of you who do not know, the gentleman has made every hit list of every radical group, and other political groups, unfortunately. People that should know better have targeted the gentleman.

I am very proud of him tonight, and I hope all of you who are looking at the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and are seeing this on C-SPAN and the rest of the colleagues here will give Mr. TANCREDO his due.

I have my own Special Order later on tonight after the gentleman is done, but I thought I would make sure everyone understands what a great job the gentleman is doing for our country and for each of them.

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Speaker, I am flattered, and I am humbled by my colleague's kind words. I sincerely appreciate it. I have said this over and over again, because I know the gentleman feels this way, I know there are many other Members of the Congress who feel this way, and that is that massive immigration, combined with this sort of radical multiculturalism that permeates our society, this is so dangerous. It will not only determine what kind of a Nation we are in the future, that is to say divided, Balkanized, or united, it will determine whether we will be a Nation at all.

Those are the stakes that I think are on the table. Therefore, I feel compelled to come here right after night, to stand up in any venue I am allowed to, and talk about this issue. I cannot think of anything that has more of a potential detrimental impact on the Nation than this massive uncontrolled immigration, combined, as I say, with this cult of multiculturalism.

□ 2130

Because it does conspire to make, for instance, a severe and very, very dan-

gerous attack on citizenship itself, on the Nation itself. We talked about the various things that people are allowed to do now and that governments, State and local governments, are allowing to do who are living here illegally who are breaking our laws. And I mentioned that if you can come to the United States illegally, get your children educated for free, which you certainly can, K through 12, if you can now get your children educated at the state institution of higher education for in-state tuition, if you can obtain all the social services, all of benefits, if you can go to the hospital, get treatment for your ailments, get treatment for your children, get health care paid for, if you can use public housing get subsidized housing, if you can get all of those benefits, then there are very few things left that distinguish you as the citizen. One of those things is the ability and the right to vote. But guess what, this right to vote, this right to vote which we for a couple of centuries anyway held so dear, this right to vote is also being now threatened. And it is added, I should say, that right to vote is being added to the list of things that people can obtain here in the United States even if they are not citizens.

In 1991, Tacoma Park, Maryland, not far from here, voted to give non-U.S. citizens the right to vote in city elections. Several others by the way, several other cities around here have followed suit. Every time I say this people say no, that is impossible. That is not true. No, it is quite true. There are cities throughout the country, especially on the East Coast here, not too surprisingly I guess, that say if you are a resident of the city, simply a resident of the city, show us your utility bill, show us your driver's license, you can vote. Your citizenship will not be a question.

Now, there was a former state delegate in Maryland by the name of Thomas Mooney. He wrote an article in the Prince George's Journal. He was on the opposite side of this vote. He said, "Never have I heard of anything so ridiculous, so devoid of merit and so blatantly anti-American as the recent proposal to allow illegal aliens the opportunity to vote in city elections. If I went to Mexico or El Salvador I would not expect to be involved in their electoral process. I am an American citizen. My allegiance is to the United States. Voting is much more than supporting one candidate over another. It is a positive affirmation of our system of government. It is an act of involvement, a rite of passage for defining American citizenship. It is a vital piece of our common culture. It is under intense, strident attack by the Hate America First crowd. By allowing aliens to vote we demean that act which legitimizes our government and is one of the essential unifiers of our society."

Absolutely true. Now, Tacoma Park, as I say, was not the only one, has not been the only one who has ever done this. Even in the late 1960s a radical

move occurred in New York City where the decentralization of the New York City schools, all parents, legal or illegal residents, were given the right to vote in 32 community school board elections. In New York City citizens were voting not only in elections for school boards, but, interestingly, on policy boards that were in charge of distributing anti-poverty funds to community groups.

In Chicago not too long ago a television station there, WLS-TV, did a comprehensive investigation of illegal aliens and the vote. It was a 5-part series in the early 1980s. They found that illegal voting was rampant. People were questioned on air and asked about it and they all said, yeah, sure, I vote. Robert Baskin states, "Carlos is a citizen of Mexico, but he had no trouble registering to vote in Chicago."

In California there have been bills up before the state legislature to allow anyone to vote. Time and again we have seen where people have actually set up stalls and set up tables in parking areas in California especially that are frequented by people who are here illegally, day centers where people come to get jobs and things of that sort. They set up these tables to register illegal aliens in parking lots and then tell them how to vote. They complete absentee ballots by hundreds and thousands and give them to illegal aliens to sign them and send them in. They transport van loads of illegal aliens to multiple voting locations in various names. This has gone on for quite some time.

Again, when you add it to all of the factors, when you add it to all of the things that I have said people can obtain by simply being here and not necessarily being a citizen, you can see why there is concern, why there is great concern for what is happening to the United States of America.

Theodore Roosevelt said in his speech on true Americanism in 1894, "We have no room for any people who do not act and vote simply as Americans and as nothing else. We demand that all citizens shall have fair treatment in every way. They all alike shall have the rights guaranteed them. The mighty tide of immigration to our shores has brought in its train much of good and much of evil. And whether the good or evil shall predominate depends mainly on whether these newcomers do or do not throw themselves heartily into our national life, cease to be aliens and become Americans like the rest of us. But where immigrants or sons of immigrants do not heartily and in good faith throw in their lot with us, but cling to the speech, the customs, the ways of life, and the habits of thought of the nation which they have left, they hereby harm both themselves and us. If they remain alien elements, unassimilated, and with national interests separate from ours, they are mere obstructions to the current of our national life and get no good from it themselves, and they are who really suffer the most."

"It is an immense benefit to the immigrant to change him into an American citizen. To bear the name of American is to bear the most honorable title. From his own standpoint it is beyond question that the wise thing for the immigrant is to become thoroughly Americanized. Moreover, from our standpoint we have the right to demand it. We freely extend the hand of welcome and of good fellowship to every man no matter what his creed or birthplace who comes here honestly, intent on becoming a good United States citizen like the rest of us. But we have the right and it is our duty to demand that he indeed shall become so. Above all, the immigrant must learn to talk and think and be the United States."

Not too long ago I had an opportunity to have a breakfast meeting with a Bishop Gomez, Bishop of the Catholic Church in the Denver archdiocese. And he did not agree with my concerns about immigration and about what is happening in the country with the lack of interest in citizenship and the attack on citizenship. And he said to me, Congressman, I do not know why you are so concerned about this, he said. He said, Most of the people coming here from Mexico today do not want to be Americans. And I said, Well, of course, Bishop, that is exactly the problem, is that they do not want to be and, by and large, they are not coming to be, we are witnessing, by the way, something else. Even people who are here legally are choosing not to become citizens at a far higher rate than ever before. Two-thirds of the people living here legally but who are not citizens of the United States have chosen not to pursue the citizenship route. That is another new phenomenon. And, again, I guess I could say, why should they? What is the benefit of citizenship? Why should anybody go through it? Everything obtainable under citizenship can be obtained if you simply walk across these borders. It is a dangerous thing.

There is a celebration for the Hispanic community in the United States referred to as Cinco de Mayo. It was over the weekend. It is an enjoyable celebration many people attend and certainly a large number of Hispanics in Colorado attend and enjoy it. I was listening to a radio talk show and they were talking to several of the vendors on the street. I thought it was interesting the vendor who was doing the biggest interest at Cinco de Mayo in Denver, according to this radio program on National Public Radio so it certainly had to be accurate, right, but the stall that was doing the most business was the stall selling Mexican flags. And later on that evening I saw a short clip on television show Cinco de Mayo and they were, of course, waving thousands and thousands of flags. All Mexican flags. I did not see a single American flag there.

Now, there is every reason to be prideful in the country that you are

from. I certainly am proud of my Italian heritage. I do not wave the Italian flag on any particular holiday of Italy, and I certainly never would have thought of doing so. And if I did ever put out an Italian flag for some reason, I think I would put out an American flag next to it or above it to show my commitment and loyalty is to the United States. It is just a little thing. It is not a huge thing. You cannot draw a lot of conclusions from it. I thought it was an interesting thing that that was the one stall doing the most business and it was the prominently displayed flag during this celebration.

Why should anyone care? We encourage them not to in many ways, not to care about being an American, not to care about the fact that citizenship is a privilege, conferred upon people who have strived to come to the United States, overcome tremendous obstacles, devoted their lives in many cases to attaining that wonderful goal, being so excited when they were able to do so, when they were able to raise their hands and take that oath of allegiance to the United States of America.

Interestingly enough, now that oath, even the citizenship ceremony, the INS is letting individual groups, some religious groups, actually determining who will pass the test. They put out little brochures talking about how easy it is to pass the test, so that you do not have to worry anymore. They are not going to ask you any really tough questions. We will give you the tests in your own language. Doing everything possible to simply eliminate anything that is sort of a hardship to becoming an American citizen.

Well, I think anything that is given away is not valued. And I think that we should begin to be concerned about where we are going as a Nation, and how massive immigration combined with this multiculturalist phenomenon in the United States has the tendency to tear us apart and to do great damage to this country.

My friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER), when he stood up he talked about courage and that sort of thing to say these things, but really it is imperative that all of us address these issues.

I came across this, and I will just end with this. This is a speech given by Enoch Powell in England, 1968, on the issue of immigration. He said,

The supreme function of statesmanship is to provide against preventable evils. In seeking to do so it encounters obstacles which are deeply rooted in human nature. One is that by the very order of things such evils are not demonstrable until they have occurred. At each stage in their outset there is room for doubt, for dispute, whether they be real or imaginary. By the same token they attract little attention in comparison with current troubles which are both indisputable and pressing. Once the besetting temptation of all politics is to concern itself with the immediate present at the expense of the future. Above all, people are disposed to mistake predicting troubles for causing trouble,

and even for desiring trouble. "If only," they love to think, "if only people wouldn't talk about it, it probably wouldn't happen." Perhaps this habit goes back to the primitive belief that the word and the thing, the name and the object are identical. At all events, the discussion of future grave, with effort now avoidable, evils is probably the most unpopular and at the same time the most necessary occupation for the politician. Those who knowingly shirk it, deserve, and not infrequently receive, the curses of those who come after.

I choose to avoid that particular environment. I do not want to have to look back and think, I wonder how this all happened? I wonder what happened to the Nation that I knew? And I do not want to have to try to explain to my children and to my grandchildren that it happened on my watch and that I did nothing, I did absolutely nothing to prevent it.

□ 2145

I want to convince them that I tried my best and so I will come back to this well of the House and as long as I am able, on as many occasions as I possibly can, to discuss this topic and to try and get our colleagues and the American people, to get our colleagues to reflect the attitudes and the opinions of the American people, 70 percent of whom agree with everything we are saying here tonight who are asking our own government for help, like this family that I brought to my colleagues' attention earlier and like the millions of others who are seeking to deal with the massive immigration and the negative effects it has had on their lives.

The people of this country know there is something wrong. I do not think there is a bigger divide between what the people of this country want and what the government is willing to give them than it is on this immigration issue.

So we will do everything we can; and as I say, I certainly appreciate the efforts of those who have labored in this particular environment long before I came here, like my friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER), the gentleman from California (Mr. GALLEGLY), and others who I know have been sounding this alarm for a long time. I join them in that chorus, and I ask for my colleagues' support.

LESSONS LEARNED SINCE 9/11

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HENSARLING). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, tonight, I thought that I would discuss some of the lessons learned since 9/11 and discuss some of the current events that we are seeing happen on a daily basis and put them into some historical perspective.

First of all, 9/11. Let us note that 9/11 was not an unavoidable natural occurrence. 9/11, an attack upon the United