and close the sieve, because right now people get through.

When asked whether the government was doing enough to control the boarders and screen those allowed into the country, 76 percent said the country was not doing enough, and only 19 percent said the government was doing enough. Those 19 percent were probably people who are here illegally and just told the person calling them up on the phone that they were going to be voting.

While identified conservatives were the most likely to think that not enough was being done, by 83 percent, get this, Mr. Speaker, 74 percent of the liberals and 75 percent of the moderates indicated that enforcement was insufficient. In addition, by a margin of more than two to one, blacks and whites and Hispanics all thought government efforts at border control and the vetting of immigrants were inadequate.

So although this body may not think there is a problem or that dealing with it is politically volatile, Americans do not think there is a problem with dealing with it. They think there is a problem with not dealing with it. They believe and they know, and they are right, Mr. Speaker, that there is a huge problem that we confront as a Nation because of our unwillingness to deal with this concept of immigration control.

Again I stress the fact that it goes across political philosophies. It goes across racial lines. It does not matter if you are black, Hispanic, or Asian or white. They feel the same way about this issue, because they are Americans, just like anybody else; and they are worried, just like anybody else, about their own safety.

And is that not our responsibility, Mr. Speaker? Are we not the ones charged with the responsibility in this body to develop, among other things, plans and proposals and programs to ensure domestic tranquility and provide for the common defense? Is that not our job? And are we not uniquely charged with the responsibility of determining immigration policies?

No State can do it, Mr. Speaker. No matter how inundated that State may be, no matter how difficult it may be for them to deal with it, they cannot establish immigration policy. Only this Federal Government can; and, after it is once established, only the Federal Government can enforce it.

I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that if we ignore this any longer and another event, God forbid, another event of a similar nature as those on September 11 occurs, and occurs as a result of our inability or unwillingness to protect ourselves from people who come here to do us evil, then we are culpable in that event.

I, for one, Mr. Speaker, choose to do everything I can and speak as often as I can and as loudly as I can about the need to control our own borders.

We talk about the defense of the Nation, the defense of the homeland. An agency has been created for that purpose. I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that the defense of the Nation begins with the defense of our borders. I reiterate and repeat, the defense of this Nation begins with the defense of our borders. It is not illogical, it is not immoral, it is not even politically unpopular, as many of my colleagues would think. It is the right thing to do. Americans know it.

What is it going to take, Mr. Speaker, I wonder, for the rest of my colleagues to come to this conclusion?

We have written a bill to deal with terrorism. It got marked up today in the Committee on the Judiciary. As I understand it, although I have not seen the specifics, I am told that every provision we had about immigration control got watered down.

□ 2015

That all attempts on our part to deal with the possibility of terrorism, terrorists coming into the Nation, identifying them, detaining them, deporting them, all of those proposals by the administration got watered down so that we could have a nonpartisan or a bipartisan bill come to the floor. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that I will not be allowed to offer an amendment to that bill. I believe that it will come to this floor with a rule that will prevent me or anyone else from offering some of the amendments to tighten up the borders. I am sickened by this possibility, but I think that that is where we are headed, because no one wants to rock these boats.

Mr. Speaker, I am willing to do so because I cannot imagine doing anything else. It is my job, it is my responsibility to bring to the attention of my colleagues and the American people, to the extent that I am humanly capable of doing so, the dangerous situation we face as a result of our unwillingness to deal with the concept of immigration control. Tell me how we will face our children. Tell me how we will face the future, Mr. Speaker, if another event occurs as a result of our unwillingness to address the issue of immigration control because we fear the political ramifications thereof.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that the only way we will ever change our policies is if the American people rise up in one accord and confront their elected representatives with this issue. Do not be placated by platitudes and do not be assuaged by those people who tell us that we are doing something because we may allow for 7 days of detention of potential terrorists, and that is the whole immigration reform package. Do not listen to it, I say to my colleagues. Demand more.

What are the possibilities? I do not want to think of the possibilities of not acting. Think of the seriousness of our deliberations and of the potential consequences of inaction on this issue. They are more than I wish to deal with. I cannot imagine that we will shrink from this responsibility, but that is what appears to be in the wind, Mr. Speaker. All I can do is come here and beg Members to listen to these arguments and to act on behalf of the people of this country who look to us to keep them secure, to ensure domestic tranquility, and to provide for the common defense.

THE EFFECTS OF TERRORISM ON EDUCATION POLICY IN AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GRUCCI). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2001, the gentleman from New York (Mr. OWENS) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to talk about three important items which definitely overlap: education, reparations and terrorism. As a member of the House and Senate Conference Committee on H.R. 1, the Leave No Child Behind Act, a major initiative of President Bush that probably will come to the floor in the next 10 to 15 days, I would like to emphasize the fact that this legislation focusing on education, which will probably set a tone and establish some basic principles and concepts and procedures and movements for the next 10 years, is very important legislation. It is still important today, despite the pressures that we feel as a result of the tragedy of September 11. In fact, after September 11, education becomes even more important in general; and specifically, as we move toward creating recovery and construction programs, education must play a major role in this process of creating recovery and restructuring and construction programs.

September 11 presented us with a tragic and compelling landmark event. It said to us that terrorism will be a scourge on civilization for a long time. Modern societies are amazingly vulnerable to terrorism. The domino impact of the destruction of the World Trade Center towers overwhelms the mind. How can one event have so many repercussions? How can one event, one destructive, heinous event lead to the collapse of so many life elements of our economy and of our way of looking at certain civil liberties, and a number of other major tenets of our society? One event.

During World War II when targets were picked to cripple the industrial might of Germany, they bombed the oil fields in Romania and they bombed the industrial complex in Hamburg and a number of different targets, they had definitely aimed at crippling the industrial might of Hitler, not any one target ever had that kind of an impact. But in our present society we have constructed, it is so fragile in one sense that a strike at one point can lead to the tremendous repercussions which impact not just my City of New York or the State of New York, but the entire Nation and the economy of the entire world. So I want to highlight the fact that this event let us know that

we can have people with cavemen mentalities.

In fact, Osama bin Laden, and I say bin Laden because The New York Times said that he pronounces it as Sadden; their pronunciation guide said it rhymes with Sadden, and I think it is ironic that it rhymes with Sadden, S–A–D–D–E–N. Osama bin Laden is supposed to live in a cave and there are people surrounding him in a cave; but, nevertheless, out of that cave, we do not get a caveman mentality, we do not get an illiterate. We get an evil genius, an evil person with totally no regard for human life who can strike at one of our vulnerable points and cause so much harm. Educated people surround bin Laden; educated people who know how to use computers and know how to communicate all over the world and who are very patient and very well organized, who know how to take advantage of every soft spot in our society; educated people who can only be corralled and only be matched by educated people. We say, well, we have plenty of educated people. We do not need to worry about that. But I want to take a few minutes to examine some of the institutions of our society.

Just as my predecessor was examining INS, I think unfairly in so many ways, but just as he examined INS, I want to examine some of the institutions in our society which are constructed to protect us. Those institutions are run by very well-educated people, run by very well-trained people, scientists, specialists, maybe some geniuses are in the CIA and FBI. So where did we go wrong and what are we as citizens supposed to do?

In my district, I assure my colleagues, we have lost many wonderful human beings. All human life is sacred and every soul that died in the World Trade Center was sacred. I have gone to many memorial services. I experienced firsthand a situation where my daughter-in-law, who worked in the World Trade Center on the 68th floor of the first tower, was supposed to be at work at 9:30 instead of 9 o'clock, her usual time. Because she was due at 9:30, she heard the plane hit the building from the ground. She was not in the building at that time. But for 4 hours, I did not know where she was. We did not know where she was. And the kind of anxiety that I went through, we went through, for 4 hours is just a tiny, tiny portion of the kind of anxiety that others have suffered over these last few weeks.

When we finally found out where she was, I confess, I cried uncontrollably for a while. I found myself crying often uncontrollably for those others who did not get out and for various stories that I hear; and I cry when I realize that probably this great catastrophe could have been avoided. I have the same experience that every other human being has in terms of the loss of immediate people that I know, the loss of heroic firemen and policemen, and I react like everybody else.

But on top of that, as an elected official, I wake up at night and I feel something else. My post-traumatic stress has another element. And I have noted in conversations with some of my colleagues that they are probably feeling the same thing. We are the Government. We are responsible. Therefore, when the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT) stood on the floor and said, we failed to keep our people safe from harm, we have to accept that, in some way, we are failing and have failed.

I am going to have a series of town meetings, not memorial services. Other people are doing that very well, and I have attended those. If people who have lost relatives want to come to town meetings, they certainly are welcome; and we can take time out to deal with their concerns. But I want to have a series of town meetings that are probably very small, because I am not going to take a long time to plan them and look for a big audience; but I want my constituents all over the district to come and talk to me about their reaction to what has happened. I want them to hear that I feel, as a tiny portion of the total apparatus of government, I feel guilty. I want them to hear that I feel that we as Americans have a job to do; we have a new mission in this complicated world, very complex. Our society is far more complex than any nuclear physics apparatus or any ballistic missile apparatus. The society and the functioning of the society like ours is very complex, and it must have well-tuned, well-lubricated institutions which deal with that complexity. I want to talk to them about it and I want them to hear me, and I want to hear from them.

In elections, we often hear our constituents talk endlessly about what have you brought home to the district. How many buildings have you gotten, Federal buildings have you gotten built? How many grants from the Federal Government have you brought home? What benefits directly and concrete can you offer? And the orientation of most of us has to be in the direction of what can I do for my district in a very concrete way.

□ 2030

So who wants, in this situation, to spend time on the floor of the House or in any other way confronting institutions of our government that are not functioning properly and which are not under the jurisdiction of our committees?

I am on the Committee on Education and the Workforce. I am willing to talk to you all day about the Department of Education and the various ramifications of what they have done or not done, but I am not on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. I am not on the Committee on the Judiciary.

Often when I come to the floor and talk about those items, my colleagues do tell me that, Well, you are out of your league. Other folks know more about that. I have been sort of driven away from a discussion of certain items as a result of being reminded that I am not the expert.

Well, I am not the expert, but from now on I intend to be like the child in Hans Christian Anderson's ''The Emperor Has No Clothes.'' Because I am not the expert, I am going to ask the questions that the fresh eye and fresh ear can afford to indulge in. It is very important that I tell my constituents a year from now that I asked all the questions, I sought the answers, I did the best I could, even though these things were not directly under the jurisdiction of my committee.

I am going to ask some questions of the CIA and the FBI. I have done that before, I think 3 or 4 years ago. For several years in a row, several colleagues would join me, or I would join them in using the CIA appropriations as an opportunity to discuss the function of the CIA, so we would always offer an amendment to cut it by 10 percent or 1 percent. We do not know exactly what the budget is, but the New York Times consistently says it is $30 billion plus. So we used to come to the floor. It was an opportunity to talk about various problems.

Mr. Speaker, our amendment got fewer and fewer votes. It was one of those items where I felt a little guilty about discussing it because I am not on the committee and I do not have the expertise, so I retreated. I have not talked about the CIA in several years, but I intend to talk about it tonight.

Education, terrorism, and reparations. The last part of that is reparations. The treatment of the subject of reparations at the World Conference Against Racism in Durbin, South Africa, this past summer is evidence that freedom-loving societies are carrying unnecessary baggage as we seek a more just world. It is as much a part of the dialogue on what our role is and where we go now as we search for the terrorism network and the terrorism, the individuals who guided that network, and we do things that are unusual, and in some cases incurring collateral damage that is unavoidable.

What is our moral mission here? How are we going to justify that? We can justify it only if we reassert the fact that we stand for freedom; we stand for democracy; we stand for the pieces of the Declaration of Independence that people like to push aside. We still believe that everybody has the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We really believe that. We have the right to hoist a flag and march behind that flag and to deal with those perpetrators who are determined to knock down those principles.

We have a right to have as much fervor and as much zeal as anyone else, but we have to understand that the lack of fervor and the lack of zeal makes us more vulnerable. We have not pursued the perfection of our institutions with the right amount of fervor

and zeal. Too many of us, Member of Congress, have run away, backed down, as I did: ''The CIA is someone else's job; the FBI is someone else's job.''

Yet in this calamity that we have just begun to live through, there are critical questions that somebody must answer. The INS was being blamed by the previous speaker, my colleague on the Committee on Education and the Workforce. I know all about H–1B visas and the kinds of things that he was talking about, but his overall thesis was that we were in the present predicament because there are too many people from outside the country being let into the country.

That sounds like something that Sitting Bull might have said, or Chief Joseph. The Native Americans probably had real justification for making that kind of statement: Too many people have been let in the country, and it is our country.

I reject any blanket statement that says that as a nation of immigrants we are at a great disadvantage. We are not at a great disadvantage as a nation of immigrants; we are at a great advantage. President Clinton has often said that diversity, diversity is one of our greatest strengths. As we seek world markets, as we seek the good will of people all over the globe, and as we seek right now these various alliances and coalitions to fight terrorism, our diversity is our greatest advantage.

I recall seeing not too long ago, a few months ago, an old movie, one of those old thrillers. The movie was all about during World War II they were trying to break the German code. In order to do that, they came up with a daring plan in Washington where they went out and recruited ethnic Germans, American Germans who were all put together on an American submarine, and they were put into a situation where they encountered a U-boat. And actually were able to fool, with their tactics, the people in the U-boat, and they took over the U-boat.

The point is that the whole project depended on the recruitment of ethnic Germans, people that we were at war with, but American Germans were Americans first. It is a good example of what is happening in many economic ventures. We have overwhelmed some of our opponents. The Japanese do not really know what has hit them in certain markets because they have very little diversity, but we have diversity which allows us entry into all kinds of markets and situations.

Likewise, if the CIA and the FBI made use of it, that same diversity could help us infiltrate spy rings and infiltrate terrorism rings, and provide better protection for us. At least it could provide us with translators.

One of the real scandals of the present situation is that the FBI was on television and the radio in my city 2 weeks ago advertising for people, they are probably still on but I just have not heard them recently, advertising for folks who could speak Arabic or Farsi. Well, better late than never, but I thought it was strange. We have been fighting an Arab-based terrorist ring for a long time. We knew that when they bombed the barracks in Beirut under Reagan. We knew that when they bombed the barracks in Saudi Arabia. We knew that when they bombed the Cole battleship. Why is it that we are not equipped with a sufficient supply of Arabic translators?

I have heard from the talking heads on television, and I have read in several articles, that this is a real problem; that there were documents and communications that lay there undeciphered, unread, not interpreted, because there were no translators. There were no analysts.

In this great country of ours, we ought to have groups of people who speak practically any language in the world. I went to my staff and asked, in New York City, how many colleges are there where Arabic instruction is provided? New York City has about 20 city universities, 20 colleges and city universities in the system, more than 20, and then there are other colleges; a total of about 40 different higher education institutions. We found only six, only six that had some courses in Arabic, only six. Let us not even go to Farsi, which is what some folks in Afghanistan speak, or Pashtu in Afghanistan, Urdu in Pakistan.

In this great Nation of ours, with 3,000 universities and colleges, more than 3,000, there should not be a single language that we do not teach somewhere. There should not be a single culture that is not being thoroughly explored by some group in one of our great universities or colleges.

But we need to understand our mission. We need to go back and understand that in this global community that we have helped to create, we made the WTO, we did Fast Track and NAFTA, we have argued that the markets of the world belong to us, and therefore we are willing to have an interaction with the rest of the world unlike any ever known before.

If we are going to do that, let us use some of our magnificent resources. We have foundations that are loaded with dollars, foundations which certainly could have programs on culture and languages that they finance in our various universities. I am not talking about a government program or a government initiative; but our universities and colleges and foundations should have an initiative which guarantees that no matter where we go on this globe, we have a body of people who understand the culture and the language of those people.

For the CIA, it becomes an immediate need; for the FBI, it becomes an immediate need. I will submit this article from the New York Times on Wednesday, October 3, in its entirety. I will read some excerpts from it.

Mr. Speaker, this is an article that appears today in the New York Times, Wednesday, October 3, entitled ''House Panel Calls for Cultural Revolution in FBI and CIA.''

Now, I am still a little reluctant to do too much criticism of these venerated institutions here on the floor because I have had these comments from my colleagues. One colleague said to me that I embarrassed him by, at a time like this, bringing up possible inadequacies in the CIA or FBI. He was embarrassed. His naivete embarrasses me, because here in the New York Times today it shows that there are a lot of people who are members of the intelligence community, very much pro the CIA and the FBI in every way, who are embarrassed and want to see something done.

This is an article by Alison Mitchell:

''The House committee that oversees the Nation's intelligence agencies has called for far-reaching changes in intelligence operations and for an independent investigation into why government did not foresee or prevent the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington. Reflecting the mood since September 11, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, in a report accompanying a classified intelligence bill expected to be taken up by the House this week, says it is a matter of urgency 'like no other time in our Nation's history' to address the 'many critical problems facing the intelligence agencies.'''

Now, these are people who are friends and protectors of our intelligence agencies talking. This is the committee of responsibility, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

''The bill approved by the committee late last week would create an independent 10-member commission to study 'preparedness and performance' of several Federal agencies during and after the September 11 strikes. It would also increase the roughly $30 billion intelligence budget, but the exact dollar sums the bill contains are classified.''

There are always increases; $30 billion is not enough, even though that was roughly the amount we had during the Cold War when we had the evil empire of the Soviet Union to battle. But $30 billion is not enough; we need more.

''The committee calls for a cultural revolution inside agencies like the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and a thorough review of the Nation's national security structures.''

This is the House committee itself responsible for this. In the past they have been rather soft on the CIA. The man who heads the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence is the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS). He is a former CIA agent. But here is the problem. In a later paragraph in the same article, we run into the problem: ''The House committee chose its words carefully. In the report that accompanies its bill, the committee says it does not in any way lay blame to the dedicated men and women of the U.S. intelligence community for the success of these attacks.''

□ 2045

''If blame must be assigned, the blame lies with a government as a whole that did not fully understand nor wanted to appreciate the significance of the new threats to our national security despite the warnings offered by the intelligence community.''

How is that for a turn of logic in terms of, no, the agency that is directly responsible is really not responsible? It is the government as a whole. Well, we are right back to me. I am part of the government as a whole. Every Congressman is part of the government as a whole. We are to blame. But we are not going to accept the blame by ourselves. We and the CIA and the FBI, the staff, the policy-making structure, we are all to blame. Do not say that the wonderful dedicated men and women of the U.S. intelligence community cannot be blamed.

When we talk about reform of welfare programs, any mother who deliberately got more food stamps than she should have we put her in jail. We call for maximum responsibility. So why are we running away from maximum responsibility and maximum accountability for people who are in such a critical position?

I will not read the entire article but I do want to complete just a few other choice paragraphs. ''The commission would be appointed by the President and congressional leaders; and the commission would examine the performance of several Federal agencies responsible for public safety, law enforcement, national security, and intelligence gathering. It would have subpoena powers and would report back in six months of its formation.''

I think it is important to note that our previous speaker who laid a blistering attack against the INS, the INS which brought all of these immigrants in and is not doing a good job to keep people out, he holds them responsible, they are not mentioned in this article. They are not mentioned as an intelligence gathering agency or a national security agency. In fact, repeatedly, it has been noted that in terms of processing the terrorists that have been identified, the INS did its job. But it was a failure of communication between the FBI and the CIA after the INS pinpointed the people were in the country, the failure of communication that resulted in two of them not being apprehended.

''President Bush has already ordered internal reviews of intelligence gathering.'' President Bush has already ordered internal reviews of intelligence gathering. But the committee said, ''If history serves, however, no substantial changes will occur after these internal reviews are completed. The committee believes that major changes are necessary.''

Another way to interpret that is the usual response to any embarrassment experienced by the CIA or the FBI is to have an internal review. For the 19 years that I have been here, there have been several internal reviews of the CIA and FBI. Now this committee, this friendly committee is saying, look, we will not go for this. It is not going to result in any major difference. We need the independent investigation. I agree with the committee.

I applaud the fact that they are willing to tell the truth partially, but they are wrong in not assuming that we can hold accountable the CIA and FBI.

Further quoting from this article, ''While the intelligence bill is not expected to be controversial, some amendments could prove to be controversial as Congress contends with how much it wants to rethink the limits on covert operations. The House committee focused in its report on the shortage of intelligence analysts and case officers with foreign language skills.''

This is where I want to end. ''The House committee focused in its report on the shortage of intelligence analysts and case officers with foreign language skills. At the NSA and the CIA, thousands of pieces of data are never analyzed or are analyzed after the fact.'' It said, ''Because there are too few analysts, even fewer with the necessary language skills. Written materials can sit for months and times years before a linguist with proper security clearances and skills can begin the translation.''

Mr. Speaker, I want to go back and tell my constituents that we have a $30 billion agency that cannot find and hire linguists and analysts, and that documents which might have uncovered this plot have been sitting there all this time, and we do not want to blame anybody. The brave men of the CIA should not be blamed for allowing a situation like this to take place?

''The committee recommended that intelligence agencies offer bonuses for language proficiency. They are considering creating their own language schools.''

We do not to create language schools. There are languages schools out west. The military uses them. They can train anybody in any language. We need to have decision-making at the top that it is important for people to learn certain languages and to send them out there so you will not have a gaping hole in the operations of this magnitude.

''The committee also said that the Nation needed to increase its frontline field officers, clandestined case officers and defense attaches. It said a fresh look should be taken at restructuring the CIA.''

Where does education come into all of this? I started by saying I wanted to talk about education. They should have no problem finding the people they need in this great Nation. But I know one of problems they encounter if they find somebody who speaks the language, they have to go through a series of checks in terms of loyalty, et cetera. They find somebody who speaks the language, they may not write English well enough or they may not use computers well enough. They may not be appropriately educated.

We do not have a pool of educated people to draw from for those kind of jobs. We are headed toward a great calamity in the United States of America for a lack of educated people, people with college educations who can part of a pool from which you draw all the professionals you need. There is a teacher shortage of great magnitude. There is a law enforcement shortage. Law enforcement agencies are having trouble recruiting people. There is a shortage in the military in terms of people who are educated enough to operate very sophisticated high tech weaponry. Everywhere there is a shortage of people who are properly educated. So we are back to education. We do not need at this point to say that we have a major crisis created by September 11. And therefore, we should ignore the education bill that is being considered by the Senate and the House at that point or that we should downplay it and not give it the increases that were foreseen before September 11.

In New York City, there is a rush to cut the education budget. First thing they want to cut because we have less revenue coming in, we have a lot of problems. So education is the first agency on the chopping block. That is a primitive, backward reaction and failing to understand where we are.

Our law enforcement agencies, our CIA, our FBI, needs trained people to draw from, from diversified backgrounds. We cannot penetrate certain groups unless we have somebody who looks and acts and has the background and culture of that same group, but America is rich because of immigration. The immigration that has been criticized before has given us practically every religion, every ethnic group, every language in the world. We have to open our institutions to a process that allows these people to come in.

The CIA was sued by women and minorities. The FBI was sued by Hispanics and African-Americans. In the last 5 years, there have been suits brought against them for their discrimination. We are back to my third subject now, reparations.

The World Conference on Racism and how racism is a problem that keeps us from maximizing our resources, our human resources on our maximizing in this country because there are these layers of racism, and racism is worse in the law enforcement community than in any other sector of our society, whether we are talking about local law enforcement, state troopers or the Federal level. Racism is a major problem. We have to confront this and stop carrying the baggage of racism. We have to force the intelligence community to stop being so incestuous, incestuous, and open up so that they have the tools that are needed, the human resources.

Our electronic surveillance systems are magnificent. It can pinpoint people, objects, anywhere in the world, but this incident, this tragedy shows that

we have to get down on the ground, and we have to have human beings face-to-face, whether they are agents or assets or people back in the office, analysts, good librarians.

I am a librarian. What they needed in many cases was good librarians to organize the information, librarians who also could speak the language, who would help them recruit people who speak the language. Arrangements could have been made to set up a first class translation system if the decision-makers on the top had considered it important.

So one of the questions I asked, which embarrassed one of my colleagues, the CIA and the FBI, do they have decision-makers who understand the cultures of our enemies? Is there anybody in the high place in the CIA or the FBI who understands the culture of Islam? Or who have a pool of people relating to them that they can rely on to give them up-to-date firsthand ongoing interpretation of what is happening?

Simple questions. I do not think I in any way endanger national security by asking the questions, and I said to myself, well, I may not push anybody to answer it because that might endanger national security, but now, since newspapers and talking heads and everybody is asking the same question, why do we not have people who understand the cultures, people who speak the language? We are asking the obvious questions.

Education would give us a pool of people who are in a position to be trained to take these positions. We cannot ever eliminate racism, but if we had less racism we could develop those diverse groups. Whether it is people who speak Islamic or different colors, whatever, if there was less racism we could make use of our great advantage of diversity which President Clinton so often talked about.

The conference on world racism which talked about reparations was hijacked by some selfish Arabs who forced the issue, twisted the issue and made it part of the conflict between Israel and Palestinians. So there was no real discussion of the ramifications of reparations, but reparations is something that we have to get off the table, an apology for slavery, something to get off the table. We ought to go on and do those things, apologize for slavery, just as the Japanese were asked to apologize and the Germans apologized to the holocaust victims. There have been a lot of apologies to people who have been wronged.

Let us apologize for slavery. Let us talk about reparations in some sensible way. It may mean just the creation of an education system which guarantees the descendents of slaves who were economically disadvantaged will always have the opportunity get the first class education, and by helping them get the first class education, we help to enlarge the pool of people we need.

There was a time when I heard frequently when I was younger in high school, I heard people say that the society only needs so many educated people, and therefore, if you educate too many people, there will be no jobs for educated people. I heard that at one of the colleges. I heard it as early as 10 years ago. People feeling that we have got enough educated people, but the needs have been mushrooming.

One of the characteristics of this very complex modern world of ours is that it needs so many more educated people. You cannot get educated people, of course, by giving more scholarships and fellowships at the college and university level if you do not have the raw material coming up from elementary and secondary schools.

Our problem in this country is not the opportunity for people who make it to college. There are all kinds of benefits, all kinds of opportunities for people who qualify to go to college. The problem is that there are too few among certain groups that are very much needed in this society who are able to qualify for entry into college.

So education, the kind of bill we are considering now, what President Bush chose to call leave no child behind becomes as vital as anything we are doing. The terrorism bill is not more important than the education bill. The stimulus bill that we are talking about, a package to help boost the economy at a time like this, it is not more important than the education bill.

In order for all of these things to work, we have got to have a continuing flow up from the pool of people with good education.

□ 2100

H. G. Wells said, and I often get the quote wrong, I am not sure I have it right, that ''civilization is a race between education and chaos.'' I think I came close to what he said. ''Civilization is a race between education and chaos.'' And it is even more true as our society becomes more complicated.

There are people who can wreck our computer systems and our whole cyber-networks, and we need people who are as smart as they are who are constantly able to have a counteraction and monitor these things. We need large numbers of young people with those kinds of minds. Large numbers. What happened at the World Trade Center showed how vulnerable an attack on a physical facility can be; but Y2K, which I understand, I do not know the details, but I understand we must give credit to the CIA and FBI for stopping some plots related to the sabotage of our whole computer system at the changing of the century. The Y2K problem that we were so concerned about.

Education is relevant today just as it was a few weeks ago. We have just completed a Congressional Black Caucus Annual Legislative Weekend where we come together from all over the country and we talk about certain issues and problems. I serve as the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus Education Brain Trust. I am going to just read a statement that I made at the opening of our brain trust:

''As we assemble on this historic legislative weekend, we must all resolve that no emergency situation or special event will be allowed to lessen the priority we assign to the education emergency in the African American community. The nature of the critical problems that we presently face reemphasizes the need for America to have the most diverse and best educated population possible. In order to improve their operations and to achieve greater efficiency and excellence, every profession needs more and better educated recruits. Law enforcement and military agencies have a mushrooming need for personnel with information technology know-how. Unless we create and maintain a rapidly expanding pool of high quality students, the effectiveness of the military as well as intelligence operations will continue to be inadequate.

''Our Nation's needs for digital expertise will increase for a long time in the future. Activities similar to the recent terrorist act and other pressures on America will last into the next decade. Our school system has a new challenge and thus will need new resources. Advocates for education must focus intensely on current legislation at every level beginning with President Bush's 'Leave No Child Behind Act,' which is now under consideration. As America marshals its resources to fiercely fight new threats to our way of life, our greatest weapon remains our educated citizens. We shall overcome.''

Our educated citizens are our greatest weapon. This bill is not just any other bill. President Bush has led the creation of landmark education legislation. The bipartisan effort that went into this legislation is unprecedented.

There are pieces that I do not like. I do not like the fact that it has a great deal of emphasis on testing. I do not like the fact that it calls for a testing program for students in grades 3 to 8 every year; that there must be a testing program and the results of those tests will be used to judge the effectiveness of the schools. If a school is not doing well, after 2 years it will be put into a probationary program. After 3 years they may choose to reorganize the school, wipe it out and start something new, or send the kids off somewhere else.

It has some real harsh measures. Three years is not long enough. We do not really pass judgment on most projects at 3 years. A school and the process of education is very complicated. In the conference committee we are now trying to ameliorate some of the harshness. But basically that is a feature I do not like.

I do like the fact the President proposed that we double title I funding. Title I funding in 5 years is supposed to go to $17.2 billion. That makes the bill worthwhile. We have some problems between the Senate and the House in

terms of overall funding authorization. I like the Senate figure of $32 billion versus the House figure of $23 billion. We can do so much more with the $32 billion in terms of meeting the education crisis that we face.

I propose that we support efforts in this bill to double the funding for school renovation. Unfortunately, the House bill had zero dollars for school repairs, construction or renovation. The Senate bill had $200 million for charter school construction. But since the item of construction is included, it is fair game for discussion, and I am proposing that we accept the charter school construction.

But there is another construction item that we have in operation at this point, and that is a program that is underway, which most Members of Congress do not know about, and that is the program to repair and renovate schools with $1.2 billion that was included in the omnibus appropriations bill last fall. President Clinton signed it on December 21.

H.R. 4577 had a provision for $1.2 billion for school renovation and modernization. I am happy to report, and most people do not know about it so I am taking this time to talk about it, because I want the children of America to celebrate with me, it is a hidden victory, but I am happy to report that the distribution of the $1.2 billion for school repairs and renovation is going forward. I have a list of the amounts of money that each State will get.

New York will get $105 million. You can build a few schools with $105 million. California, of course the largest population, gets $138 million. On and on it goes. It is a small amount of money, $1.2 billion, because we need about $200 billion to rebuild our schools across America; but this was a breakthrough. We persisted. We said our institutions are not working properly. The Department of Education did not support school construction. We took our case straight to the President. And finally, in his last month, we got the President to approve $1.2 billion.

It is a good example of how citizen scrutiny, citizen push makes a difference. Just like the Mothers Against Drunk Driving, MADD, made a big difference with regard to policies on drunk driving. The Million Moms March started us on the road to more reform toward gun safety. We need a citizens group that is watching our law enforcement agencies at the national level. Citizens, ordinary people, should be asking questions about the way the CIA operates and the way the FBI operates. The fine-tuning of these vital institutions, the lubrication, the guarantee that the very best that we can get is occurring in these agencies is a life and death matter. It is a life and death matter.

Another item in the education bill is increased funding for IDEA, special education. The Senate has taken a position that we need to have the funding for special education as a mandatory expenditure off the budget, not competing with other budget priorities in education. I wholeheartedly support that. The Congressional Black Caucus wholeheartedly supports mandatory expenditure of IDEA; that the special education programs should be covered with mandatory expenditures and not part of the regular budget.

We insist that the Federal Government pay for any costs of these new tests. I do not like the test, but if we are to have the tests from grades 3 to 8, the costs should be paid for by the Federal Government, which mandates them.

We support the inclusion of two very effective programs that we helped to create, Community Technology Centers and 21st Century Community Learning Centers, which have after-school components and Saturday workshop components and summer school components.

We support funding for Teaching Quality Grants, Troops to Teachers, which is a program which allows people in other careers to become teachers with a minimum amount of red tape. We support HBCUs. Historically Black Colleges and Universities should be involved in these teacher recruitment programs, teacher training, teacher orientation, so that there are more minority teachers brought into the education field.

We also support the funding of a special initiative by the information technology industry and the computer industry to assist in establishing functional technology programs in schools. During this period of slow activity within that industry, such goods and services should be provided at a discount rate. An authorization program of this nature, if we authorize it in the education package, it will be eligible for additional funding in the economic stimulus package. I think it would contribute greatly to closing of the digital divide to have those high-tech agencies in the computer industry, in the software industry, who have a lot of idle workers and who are going through a crisis, to have them at this point bring all of our educational institutions up to date at cut rates. Let them do it at very low rates as a contribution, but it also would give them work.

Returning to the Congressional Black Caucus weekend, on Saturday we had a special tech fair, and I talked about the digital divide: ''Closing the digital divide, building schools first must be a continuing priority for all of us who welcome the new cyber-civilization and who are determined to rescue the communities and students that are being left behind. Partnerships to promote school construction and education technology are absolute necessities. Uniting labor unions and underserved schools and communities to gain repairs, wiring, and new schools is one kingpin goal of education. Fostering private sector partnerships to assist in carrying the initiatives of the Federal Government forward to practical utilization is a high priority of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation's Annual Legislative Weekend.

''One of the boldest and most vital proposals of the Congressional Black Caucus during the 106th Congress involves the heart of the national debate on education: funding for school construction. Time and time again, poll after poll, the American people have identified education as our number one priority. And during a recent debate on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives, more than 70 Members of Congress endorsed the caucus's alternative budget that called for a $10 billion increase over the President's budget for school construction. In a period of unprecedented wealth and opportunity, the caucus believes that this amount should be taken from the $200 billion budget surplus.

''I believe an investment for the future should be our first priority. Maximizing opportunities for individual citizens is synonymous with maximizing the growth and expansion of the U.S. superpower economy. It is the age of information. It is a time of computer and digitalization. It is the era of thousands of high-level vacancies because there are not enough information technology workers. With enlightened budget decisions, we can, at this moment, begin the shaping of the contours of a new cyber-civilization. If we fail to seize this moment, to make investments that will allow a great Nation to surge forward in the creation of this new cyber-civilization, then our children and grandchildren will frown on us and lament the fact that we failed, not because we lacked fiscal resources, but because our very devastating blunder was due to a poverty of vision.''

At our decision-makers lunch we had as a guest the honorable Dan Goldin, who is the administrator of NASA. Dan Goldin has visions for where we should go in space. And unlike any other administrator in government, Dan Goldin understands that in order for us to realize our ambitions and our dreams for outerspace, we must have a firm foundation of education which is constantly creating new pools of recruits to go into our various professions.

Dan Goldin pointed out that at NASA there are twice as many people over 60 as there are under 30. The space program faces a critical shortage. If that agency faces a critical shortage, imagine all of our other priority projects and industries where that must be so.

In conclusion, it may be that these three topics do not really relate, but I think that it is time that we put forth the energy to make it merge. We must merge them and understand the complexity of our society.

My message is our institutions are vital. But to keep them functioning properly, they must have the scrutiny of the American people at all times. They must be kept in good tune, well tuned and well lubricated, to do the job they are set up to do.

□ 2115

If they do not do that, it is a life and death matter, and we have just experienced an unfortunate matter where thousands of people died because we in the government could not keep our people safe from harm.

Mr. Speaker, we feel guilty about that, but the important thing is to look forward and make certain that it never happens again.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. MCINNIS) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DEFAZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SHERMAN, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. MCKINNEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mrs. CLAYTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. LANGEVIN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BLUMENAUER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SMITH of Washington, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FOLEY, for 5 minutes, October 4.

Mr. NUSSLE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. WELDON of Florida, for 5 minutes, October 4.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. Trandahl, Clerk of the House, reported and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 1583. An act to designate the Federal building and United States courthouse located at 121 West Spring Street in New Albany, Indiana, as the ''Lee H. Hamilton Federal Building and United States Courthouse.''

H.R. 1860. An act to reauthorize the Small Business Technology Transfer Program, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, October 4, 2001, at 10 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

4056. A letter from the Acting Administrator, Rural Utilities Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule—RUS Standard for Service Installations at Customer Access Locations—received September 6, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

4057. A letter from the Acting Administrator, Rural Utilities Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule—Telecommunications System Construction Contract and Specifications (RIN: 0572–AB41) received September 6, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

4058. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Administrator, Office of Diversion Control, DEA, Department of Justice, transmitting the Department's final rule—Schedule of Controlled Substances: Placement of Dichloralphenazone Into Schedule IV [DEA 209F] (RIN: 1117–AA59) received September 6, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

4059. A letter from the Director, Office of Congressional Affairs, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule—List of Approved Spent Fuel Storage Casks: NAC-MPC Revision (RIN: 3150–AG83) received September 4, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

4060. A letter from the Executive Secretary and Chief of Staff, Agency for International Development, transmitting a report pursuant to the Federal Vacancies Reform Act of 1998; to the Committee on Government Reform.

4061. A letter from the Executive Secretary and Chief of Staff, Agency for International Development, transmitting a report pursuant to the Federal Vacancies Reform Act of 1998; to the Committee on Government Reform.

4062. A letter from the Executive Director, Committee for Purchase from People Who Are Blind or Severely Disabled, transmitting the Committee's final rule—Additions to and Deletions from the Procurement List—received September 4, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Government Reform.

4063. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting a report pursuant to the Federal Vacancies Reform Act of 1998; to the Committee on Government Reform.

4064. A letter from the White House Liaison, Department of Justice, transmitting a report pursuant to the Federal Vacancies Reform Act of 1998; to the Committee on Government Reform.

4065. A letter from the Attorney/Advisor, Department of Transportation, transmitting a report pursuant to the Federal Vacancies Reform Act of 1998; to the Committee on Government Reform.

4066. A letter from the Attorney/Advisor, Department of Transportation, transmitting a report pursuant to the Federal Vacancies Reform Act of 1998; to the Committee on Government Reform.

4067. A letter from the Attorney/Advisor, Department of Transportation, transmitting a report pursuant to the Federal Vacancies Reform Act of 1998; to the Committee on Government Reform.

4068. A letter from the Attorney/Advisor, Department of Transportation, transmitting a report pursuant to the Federal Vacancies Reform Act of 1998; to the Committee on Government Reform.

4069. A letter from the Special Assistant, White House Liaison, Department of Transportation, transmitting a report pursuant to the Federal Vacancies Reform Act of 1998; to the Committee on Government Reform.

4070. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Administrator, Office of Diversion Control, Department of Justice, transmitting the Department's final rule—Listed Chemicals; Establishment of Non-Regulated Transactions in Anhydrous Hydrogen Hydrogen Chloride [DEA–156FF] (RIN: 1117–AA43) received September 6, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4071. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; Milwaukee Home Run 2001 Hog Rally Fireworks, Milwaukee, WI [CGD09–01–115] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received September 7, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

4072. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Special Local Regulations for Marine Events; Nanticoke River, Sharptown, Maryland [CGD05–01–055] (RIN: 2115–AE46) received September 7, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

4073. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Special Local Regulations for Marine Events; Wrightsville Channel, Wrightsville Beach, North Carolina [CGD05–01–054] received September 7, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

4074. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Special Local Regulations for Marine Events; Milwaukee River, Milwaukee, WI [CGD09–01–119] (RIN: 2115–AE46) received September 7, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

4075. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operation Regulations; Trail Creek, IN [CGD09–01–003] (RIN: 2115–AE47) received September 7, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

4076. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operating Regulation; Atchafalaya River, LA [CGD08–01–028] received September 7, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

4077. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operation Regulations; Cheboygan River, MI [CGD09–01–008] (RIN: 2115–AE47) received September 7, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

4078. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operating Regulation; Inner Harbor Navigation Canal, LA [CGD08–01–030] received September 7, 2001, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

4079. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operations Regulations; Duwamish Waterway and