

support enforcement and women's health issues and family safety issues. It wasn't that the men were opposed to these issues—they just didn't get it. They were not sufficiently aware of them.

So I realized, in many important areas—if we women in government don't take action, no one else will.

NEED MORE WOMEN

That's why we need more women in Congress.

That's why we need more women State legislators.

That's why we need more women Governors.

That's why we need more women in the County Courthouses, the Township Municipal buildings and the City Halls.

Of course, there are countless issues that have been thrust into the national spotlight due in large part to the efforts of women in Congress—health care, equal pay, family and medical leave, education to name just a few.

I would like to take a moment to examine one issue upon which women lead.

Child support enforcement

The first issue stems from the national epidemic of child support neglect. This epidemic of shame affects over 20 million families where parents ignore both the financial and psychological needs of their children.

I have a long history of standing up for child support enforcement, having been a pioneer on child support reforms and having served on the U.S. Commission for Inter-State Child Support Enforcement. It's a national disgrace that our child support enforcement system continues to allow so many parents who can afford to provide for their children's support—both financially and psychologically—to shirk these obligations.

Among those due support, about 50% received the full amount, about a 25% received partial payment and about 25% received NOTHING. In 1991, of the total \$17.7 billion owed for child support, \$5.8 billion was not paid! This figure is unconscionable!!

Through the years, Congress has taken many concrete steps to crack down on child support deadbeats. The most recent major reform was contained in the landmark welfare reform legislation we passed in 1996—because after all, child support enforcement reform is welfare prevention.

Now we have another opportunity to strengthen the child support enforcement network.

One of the major unfinished items of business from the last Congress is bankruptcy reform. Indeed the Leadership has indicate that bankruptcy reform will considered in the House in the next few weeks.

I am very pleased that the Bankruptcy Reform Act of 1999, H.R. 833, introduced by Representative GEKAS, strengthens child support enforcement in a bankruptcy proceeding. H.R. 833 does the following: (1) Makes child support payments number one when determining which debts are paid first in a bankruptcy case (2) confirmation and discharge of Chapter 13 plans are made conditional upon the Debtor's complete payment of child support (3) provides that the automatic stay DOES NOT apply to a state child support collection agency trying to recover child support payments.

I will be working with Chairman GEKAS and Representative CLAY SHAW to further refine and improve the language that will eventually be included in the final bill.

It is important to remember that failure to pay child support is not a victimless crime. The children are the first and most important victims. We must ensure that these children are taken care of and I will continue my relentless effort in this pursuit.

Remember, All issues are women's issues", nevertheless, women and children are sometimes victims because of indifference or lack of sensitivity. We pledge here today to give them the sensitivity they need.

Ms. SANCHEZ. What a century this has been for the advancement of women's rights in America. Women vote, we own businesses, we explore outer space. We fight in our nation's armed services, we represent our fellow citizens in our legislature, courts and state houses, and we have a greater role in U.S. public policy than ever before. But first and foremost among these accomplishments is the ability to control our own economic destinies.

I am here tonight to salute women business owners who have helped this remarkable change grow. And in particular, I praise the Women's Economic Summit, one of the first gatherings of its kind. It is planting the seeds for even greater future successes, and I am proud to be a part of that progress.

Women everywhere build their success on that of the women who have gone before them. Tonight I salute women business owners for their work in making the American dream available to our friends and daughters.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Lundregan, one of its clerks, announced that Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. GRAMM, Mr. GORTON, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. CONRAD, Mrs. BOXER, and Mrs. MURRAY, be the conferees on the part of the Senate to the bill (H. Con. Res. 68) "A concurrent resolution establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2000 and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for each of fiscal years 2001 through 2009."

OVERWHELMING NEGLECT: THE ARITHMETIC OF FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SWEENEY). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. OWENS) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to clearly label my discussion this evening with a topic. I want to call it "Overwhelming Neglect: The Arithmetic of Federal Aid to Education."

Overwhelming Neglect: The Arithmetic of Federal Aid to Education, and I am pleased that this special order has fallen in a period when there may be large numbers of school-going youngsters, students in high school and ele-

mentary school and junior high school, awake, and maybe a few will be listening.

□ 1715

I want to address a large part of my remarks to those students, and I assure them that what I have to say will not be complicated. I am not going to talk in terms of complex and abstract ideas. I am going to talk about the simple arithmetic of Federal aid to education, no higher mathematics, no logarithms, no differential equations and calculus, nothing complicated, just simple arithmetic.

I want the students of America out there attending school to join me in trying to educate my colleagues here in the House of Representatives and in the whole Washington decision-making arena. There is something wrong with decision-making in Washington at this point about education, something radically wrong.

I think we need the children, the students, younger minds, to come to the aid of the decision-making circles here. We have some decision-making circles with closed minds. We are hemmed in and smothered by some conventional thinking and we need a breakthrough, and I am going to call on the children of America to help us make this breakthrough.

There is some simple arithmetic we should start with. The arithmetic begins with an allocation of priorities here in terms of time and attention and money based on the priorities that are established by the American people. In other words, we live and die by opinion polls here in Washington. Public opinion polls are very important to the Republicans, they are important to the Democrats, they are important to the White House. Everybody is concerned about what the public thinks and we spend a lot of time and energy discussing public opinion polls.

There are a large amount of resources committed to finding out what is it that the public thinks. The impact of public opinion polls, of course, can be tremendous on public policy. We saw the impact of public opinion on the impeachment proceedings which the Republican Party insisted on going ahead with despite the fact that common sense, as reflected by public opinion, the common sense of the American people dictated that it was a wasteful venture, kind of a silly venture and that is what it turned out to be. So public opinion can sometimes be ignored by powerful forces here that refuse to listen.

Right now we have a war in Kosovo which public opinion, I think, will play a great role in determining what else do we do, where do we go in terms of United States policy.

For good or ill, sometimes public opinion is not so desirable in terms of the results that I think we need. I did

not agree with public opinion when we had a dictator, self-imposed Army dictator, in Haiti for 3 years. They got rid of the lawful government and they sat there and they would not move, and negotiations went on and on and on.

I wanted to go in and restore the rightful president of Haiti, elected leader of Haiti, and if it took troops to do that, armed intervention, then I was in favor of that. Two-thirds of the American people said no. Two-thirds of the Congress said no. I am glad that the President did not listen to public opinion in that case. I am glad that he went ahead and took some decisive action and it all worked out in the interest of not only the people of Haiti but in the interest of democracy in this hemisphere.

I am glad that Abraham Lincoln did not listen to the opinion of his cabinet when he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. All the votes were against the Emancipation Proclamation which set the slaves free, but he went ahead and signed it anyhow.

So there are times when public opinion, I admit, I may not agree with it but we do listen to it. We do listen to it.

I want to call upon the decision-makers in this Congress and in the whole Washington arena to listen to public opinion on the issue of education. Public opinion has been speaking not sporadically but consistently over a long period of time about the priority it assigns to education.

The great majority of the American people say that government assistance to education ranks highest on their list of priorities, and it has been among the top priorities in the last 5 years.

Education consistently, the American people say, needs help. We need government at every level to do more for education and certainly we need the Federal Government to do more because the Federal Government really does very little in terms of dollar value. The Federal Government is responsible for less than 8 percent of the total budget for education in general. That includes college education, where most of the money goes. So the Federal Government should do more. The public keeps saying that.

Just to refresh everyone's memory, let me cite the polls generally. Whether taken by Republicans or Democrats, they are saying that education ranks number one. Seventy-four percent of the American people consider education as a number one priority. We might think it is Social Security because we hear more talk about saving Social Security. Among the elected officials and political leaders of both parties, Social Security is on everybody's lips. So Social Security is important. However, it is the second highest concern. Seventy-one percent rank Social Security as the highest priority.

Crime reduction is the third. Health care reform is the fourth. Eliminating

poverty is the fifth. Tax cuts are the sixth. Jobs, number seven; getting rid of the national debt, number eight; campaign finance reform, number nine. Here is a list of priorities with education at the very top.

By the way, I have not mentioned defense. Defense expenditures and increases in government aid for defense does not even score. It is not on the chart. It is not on the chart. It is not ranked. So one would think that the priorities that we set here in Washington would have some relationship to the priorities which public opinion has set. One would think that there would be a correlation between what the American people say they want government to do and what we are actually proceeding to do here in Washington, in the Congress and in the White House.

Is there a priority? Is there a correlation? Well, on the surface, it may seem so because on the surface we have a lot of talk about education. Both Republicans and Democrats have all seized the issue in terms of public relations and spin, in terms of getting out press releases, in terms of posturing. Everybody wants to make it appear that they are concerned with education.

However, when we look at the budget, when we look at the arithmetic, we find that there is a very shallow commitment. When we look at the arithmetic, we will find that education is not a priority. The arithmetic of the budget, the allocation of resources, of dollars, it places education way down on the list of priorities. Defense, which is not even in the top ten, defense is the highest priority for both Democrats and Republicans, if we measure priorities according to the amount of money they are willing to appropriate.

Now, defense we often say is the business of the national government; the Federal Government is defense, so it is natural that defense should be the very highest priority. But why a big increase in defense at a time like this? Why do we have to have a tremendous increase proposed for defense before the arms intervention in Kosovo?

We have to pay separately for that. Most people do not know it, but the defense budget is for something else besides fighting wars. When we went into the Gulf War, we had to have a special appropriation for that. Any special armed intervention, any deployment of our forces in large measure, we have special appropriations. So we are going to have to have a special appropriation for Kosovo. We are already in Yugoslavia, to the tune of \$8 billion. Our armed forces are in Yugoslavia, in Bosnia, and part of Croatia and carrying out a peace plan. So we have spent up to \$8 billion already. All of that money is appropriated on top of the defense budget.

So let us leave out Kosovo for a moment, although I think that Kosovo is

certainly important to what I have to say today, and I am going to mention Kosovo because I think Kosovo is an example of how the military strength of the United States is very important in the present world.

We are the last superpower and Kosovo certainly would not be possible if it were not for the participation of this American superpower in that intervention.

What do I think of that intervention? I think it is very important that the American people support the intervention into Kosovo, just as I thought it was important to intervene in Haiti and to follow up a long list of various efforts that were made to resolve the problem peacefully. We negotiated and we negotiated and we negotiated but the predators in Haiti, the vicious, savage people who were killing people every day and killed nearly 5,000 of their own people, they were not about to back down just via negotiations.

Slobodan Milosevic in Yugoslavia, Serbia, is the same breed of character. He is a sovereign predator. He and his gang are in control of the tanks. They have control of the machine guns. They have control of the arms might of the Nation and they are not about to stop the genocidal destruction of Kosovo. They are not about to stop it via peaceful negotiations.

I want to pause and comment on Kosovo because a strong nation must be strong across the board, and our military strength is very important for now and for the future. Even our military strength is weakened and jeopardized by the fact that we are blind to the need for a greater investment in education. We are blind to the need to make the investment now in order to guarantee that we will not have shortages in the future anywhere, shortages in our military personnel who are capable of running a high tech military operation or shortages in the civilian sector, in any area of the civilian sector, information technology, teachers.

We have a lot of shortages that have been projected as a result of the fact that not enough people are being educated in this country. Not enough people are in the colleges now in various fields that are threatened with great numbers of vacancies. To be specific about the military, the aircraft carrier that we launched recently, the super aircraft carrier like none other in the world, was short of personnel. Almost 300 staff members that they needed for that aircraft carrier, they could not find them. They were short of personnel. They could not fully staff the last great aircraft carrier that was launched by the United States Navy.

Why could they not staff it? We have a Nation of almost 260 million people. In a nation of 260 million people, we cannot find enough people to staff an aircraft carrier? It is because we are not talking about simple bodies. We do

not need just a physical body, a man or a woman to stand there and staff the aircraft carrier. We need people who have some orientation, some orientation toward a computerized world and can be trained to run a high tech aircraft carrier. They need a certain kind of people. They still need certain kinds of people.

There are other shortages. Already I mentioned in Kosovo, we have got shortages of fuel tank pilots, tanker pilots. One might have picked that up if they were listening to the news, because it came out in the regular news. One does not have to listen to C-SPAN to get serious things like that. I think I heard it twice. I think I heard it again on C-SPAN, but certainly I heard it on the regular news. Tanker pilots in shortage. They are going to find other shortages soon. In a high tech world where we cannot just take a body, an individual and throw them into an activity and expect them to perform, we need educated people.

So it does not matter where we look. Economic security or military security, whatever, it is threatened by the fact that we are not measuring up to the economic challenge.

□ 1730

Now, back to Kosovo, do I think we should be in Kosovo? Do I think that should be a challenge that the American superpower should take on, the so-called, what I like to call, in agreement with President Clinton, the indispensable Nation?

We are the indispensable Nation in terms of certain kinds of activities in the world. In this particular instance, I do not think we would be in Kosovo if this indispensable Nation did not play an indispensable role.

I was going to make a statement on the Floor earlier, but did not get a chance today, so I am going to make my statement on Kosovo right here, because I do think it relates to education. It relates to the need for the indispensable Nation to have the most educated population, not only military, but we need more diplomats, we need more people who are able to deal with the details. We need all kinds of specialists to take care of the various kinds of problems of the world which require people who have a great deal of technical competence.

On Kosovo, I call Kosovo a campaign of compassion. It is a campaign of compassion, and this Nation should be proud of the fact that it has provided a leadership role in this campaign of compassion. The U.S.-NATO military intervention in Kosovo is not driven by any vested interests, any financial interests, or any strategic hidden agenda. That is not the case.

There are some cynics who say, well, we would not be over there if it was not for something. Tell me, I would like to know. Are we in Kosovo because we are

afraid that the price of oil or gasoline will go up? They used to say that about the Gulf War, that we had to protect our supply of oil, and we had a vested interest. But Kosovo does not have any oil. Yugoslavia does not have any oil or minerals of any great importance to us.

Somebody said in a joke the other day that we are in Yugoslavia to lessen the competition to Ford and General Motors for the building of autos. They were making fun of the Yugoslavian automobile industry. The Yugoslavian automobiles have not caught on in the world.

We have to search very hard to find some vested interest we could pinpoint of the United States in Yugoslavia. We would have to search pretty hard to find a vested interest we could pinpoint with respect to most of the NATO countries. We are not in this by ourselves. It is the NATO countries, including Great Britain and France. France has provided a great deal of moral leadership. I understand the people of France are clearly articulating the reason why they think this is an important intervention.

The NATO nations, the United States and the other nations, are motivated by great moral interests and high standards which require that civilized people never again should tolerate any rationalization for genocide.

I would like to repeat, these NATO nations and the United States are motivated by great moral interests and high standards which require that civilized people never again should tolerate any rationalization for genocide.

Our Nation's generous commitment of resources and the large-scale risks of American lives, and they are already being risked, those pilots are risking their lives. With people over there in the fervor of just getting ready, just loading material and so forth, many people can die by accident in that kind of atmosphere. But certainly people who fly those missions are risking their lives. Even before we move to the level of ground troops, large numbers of lives are being risked. We are doing that already.

The large-scale risk of American lives, not in the pursuit of the usual narrow vital interests, but to protect the sacred lives of human beings that we will never know personally, this action represents a laudable and noble national action.

The Roman empire only dispatched its legions to achieve greater conquest. This American indispensable Nation has deployed its armies in an unprecedented campaign of compassion. This is a campaign of compassion.

Adolph Hitler, Josef Stalin, Saddam Hussein, Idi Amin, the Hutu generals of Rwanda, Slobodan Milosevic, we can call the roll of sovereign predators who have used murderous ethnic scapegoating to seize, to hold, and to expand their powers.

The oldest trick in the world is to scapegoat. Scapegoating even existed where there were no ethnic groups involved. Scapegoating, in fact, the whole description of it is an actual goat. The dead and dried carcass of a goat was used in some villages when there were plagues or hunger and famine, and people were so downtrodden and angry and bitter and hopeless that they would pull together the dead carcass of a goat and they would heap all of their rubbish and stuff, and the symbolism would be that all the evil and all the disease and everything in the town and in the village would be heaped on this thing, and it would be driven out of town or dragged out of town. Scapegoating was done even without having another ethnic group.

But in the history of humankind, scapegoating has become a very convenient vehicle for demagogues. Demagogues throughout time find it easy to come to power. The easiest way to power is to brand somebody as the enemy, and to set yourself up as the savior of your group against that enemy. It has been done repeatedly, and any group that happens to find itself in a minority is likely to be victimized.

It is not because the minority has something wrong with it. African Americans have often absorbed a whole lot of self-hate, and they think that there was something wrong with them, that they allowed themselves to be enslaved for so long, and that it is because of some curse in the Bible, it is because of some genetic inferiority. They believe the white folks who say that African-Americans are inferior. They have taken in a whole lot of guilt and inferiority feelings, and they said, this is the reason why we are persecuted.

No, there have been minorities in history who have been superior, who have been acknowledged as being superior. It does not matter whether you are accused of being inferior or of being superior, but when they are ready, the demagogues are ready to take advantage of a situation and they need scapegoats, they will seize upon and utilize the weakest element of the population. Just being the minority guarantees that you are going to be in the line of victimization.

The Jews in Germany, they were too rich, they were too educated, they were too accomplished in the arts, too accomplished in the sciences, they were despised because they had achieved too much. It did not matter, if it had been just the opposite they would use another kind of excuse. This is the process that demagogues use to come to power.

The most recent demagogue, of course, that we are dealing with is Slobodan Milosevic. People say, well, they have been fighting in the Baltic for years and we cannot do anything

about that, because they are going to do that. It is ancient hatreds.

Well, there was a period of several decades where Kosovo was given its autonomy, and the Serbs and the ethnic Albanians lived together in peace. In fact, all of Yugoslavia has been falling apart for the last 15 years, but all of Yugoslavia was united under one banner for several decades.

The answer to that, they say is Tito. Tito was a Communist. He made them do it. I do not pretend to know how it all happened. I am not a historian. I am not a sociologist. I think there ought to be a study made of how did they hold it all together. Even under communism, there are no magic formulas.

But nevertheless, these people, they say, cannot live together in the Balkans. They are always going to fight each other. But they did live together. In Kosovo there was a solution. Slobodan Milosevic wrecked the solution. He took away the autonomy. He started the problem.

We have been negotiating with him for 8 years. How long do you negotiate before you realize that there is no profit to this so-called peaceful negotiation? Slobodan Milosevic is a sovereign predator. He is in the vein of Hitler, Stalin, the Hutu generals, Hutu leaders of Rwanda who massacred the Tutsis. They needed to come to power fast, and they just used the hatred of people to scapegoat and come to power.

From ancient Egypt to Kosovo, the demagogues repeatedly have used the same methods and found a willing mass of supporters. The United States-led resistance to genocide in Kosovo shows that finally we have not only learned a vital lesson in history, but now that knowledge has also provided us with an imperative for painful but effective action.

We are not just looking back at what happened when Hitler killed 6 million Jews and the world stood by and did nothing. We are not just regretting that that happened, but in this particular instance we have been forced to come to grips with a decision.

As a Nation, I am proud of the fact that public opinion in this case is behind the President, who has made a very difficult political decision and moved forward on this venture that becomes more complex and violent every day.

The U.S.-led resistance to genocide in Kosovo shows that finally we have not only learned a vital lesson of history, but now that knowledge also provides an imperative for painful but effective action.

Slobodan Milosevic should have been declared a war criminal 8 years ago. Diplomatic patience has been cleverly manipulated by this sovereign predator. Better late than never, however. We must now declare Slobodan Milosevic a war criminal, and send a

clear message to all of his confused civilian followers, now mobilizing in their neighborhoods under misplaced banners of nationalism and patriotism.

For more than 8 years the citizens of Serbia and Yugoslavia have failed to marshal internal sovereign resistance to the genocidal policies of their dictator. Their popular will, majority complicity with evil, is the true cause of the present conflagration in the Balkans. It is not the designs of NATO, it is not the vested interests of the United States, it is not some kind of outside desire to humiliate the people of Yugoslavia and Serbia. It is the majority complicity with evil that has allowed Slobodan Milosevic to stay in power that has led to this conflagration in the Balkans at present.

War is hell, and we extend our prayers to innocent victims on all sides. War is hell. We need to pray for all those people who have been caught up in this.

Most people are innocent, because only a handful control the power, the tanks, the machine guns. But the refusal to watch the repeat of Hitler's death pageant is our duty. It is our duty to refuse to watch a repeat of Hitler's death pageant.

There are some who say that because we cannot stop genocide everywhere, we should refuse to stand against genocide anywhere. People are saying, well, you are not doing anything about Tibet, you were not doing anything about genocide against the Kurds in Iraq, you did not do anything to help the Tutsis in Rwanda, so why are you in Kosovo? Because we cannot stop genocide everywhere, we should refuse to stand against genocide anywhere. That is the logic they have.

We reject that logic. We cannot save them all. We could not save the Tutsis in Rwanda. We cannot save the Kurds in Iraq at this point, the Tibetans in China. But the world can take united action now in Kosovo.

In this clear and present instance, a portion of the civilized world has both the capability and the will to stop genocide. I am certain that the angels in heaven are applauding these bold and brave actions. Since the civilian electorate of Serb-Yugoslavia has not been willing or not been able to save itself from totalitarian disease, and because a minority of military monsters with tanks and machine guns can hold the majority of a Nation hostage, outside intervention is sometimes the only antidote to a spreading poison.

Decades of autonomy was the peaceful solution that Milosevic eradicated. Let the Kosovo campaign of compassion send a message to sovereign predators everywhere. Sovereign predators will not be allowed to savagely devour human rights. Diplomatic condemnation of genocide will always be a certainty, and sometimes military confrontation will also be possible.

I appeal to progressive thinkers everywhere to lay aside their fuzzy-minded analyses and remember the Hitler syndrome. Remember the Hitler syndrome. "Never again" must not be an abstract slogan. Each one of us has a duty to take a forceful position.

We should all be proud of the fact that this indispensable Nation has both the will and the power to reinforce the foundation of a compassionate civilization.

I make this statement in the midst of my discussion of education because I think that, as the indispensable Nation, the last remaining superpower assuming great responsibilities in the world, our citizenry, the people out there, including the students who are still awake and attending high school and grammar school and listening, they certainly ought to understand and know or be stimulated by my remarks to go and do more research, if you wish.

We need to move on all fronts. We need a peace academy in this country that is as big as West Point. We have a peace academy, by the way. Look it up on the Internet, or do some research on the peace academy. We have a budget for a peace academy, a very tiny budget. I know, because it was under the jurisdiction of one of the subcommittees that I served on at one time.

The peace academy is very important, and understanding how to make peace, how to negotiate. What shall we do about the world court at the Hague, which is responsible for trying war criminals, or how significant should that be? It should be given a greater role in the present situation and in our present modern day society.

As we go toward the future, we need to have as much energy and effort put into studying how to make peace as we have in the process of making war.

□ 1745

Education. The Peace Academy would have a big education budget, not as big as West Point maybe, but it needs a big education budget.

So back to my major topic, overwhelming neglect, the arithmetic of federal aid for education. What I am trying to say tonight is we are on the verge of making a great mistake in America. We can act with great nobility and great bravery and courage in emergency situations, and we have done that.

In the case of Kosovo, it is an emergency which the machinery of our government, starting at the White House with the leadership of President Clinton, the machinery of our government has gone into motion to provide support for the foundations of a compassionate civilization. This is a great compassionate crusade to stop genocide in Kosovo.

So while I am applauding the expression of the American people, which is

what such an action is, I would also like to caution us and warn our Nation at this point. The way we are responding to the education crisis, there is a crisis, we are not educating the kinds of people, the numbers that we need for the future. We are not educating at a quality level to deal with a complex future.

I think we are going toward a cyber civilization, a cyber civilization, which is very complex. We need not fear it because it has already created miracles. It will continue to create miracles.

There is a future out there which is possible where some of the most difficult problems and burdens that mankind faces will be able to be resolved because of the nature of this cyber civilization that we are going into.

So, as we prepare for that, we have to understand that an investment in education is the one thing we must do. We do not know all of the pitfalls. We cannot project and predict everything that is going to happen. But one thing is clear, we need the most educated population possible, and we need more people educated. We need better education.

Right now we are failing to do that, to respond to the need for that kind of investment. We are failing to respond to the clear clarion call of our own people.

The common sense of America is amazing sometimes, the common sense of American people. They sense, they understand, they feel that education is very important. Across this country, most people have never graduated from college.

But in this Congress, 99 percent of the people have graduated from college. In Washington, all of the decision makers and the bureaucracies, the White House, everyone, they are all graduates from college. They have all benefited from our great education system. Yet they are blind, they are blind to the need to follow the lead of the American people and make education our number one priority.

There are some of my colleagues listening to me who would say, what are we talking about? It is our number one priority. We talked about it in the Democratic Caucus all the time. We talk about it in the Republican Caucus all the time. We have made great statements to our party about how important education is.

It is all a bit strange when this talk adds up to peanuts in the budget. The arithmetic of the budget does not show that we understand that education is important.

Let me give my colleagues a little of that arithmetic. As I said before, it does not take a genius to figure these figures out. The billions and the millions might confuse us sometimes, but this is simple arithmetic.

Defense is not on the list of the American priorities. Highways and

transportation are not on the list of American priorities. Remember that as I talk.

Right now the budget for public schools, elementary and secondary schools in America, this Federal Government is giving \$22.6 billion in assistance. This is probably less than 5 percent of the total budget for elementary and secondary education assistance because the States and the localities provide most of the money for the education.

The Constitution does not require the Federal Government to assume the responsibility for education. People are always repeating that. Since the Constitution does not require the federal government to assume the responsibility for education, why should we make a great investment at the Federal level in education?

Well, the Constitution does not require the Federal Government to assume responsibility for highways and roads. That really has always been traditionally a State and local function. But we are spending \$22.6 billion for public schools, elementary and secondary education, \$22.6 billion right now. The budget for highways and transportation, most of which is highways, is \$51.3 billion.

Where did we take on the responsibility of roads and highways from the local and State governments? Somewhere down the line, because it was important. I think it is important.

Last year we passed a bill which authorized \$218 billion over a 6-year period for highways and transportation, mostly highways again, \$218 billion in 6 years. What we are proposing in terms of school construction, however, is \$3.7 billion over 5 years.

Listen. Make the comparisons. \$22.6 billion is our total education contribution from the Federal Government at this point. But \$51.3 billion, more than twice the amount, goes for highways and transportation across the country. Why are we investing more in highways? I have no problem. Let us invest in highways. Let us understand how minuscule our investment is in education.

The President, who is in the leadership on education, and I applaud the White House leadership on education, the White House has proposed to increase the education budget by \$697 million this year. The annual increase is \$697 million, which is more than the Republicans are proposing. They are proposing \$500 million this year although both parties say that they are very concerned about education.

The increases in the case of the Democrats or the President's budget is 5.1 percent. The increase in the case of the Republicans is 3.7 percent. The increase for the highway budget was 12 percent. The increase for the defense budget is staggering. They are proposing \$110 billion at the White House,

\$110 billion or \$112 billion, I forget, \$120 billion, but no less than the \$110 billion, it has sort of been fluctuating, \$110 billion for defense when the American people did not say we need anything in terms of increase for defense. Remember, we have got to pay for Kosovo and any emergencies on the side with additional funding anyhow.

Let us take a look at what we are getting per student. The number of enrolled public school students in America is 54.4 million students, 54.4 million students. That means that the Federal expenditure per enrolled student at this point is \$415 in annual yearly expenditure for each student enrolled in public school across America is merely \$415.

If we take a look at the proposed increase this year on a per-student basis, the President has proposed to increase the budget by \$12.80 per student. The Republicans are proposing to increase the budget by \$9.20 per student.

When one looks at the number of students we have in the schools out there and one looks at the amount of money being appropriated, one wonders where is the response to the American public opinion polls which said that education is a priority. Think about it.

I have proposed an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Assistance Act, title XI, I have proposed to increase the education budget just for construction, school construction, including modernization, repairs, and basic technology, wiring of the schools for the Internet, et cetera. I am proposing increasing it by \$22 billion a year over the next 5 years. I want to get close to the defense budget, \$110 billion over 5 years.

Twenty-two billion dollars a year would be an appropriate response to the fact that education is in great need of Federal assistance. It would be an appropriate response to do it in construction because that is the simplest way for the Federal Government to help education.

It would be an appropriate need because that is where we have a need for larger amounts of capital expenditures. It would be an appropriate place for the President and the Federal Government to intervene because it does not involve the Federal Government getting involved in running the schools on an operational basis.

We do not have to get involved in determining what the curriculum should be. We do not have to interfere with the internal workings of the school that is basically the responsibility of the State and the local government.

So to appropriate, and I do not propose doing it in any way except straight appropriation, a straight appropriation of \$22 billion a year for the next 5 years would not bring schools equal to highways. Remember, I just said highways get \$218 billion over 6 years. So school construction would

not come anywhere near the capital outlays for highways.

If we divide the 54.4 million students into the amount of money I propose to spend per year per student, we are talking about school construction expenditures by the Federal Government would be \$416 per student.

If there are young people listening, they are going to go to school tomorrow. Talk to your teacher about why is it that the Federal Government cannot spend \$416 for each student going to elementary and secondary education schools. Why can we not spend \$416 per student?

Why do we say we care about education, that the federal government wants to help, while the Republicans are out peddling their education agenda, saying that they are all for education and want to do something great for education, while the Democrats out there are pushing hard, the President is certainly stressing education in his program, why do they do so little?

The President is out way ahead of the Republicans. He is proposing \$3.7 billion for construction. He is not proposing to do it the way I want to do it, that is a direct appropriation, put it in the budget and appropriate it, he is proposing to do it via a tax credit. The Committee on Ways and Means has to approve a tax credit for school construction.

Over a 5-year period, he proposes to make \$25 billion available; that is, he allows the States and the local governments to borrow \$25 billion. They have to borrow that. In New York, we have to have a bond issue on the ballot. Voters would have to vote to borrow some money in order to qualify for that Federal program because it only provides the interest on the \$25 billion. Over a 5-year period, he proposes to pay the interest on \$25 billion worth of bonds that local governments and State governments would borrow.

That comes out to \$3.7 billion over 5 years, roughly, depending on what the interest rate is. And \$3.7 billion over 5 years is the only commitment we have to the school construction, but we have \$110 billion over 5 years committed to defense in increases I am talking about, increases.

The defense budget is already \$280 billion. We are going to increase it over a 5-year period by an additional \$110 billion.

Highways are going to be spending, over a 6-year period, \$218 billion. Yet, we propose to spend only \$3.7 billion for school construction over a 5-year period.

So take out a pencil and paper and do the addition and the subtraction and the comparison. I am not really going to leave here with my colleagues believing that the President is not trying. He assumes this is all he can pass. I say we need to, from the White House, state the case more clearly and call for what is needed.

The Republican proposed budget for school construction is zero. Zero. Nothing. They do not propose anything for school construction whatsoever over a 1-year period, over a 5-year period, nothing.

If we look at the President's construction budget, the only one on the agenda, the only one on the table, nobody else has it, we must praise him for having a proposal on the table for school construction, but if we look at it closely and we divide the number of students in elementary, secondary education institutions, in schools, the President is proposing \$68.50 over a 5-year period for school construction per student, \$68.50 per student.

The Republican construction per student of course is zero because if we start with zero, we end up with zero. I am sorry, that is per year, \$68.50 per year, per student. My proposal is of course, as I said before, \$415 per student, \$416 per student when we look at all the students.

My colleagues might say how are we going to evaluate those costs? Is that a lot of money, \$416 per student times 54 million students, which comes to about \$22 billion a year. Is that a lot of money?

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Well, \$416 per student, compare that with the cost of one combat rifle. One modern rifle used in our Army costs how much? \$835. Twice as much as we are willing to spend, as I propose to spend, per year per student on construction. I mean look at it closely.

Look at this figure, also. The average annual cost per prison inmate in the United States. For each person we put in prison we are spending \$24,000. The average is around \$24,000 to keep a person in prison, and yet we cannot spend \$416 per student for school construction.

The average annual cost of a student in school, in terms of operating cost, is probably somewhere between \$8,000 and \$10,000. The annual cost per student in our schools, operating costs, ongoing costs, the average, when we take the rich and the poor districts, is between \$8,000 and \$10,000.

I ask my colleagues to do the arithmetic and take a look at it. Is it in harmony with what we hear being said about the importance of education?

The governors say education is very important. They have all kinds of nickel and dime experiments ongoing that they parade at conferences, and parade around about what they are doing about education, but they are not willing to spend the money. The governor of New York had a \$2 billion surplus but he would not spend any money for school construction. The Mayor of New York had a \$2 million surplus last year and he would not spend any money for construction in New York City, although New York City has a very serious situation.

In New York City they have large numbers of schools that are overcrowded, where students have to eat lunch at 10 o'clock in the morning because they have three shifts of lunchroom sittings, but also it has 250 schools that are burning coal in their furnaces still, jeopardizing the immediate health of students with pollution, and yet they would not move. Why are all these people talking about education?

One of the programs we hear a lot about is the 21st Century Learning Centers. Now, that is a worthy program. It is an after-school center program, and already we have \$200 million committed to that and we are going to raise that over the next 5 years to \$600 million. When we have it funded at \$600 million, we will serve about 1.2 million students. 1.2 million students will be served by this program.

It is a great program because it deals with the fact that we want to end social promotion and have students move on through school but we will not dump them. We will give them some kind of after-school help, tutorial programs, some summer help. Well, \$600 million will only provide help for 1.2 million students at best.

There are 54 million children in elementary and secondary education institutions. About a quarter of them, at least one-fourth of them need help in this area. How will we provide help for one-fourth of the students if all we are willing to appropriate is \$600 million?

It is a great program, but it is a very minuscule program. If we did 10 percent, one-tenth of the total students, the 54 million, can we help that many? Even one-tenth? I think my colleagues can understand the dilemma we are facing.

We need to understand that we are the richest country in the history of the world, and at this moment in history we are probably more rich than we have ever been. The country is richer than it has ever been. The government itself has a surplus. The surplus can be used partially to invest in education. We do not have to submit to the stampede to put it all into Social Security.

Again, they are playing the American intellect and the American common sense cheap. They are trying to take advantage of people's concern about Social Security, to whip us all into a frenzy and say that every penny we get in the surplus should go into Social Security.

Well, the President proposed that we use 60 percent of the money we have in surplus for Social Security. That sounds reasonable to me. He proposed to use another part of it for Medicare. That sounds reasonable to me, because Medicare is health security for elderly people. But then we have some left over. We still have a percentage that they are proposing no use for at this point, but we know that most of it will

go into defense expenditures if we do not say that we ought to have some for education.

Education is the key to our future's defense. Our national security is all bound up in the educated populace we produce. Education is the key to Social Security. How? Because we want a populace that is working. We want young people who are working, and they must be able to qualify for the high-tech jobs being created every day more and more.

And if we do not have workers, young people who can qualify for those jobs, they will not come out and take the jobs. What we will do is contract with overseas corporations. We will send the work overseas and companies will do the work overseas who do not pay into the Social Security System. The best way to rob the Social Security System is to deny the work force the opportunity to earn the money and pay into the Social Security fund.

There are some other ways we can save Social Security, too, but the present time-honored way we fund Social Security is through the wages of working people. If we have fewer people working, and they have already projected that, we cannot avoid the demographics, we are going to have fewer people working. But how few? Can we avoid wiping out the whole work force because they cannot qualify for high-tech jobs? So many will not be able to qualify for high-tech jobs. We have a real dilemma here.

The kind of greatness and the kind of vision and courage being shown in Kosovo by our national leaders now we need to apply in the sector of education, looking down the road. If we do not do it, we will have a great deficit in major areas. This great indispensable Nation is going to stumble and fall if we do not have as many people educated as possible. Every person that can be educated must be educated.

It is likely that our posterity will pity us. They may even spit on us in the future as they evaluate and analyze our great lack of vision at this critical moment when we have maximum opportunity to go forward in the revision of our education system. We are in danger of becoming the victim of midget minds and tiny spirits. Too much of the planning at the Department of Education is being undertaken by midget minds and tiny spirits.

Too many tiny spirits are guiding our caucuses, both the Republican and the Democratic Caucus. We are not willing to take hold of where we are in modern America and deal with education the way we dealt with the GI bill after World War II. We understood the implications of the need for a more educated population and we had a massive education program in the GI bill.

A Congressman named Morrill, many years ago in the 1800s, around the time of the Civil War, had the vision to see

that every State in America needed a land grant university. We dealt with it. A big mind and a big spirit seized the problem.

Thomas Jefferson, who created the first State university, the University of Virginia, had a vision. The model he established inspired Morrill to go on to create land grant colleges and universities all across the country.

The vision of a transcontinental railroad, the Federal Government financed the transcontinental railroad. We had the people in Congress who had the vision to take hold and to do things in a big way.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. BUD SHUSTER) is my hero here in Congress. He is a Republican, but he had the vision to take hold of the highway problem, the transportation infrastructure problem, and with a lot of criticism. He was called a big spender, and still called a big spender, but he had the initiative and he used the available power that he had to pass a highway transportation infrastructure bill that is meaningful. We need it. We need it far more than we need some of the weapon systems that are being proposed. We need it far more than we need some of the other wasteful expenditures taking place presently.

We are in danger of becoming, as I said before, the victims of midget minds and tiny spirits. We seem to possess the cerebral alertness, the statistical understanding that a crisis looms ahead if we do not meet the education emergency at the moment. We understand the trends, the projections, the inevitability of continued inadequacy in our school systems. We comprehend with our heads, but we seem incapable of engaging with our backbones and moving forward with our decision-making feet. In the education arena we need giant minds and great spirits. We need to end the overwhelming neglect of education.

In the minds of our citizens, the concerns related to national defense do not compete with the overwhelming mandate to improve our schools. Nothing in the minds of our citizens, the American electorate, the people who have common sense out there, nothing in their minds competes with education. It is number one. "It is education, stupid." It is education.

Look at the polls, but do not look at the polls and let your eyes blink. Here in Washington, in the Congress, Democrats and Republicans, we need to act on appropriating and vesting real dollars in an education system which will take us into a cyber civilization in the future where everybody needs to be educated.

The dollars that we are willing to appropriate in response to the American people's stated concern about education are minuscule. We are throwing pennies at a problem which requires

billions of dollars. We must change our minds.

If the American people are listening, they might help open the eyes and the ears of their own Congressman or Congresswoman. Have them make a survey. Even in the richest districts there are often schools that need help.

I challenge every Member of Congress to make a survey and select a few schools in their districts and go take a look at what they need. There are some places where they need money for wiring for the Internet; there are other places where they need money to fix the roof; there are some places where they need money to tear down old buildings and construct new schools. All over New York City we have schools that need money to put in a new furnace and get rid of the pollution and the asthma-generating coal-burning furnaces.

We need to address these issues in our Education Task Force and the Democratic Caucus, as well as the Committee on Education and the Workforce. Members of the Committee on Education and the Workforce were on the floor before, and I want to applaud what they had to say. They understand the problem, but I do not think that the solutions that are being proposed have yet come to grips with the magnitude of the need.

We need to spend many billions on school construction. School construction is just at the center of the problem, but that is a place to start. If we do not meet the need for adequate buildings, safe buildings, across America, the Congressional Budget Office says we need about \$147 billion to just stay even, if we do not meet that need or begin to step forward to move toward meeting that need, then everything else we propose to do in Washington at any level is fraudulent, everything else we propose to do about education.

We are feeding the people a spin on the problem without coming to grips with the reality and the substance. We must go forward and invest in education in order to prepare our education system to take us forward into a new cyber civilization.

COMMUNICATION FROM STAFF
MEMBER OF HON. DAN MILLER,
MEMBER OF CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from Laura Griffin, staff member of the Honorable DAN MILLER, Member of Congress:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, April 8, 1999.

Hon. J. DENNIS HASTERT,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: This is to formally notify you pursuant to Rule VIII of the Rules of the House that I received a subpoena for