

we are inferior beings who have not yet fully evolved. That is a very shocking statement.

Mr. Richburg is a journalist, and journalists are supposed to report what they see and to some degree interpret it. But in his book he becomes a philosopher, and journalists are not automatic philosophers. Most philosophers were not journalists. Plato was not a journalist, Socrates was not a journalist, Jesus was not a journalist. I mean journalists should stay in their place and understand that they are not philosophers and do not try to get too far in your conclusions.

Mr. Richburg concludes that it is fortunate that Africa was raided by the slave traders. The slave traders brought millions of Africans to America. The millions of African Americans who suffered for 232 years under the bonds of slavery, another 100 years in the oppression of discrimination, second class citizenship, they are fortunate. We are fortunate that we were snatched from Africa where people are still evolving and brought into civilization. That is part of his conclusion.

He saw terrible things but he came to the conclusion as a journalist and he did not have the equipment to deal with it. Because if he was a philosopher and a real thinker, he would not conclude that savagery and the failure of a society mean anything about the evolution of a people. If savagery and the killing of large numbers of people, if the bodies floating down the river as a result of the massacres in Rwanda are the result of people not having fully evolved, then what was the Holocaust all about? What was the systematic extermination of 6 million people by the Germans, the Nazis, the gestapo, what was that all about? Were they not fully evolved? When do you stop evolving? They had the world's best science. They invented rockets. We copied our rockets from German advanced science in rocketry and German scientists. The German composers and the German artists are the bedrock of certain parts of our civilization. Did the murder of 6 million Jews in gas chambers, did the burning of bodies in crematoria signify that they had not fully evolved?

What happened in Cambodia in a short period of time, the Pol Pot regime in one of Asia's oldest societies, they had been around much longer than most Western societies. And yet a million people in a short period of time were murdered in the Pol Pot killing fields. Does that mean they have not fully evolved?

What happened in Bosnia, in Croatia? All across the world there are examples of millions of people being slaughtered by various collapsed societies, failed nations. They have failed and been taken over by dictatorial oligopolists or dictatorial individuals, and their aims are not civilized aims and, therefore, terrible things happen.

America, the taxpayers' dollars in this country have been used to support some of that. Certainly in the case of

the Congress, we must bear responsibility for the collapse of society, the brutality, corruption that has existed for so many years in Zaire under Mobutu, our CIA had a direct link there. In Haiti, we had a direct link there.

We have a direct responsibility for not taking steps in other places to ameliorate or to end savagery, and we have future responsibilities. Why? Because God has blessed us, we are among all nations the most blessed. We are blessed with high technology, blessed with peace. We did not endure World War I on our soil. We did not have to put up with World War II on our soil. Our cities were not destroyed. Our universities were not destroyed. Yes, we gave a lot in those wars. Some of the greatest examples of bravery that ever have been exhibited by mankind were exhibited by American troops going into World War II. The beaches of Normandy, fantastic in terms of the sacrifices that were made there and the bravery that was exhibited.

America has risen to the occasion to protect the world from a total takeover by savage, well educated, scientific beasts. But we have to do more. And we have to be careful.

The warning here is that we have to be careful that we do not collapse from within. America from within can collapse if we lose our sense of proportion, if we destroy certain segments of society which help balance us off and keep us going. If we destroy our workers and their working class and the workers energy and the workers contribution to the economy, we begin the downhill slope where only one class of people is in charge. We, too, might face some kind of shallow analysis in the future where conclusions are made that we have just not evolved fully as human beings. That is rubbish.

We are what our society is willing to do in terms of taking what is learned from the past, taking the leisure time that we have, the information on the Web sites, the information on the Internet, all kinds of knowledge and information that are flowing to us. Let us use it in ways which expand the compassionate parameters of mankind, in ways that say, we want in our own society, in our own Nation to share as much of the wealth as possible and see to it that nobody goes hungry, that no segment of the population is oppressed unduly by another segment, that no segment of the population is pushed to the point where it is not a part of the economy, that no segment of the population has to bow down politically and not exercise its full rights in this democracy. That is step one.

Step two is to go beyond our own society and say that our richness, our fortunate wealth, the fact that we are fortunately located in this hemisphere, with the right kinds of climates and a number of things that have happened, we had the land to expand on, we had the European background to help in many cases. We relied on, we had the Native Americans to help us through

some critical periods and we never thanked them for that or did not treat them very well. Nevertheless, all these fortunate occurrences came together to create a great America.

The great America should go forward never to take the position where they never will allow a Zaire to happen where our forces were used to oppose people. We will never allow another Haiti to happen. And we will see to it that our institutions are constantly working to improve the world without condemning the world. And never should we come to the conclusion Mr. Richburg has come to, that certain people are in certain kinds of positions and they are having trouble because they have not fully evolved.

All human beings are guilty of unspeakable atrocities, and we must work to make certain that that does not prevail. Our civilization, our structures, our patterns of government, our mores, everything must operate to make sure that the best comes out in mankind and not the worst.

ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THE 105TH CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to address my colleagues tonight on a number of issues that are of importance not only to the 105th Congress in the House, but to the Senate and the American people as well. I asked that the opportunity be given to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOEKSTRA] to join me in this dialog, and we will be discussing a number of topics, not the least of which, Mr. Speaker, is one important to everyone in each State, and that would be the balanced budget.

By what we have seen in the last 12 to 24 months, Mr. Speaker, is no longer are we just talking about whether we are going to balance the budget. Now it is going to be, how we do it? And one realizes that there are great advantages to balancing the budget.

We know the State governments have to balance their budgets. Home budgets are balanced. Local governments are balanced, school districts, small townships, boroughs, cities all across America have to balance the budget. Only in the U.S. Federal Government do we not balance our budget. That is how we have acquired a \$5 trillion debt.

So, hopefully, in a continuing dialog with the American people, we can make those kinds of meaningful changes where valuable and important government programs continue but those best left to the private sector will be maintained. And we can have the kind of economy that is going to thrive, because with lower interest rates that will be the direct result of a balanced budget, we will be able to reduce home mortgage costs for each

family. We will be able to reduce college loan costs and, as well, be able to reduce our monthly vehicle loan costs.

So I really believe that we are on the threshold here in the 105th Congress of being able to get our budget in a situation which is in control, is going to do right by the American people as far as the Federal Government's interrelationship with the State governments in providing services that do not duplicate but actually enhance the quality of life, quality of each life here in the United States.

I now call on my colleague, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOEKSTRA], to join me and to give us his perspective as a more senior Member of Congress, as chairman of the reform caucus, a gentleman who has been at the cutting edge of the debate in Congress on how we can achieve this balanced budget and from his perspective why it is so important for his district and from his personal perspective.

I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOEKSTRA].

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding to me and for allowing us to really have this dialog this evening about the need for, and I have moved away from the term, I do not know what works for you, but I have moved away from the term "balanced budget". When you are talking about \$1.6 trillion, \$1.5, we will never get it into balance. In reality, we will either be at deficit or we will be at surplus. And I think it is important for us to move to a position where we are in a surplus budget and not in a deficit mode.

I think the thing is, I had three town meetings over the weekend, and it really becomes an issue of talking about how we can save the American family, the traditional American family which over the last number of years has really come under attack.

One of the biggest reasons that the American family has come under attack is that we develop a brochure which we call the Tale of Two Visions. It is a tale that has one vision which says our future is by growing Washington. And we use this and say, you know, the street that you and I cross each and every day when we come to the Capitol and we have the opportunity to vote is called Independence Avenue. And over the last number of years, it may have become more appropriate to call it Dependence Avenue. Because when you take a look down the street and you see who is lined up along that street, it is a whole series of Federal bureaucracies that have assumed control and power and tax dollars away from the American citizens and have moved it here to Washington.

Last year, we together were engaged in a historic debate on welfare and moving control and power back to the States and the local level. And it appears in many ways that this welfare reform bill is working exceedingly well. So this is more of a story of getting to a surplus budget, but it is also

very much a story of taking a look at problems that America faces and trying to design a more effective way to solve those problems.

When we talk about the budget, some things that we talk about in our tale of two visions, the case for saving America's families, is that we move from what we call now a two-wage requirement back to where it is a one-wage earner.

□ 2130

And that a two-wage-earner family is an option, it is not a requirement. Think about the number of families today that one of the parents might want to stay home, but they really believe that they have to go to work. The primary reason is one of them is working for Government and one of them is supporting the family.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the fact is the gentleman's vision, and the correct vision for America, is where he is headed by saying instead of having two parents both forced to be working, not only do they not have a chance to get the family together and time to be with the children, but we have lost that independence of being able to make the choice because we have created, I think, to some extent, so much bureaucracy here in Washington of telling people how to run their lives instead of, as we did last year with our welfare reform legislation, take that back to the States, let them run it closer to the people, closer to where the local Government is, less expensively, and in this case, obviously, where direct services can go right to the people they want to serve.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. That is right. I think the Republican vision, I think Congress' vision for where we need to go with the budget is more than a surplus budget. For all we know the Soviet Union ran surplus budgets. I do not know what their budget was, but our vision is to get to a surplus budget, but a surplus budget that can be funded by a one-wage-earner family and not a requirement that we need two wage earners in the family to support this government and this bureaucracy in Washington.

I think another key debate that we have as we work toward getting to a surplus budget is the whole question of whether new spending equals new tax burdens.

One of the major things that we see in the budget that the President has presented to us, and that the gentleman and I are concerned about when we take a look at this budget, under the best of circumstances, the most optimistic economic assumptions, we believe that this budget barely comes into a surplus mode. But under a more realistic assumption, the most likely set of assumptions, this budget is still going to be \$70 billion in the red in the year 2002.

One of the primary reasons that this is happening is that this President has decided to move more power to this

town by significant new increases in the number of programs that we have. This is not about slow growth and increasing the spending on Social Security because we have more seniors, or increasing the spending on Medicare because we have more seniors and those kinds of things. This is a conscious effort by this President to have an overlay of significant new programs on what we already have in Washington.

I have taken a look at roughly the baseline between where the President is and where our conference may come out with a budget, and it looks like the President is somewhere between \$250 and \$300 billion above our baseline. The vast majority of that spending is new programs.

There may be issues that we have to deal with, but when we have a \$1.6 trillion budget, over 5 years we are going to spend \$8 trillion, one would think that we could find, for new priorities, \$250 billion out of that \$8 trillion and just say there are some programs that we have had for years that are not working anymore, they are not as effective, we have a better way of solving the problem. Let us stop that program and move the money to this new priority rather than overlaying on what already exists.

If this President would just be disciplined, and I think this is where I am, and the gentleman and I have not had the opportunity, but where I am, this Congress is going to have to be measured by the statement of "Just say no." Just say no to new spending. If we just say no to new spending, if we kick the habit of new programs and new spending, we will be well on our way toward getting to a surplus budget without doing anything else.

We can deal with tax cuts and those other kinds of things in the process, but what we talk about now, the biggest tax savings, the biggest reduction in tax burden to the American taxpayer is to stop the \$250 to \$300 billion of new spending that this President wants.

I know exactly what we will do. We will not ask the American people to pay for it. We will put this \$300 billion of new spending onto our kids and we will increase the debt and we will hope that we will get to a balanced budget or a surplus budget by the year 2002. This Congress should really say no to new spending until we get to a surplus.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. I think the American people want what the gentleman is talking about. They want to make sure we maintain Social Security and that it is there to take care of our grandparents and our parents and eventually our generation. They want to make sure that Medicare is fully funded to take care of the health care for seniors.

But when it comes to those new programs the gentleman is speaking about, our communities are reaching out to do things on their own. There are corporations, there are civic associations. We are about to have, in

Philadelphia in April, a national volunteer conference with several of our past Presidents and our current President, for the purpose of reaching out.

The best programs I have found, and we are speaking of some of these new programs the President is talking about, can best be accomplished by a public-private partnership, where universities, schools, civic groups, hospitals all work together to provide the kind of networking and the American spirit that Alexis de Toqueville spoke of many years ago. That is the America I dream about. And I think our constituents want us to let them be part of that American dream and not have to take so much of their dollars. Because, frankly, we spend more on paying the interest on the debt than we pay for all our Defense Department, and that is an alarming figure.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I am glad the gentleman brought that up. We have a sheet on that.

Our choice is between new or expanded government programs or new or expanded nonprofit faith-based organizations. It is not a dream, what the gentleman was talking about: Corporations and individuals and churches and nonprofits being involved. It is happening every day.

Last night I had the opportunity to speak to a group in a church that has reached out, and 1 hour every week a number of the members from this congregation go into their local school and they tutor the children in that school, one-on-one, 1 hour every week, and they form a lasting and an important relationship with that child. Some of them have been involved for 3 years.

That is how we make the difference. The question is, are we going to suck the money out of the local community, creating more two-wage-earner families, and create these programs that are run out of these buildings here in Washington; or are we going to leave some of the money in the local community, and a parent or an adult saying, "I have some free time, I am going to go to that school and I am going to help. I will go out and reach out and form a personal relationship with a child in that school."

It is a wonderful way to improve the community. We help the child but we also personally get a great benefit out of that kind of an activity.

So it is a choice between more new government programs versus some more free time that enables our nonprofits and our faith-based and our individuals to step up in the community.

I see we have been joined. The gentleman from Pennsylvania may want to yield to our colleague from Georgia.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I do want to yield to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON], to give us his perspective on what he sees not only in his State but in the country, the value of balancing the budget, the value of giving back in tax decreases to our families a chance to realize the American dream.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania. I want to reinforce what the gentleman from Michigan was saying, because there is often, I would say, a Washington, big government bias toward the government running something as opposed to the nonprofit private sector doing it. It is similar to the accusation of saying, "Well, I have the Boy Scouts and they do a good job, but if you want to win a war, you send in the U.S. Army." That is not an accurate comparison when we are talking about charity and the private sector.

In 1995, Americans donated \$147 billion to charity, to churches, to museums, to just private causes of all nature, and that does not count the casseroles, the cakes, the soft costs that happen when a neighbor is sick or someone has died and people step forward in that good old American way, as we have done for over 200 years. So we have a hard cost of \$147 billion in direct donations to charity. In addition to that, we have 90 million Americans donating 4 hours each and every week to charity.

Now, if we do the math on that, we will find we have donated each year about \$19 billion manhours, each year, running T-ball, running the hospice, running the United Way, running all kinds of church institutions and faith-based charities that the gentleman has already mentioned. If we do the math on 19 billion manhours times \$10 an hour, some of it will be worth less, some of it, though, far more, and we will find \$190 billion that would be donated through hours.

If we add the two of those together, America is not new at handling problems, at having volunteers go out and doing all sorts of things. Yet there is this Washington bias that unless there is a government program and unless there is legislation, unless there is law, that it cannot happen. There is just no way it can go without the blessing of Congress.

So I certainly think that the budget that deemphasizes command control problem solving out of Washington, returning it back to the streets of America, I think, is absolutely the right direction to move to.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. If I can carry forward, Mr. Speaker, with what the gentleman from Georgia was just saying, the fact is that not only do we have to have a balanced budget, which will have the opportunity for the economy to grow, we also need to reduce the taxes on our American families, whether it is a \$500-per-child tax credit, reducing capital gains for individuals and businesses to encourage investment, savings and jobs, or reducing inheritance taxes.

How many family farms across the country cannot be exchanged or given to the next generation without fear that all the taxes are going to take away the lands and take away the farm? We need to make sure that we unbridle some of the regulations that

we have that are stifling America's businesses from growing, America's families from achieving the American dream.

Mr. Speaker, I yield once again to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. The gentleman is a pretty good lead. We are developing two other segments in what we call our tale of two visions, because one of the things that we talk about when we talk about more government spending, whether it is increasing spending or reducing taxes, the choice is pretty clear. The choice is between government spending versus family savings. A very clear choice.

We take a friend with us almost wherever we go just to talk about this, and the choice is sending money to a Washington bureaucrat or leaving it with a family. It is a decision between Washington bureaucracy versus our children.

What we are going to do in each of the next few weeks is build on this tale of two visions and discuss each one of those: Washington bureaucracy versus our children; government spending versus family savings; a one-wage option versus a two-wage requirement; deficit spending versus surplus savings; and new government programs versus new nonprofits.

Those are things that are important. That is what a budget sets. A budget tells us who we are, what is important to us. We are more than about a surplus budget. We are about strengthening families; restoring and strengthening our families and designing a system.

I think in a few minutes we are going to talk about education. I have had the opportunity to go around the country, in my oversight capabilities, to schools in New York and California and Arizona and Delaware, and talk about education. Somebody said, "Well, Mr. HOEKSTRA, maybe you should come to my classroom and you can see what is really going on in the classroom." I said I do not know if I will ever be an expert in the classroom, but what we in Washington and what people in the State bureaucracy are supposed to be good at doing is designing systems that empower teachers and parents to help their children at a classroom level, at the local level.

Soon we will talk about the kind of systems that we currently have in place. We are about empowering people at the local level to make a difference because systems at the local level, most often, are the ones that have the greatest impact.

□ 2145

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. The fact of the matter is the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOEKSTRA] hit the nail on the head. Because the school districts back home in each of our States, we elected those people, in some cases they may have been appointed in certain cities, and they are the ones who have been entrusted locally to take

care of the local educational policy. And while they may receive, and should, funds from the Federal Government for transportation for the students, schoolbooks and maybe even school lunches, of course, the policy implementation of what is important for that district and what is important for that State should be left to the local district. That is really integral, I believe, to the American education system.

Mr. KINGSTON. On that subject, I am fascinated with the hard work the gentleman has done in his subcommittee because you have certainly been all over the country.

One of the stories the gentleman came out with is that the Federal Government has a kitty litter policy. Perhaps the Federal Government should have a manure policy, for obvious reasons, but kitty litter seems to be stretching it a little bit. As I understand it, it had to do with the housing, a HUD program that you gentlemen unearthed, and I have it with me. I am cheating a little bit on the gentleman from Michigan, but I am a fan of your newsletter, as I told you earlier today. Section 5.350 part 2 of the HUD manual of the Federal—

Mr. HOEKSTRA. If the gentleman will yield, I encourage my colleague from Pennsylvania to listen to this very closely, because there are some bureaucrats in HUD who thought that this was a very important regulation, and you can see the wisdom of some of the people in our bureaucracies and the kind of issues that they are dealing with.

Mr. KINGSTON. This is none other from the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Secretary Henry Cisneros, created rules regarding pet ownership by the elderly and disabled in public housing.

It says under section 5.350:

In the case of cats and other pets using litter boxes, the pet rules may require the pet owner to change the litter but not more than twice each week; may require pet owners to separate pet waste from litter, but not more than once a day; and may prescribe methods for the disposal of pet waste and used litter.

I am so glad that the Federal Government is finally addressing the kitty litter problem. We have got a \$5.1 trillion debt, and we are getting into the kitty litter business.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. It seems to me that we have to make sure we have quality housing and make sure those who are coming from shelters for the homeless have transition housing, and first-time home buyers, but I do not understand how we are spending time in the Government working on kitty litter when that is something that probably could be left to homeowners and individuals on their own. It just occurs to me, but maybe that is a new idea.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. If the gentleman will yield, we have two cats at home, and it is not too difficult to tell when you need to change the kitty litter. I am not sure we need a Federal regula-

tion for doing it in public housing. I think in public housing they can tell as quickly as what we can at home about what happens.

Mr. KINGSTON. What I am concerned about is what about hamster owners? Why do they not have to have the same regulations? And what about people with goldfish, should they not be required to change the water? And Mynah birds. Do you know anybody with a Mynah bird? They are filthy.

In this era when the end of big government has come, it just seems amazing to me that we are so inconsistent with administering the pet policy. And when I say us, let us make sure that the folks understand, this is not the U.S. Congress, these are the unelected bureaucracies who never have to have town meetings, never have to have their name on the ballot and never have to answer constituent mail. They are the ones making these rules.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Perhaps in our housing subcommittee, we can certainly address that. It seems to me that one of the items of legislation that I have introduced that I think would address this is sunset review of Federal agencies, to say if they are not really fulfilling their original purpose, maybe they need to be downsized, privatized, or eliminated. The fact is while we need to have a housing policy to take care of assisting those in need, I do not think it goes to the assistance on pet department.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. If the gentleman will yield, in the same issue, the February issue of *Tale of Two Visions*, if my colleague from Georgia read on, he would know that we took care of the kitty litter. We also went on in the Federal Government to take care of rabbits. This gets to be interesting. The National Institutes of Health required one university to replace all of the school's rabbit cages. This carried a price tag of \$250,000. We care about rabbits as much as we care about kitties. However, less than a year later, the Agriculture Department declared that the cages were the wrong size. The university had to once again replace the cages.

We should feel really good that we have two agencies in Washington that are caring about rabbits. The frustrating thing is, I think, and the gentleman has talked about the sunset legislation for rules and regulations. There are a couple of other bills that have been introduced, one of which would require congressional review of rules and regulations before they actually go into effect, and I have introduced a piece of legislation. Can you imagine how frustrated this university was after they had just spent \$250,000 on rabbit cages and another department came in and said, "You've got to change it." We have said where you have got conflicting regulations, we have to provide an expedited way to review that and you are held harmless for following one set of guidelines when another agency comes in and tries to

tell you that you did the wrong thing, so we protect the people in those cases.

Mr. KINGSTON. If the gentleman will yield, I have heard, and Georgia has a lot of poultry processing and poultry processing is very water intensive and you have to keep the area very, very clean for the USDA inspectors. You have to have it clean. But then the Occupational Safety and Health Administration comes in and they say the place is too wet. So you clean it enough to process the food and then it gets too dangerous for the workers and you have two Federal agencies once again responding to the same problem that many times they are creating.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. The key to this is, it is not that these rules or regulations are good or bad, I think they go too far. This is taxpayer dollars. This is why we have too many families in America today that are two-wage-earner families as a requirement, not by choice, not by option, to support these kinds of activities.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. I would point out that some of these two-wage-earner families actually have more than one job apiece.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. KINGSTON. I know the gentleman has done a lot of study on the U.S. Department of Education, how big it is, but before we get to that I want to mention another bureaucracy that has 111,000 employees, and that is the IRS.

Listen to this story that was from an article written by Dan Gifford in *Insight* magazine, April 29, 1996:

A man's brother was killed in the 1988 terrorist bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. The IRS demanded that he pay \$64 million to them because they had guessed that he had received about \$11 million in a settlement.

They wanted \$64 million from the guy because they had guessed he had received \$11 million, and the fact was that he had never received one dime for the settlement at the time the IRS wanted it.

Another story said there was a 10-year-old girl, the daughter of a man, and the IRS claimed he owed \$1,000 in taxes, \$600 paper route savings since she had a little paper route, \$600 in her savings were seized by the IRS. This is a 10-year-old girl. I have an 11-year-old son. This is somebody who rides bicycles. So the IRS seizes \$600 in a paper route savings and would not give it back to her until her father paid the \$1,000 on taxes that he owed. It is just absurd. It is a bureaucracy out of control and out of touch.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Going back to the *Tale of Two Visions*, we all know how complex our Tax Code is. It is so complex that the IRS has spent in the neighborhood of \$8 billion trying to design and automate and computerize the system. They now acknowledge that \$4 billion of this will never be able to be used. When you talk about a two-wage-

earner family, that is 2 million families where the second wage earner paid \$2,000 to the Federal Government and did not get one dime of value. Two million families where the second wage earner paid \$2,000 in taxes and the Government threw it away, because our Tax Code is too complex. That is why 2 million men or women went to work for a year and got absolutely no value. That is waste, that is wrong, and that is what is killing America's families today.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. There are two other points I want to add. Both the gentlemen have made good points about the need for the IRS reform. It seems to me we need a couple of other areas of reform. We have the problem with IRS in that we do not have a simplified form. There are so many complications to the IRS Tax Code that we do not even have a simplified form that people can use. I do not think that is fair. No. 2, we have a situation where most of our Anglo-American law, the person who is involved in court is presumed to be innocent, whether it is a defendant involved in one court case or another, the Government has the burden of proof and the defendant in a criminal case, my God, is presumed innocent.

Here you have a taxpayer, there can be no presumption he did anything wrong, but the current code says they are presumed to be wrong and the IRS Commissioner is presumed to be right. I think this Congress has got to take the bull by the horns and switch that presumption and put the burden back on the Federal Government and not on the taxpayer.

Mr. KINGSTON. Here is another interesting statistic. From 1954 to 1994, the number of words in the section of the IRS code relating just to income taxes, not all the other taxes but just to income taxes went from less than 200,000 to over 800,000.

In 1994, businesses across America spent more than 3.6 billion hours preparing their tax returns, and individuals spent more than 1.8 billion hours preparing their tax returns. Looking at it this way, that approximates to 3 million people working full-time 12 months a year just to comply with the Tax Code. You talk about wasted energy and wasted manpower. That is absolutely ridiculous. We have got to move toward a simplified tax system. I do not know if the answer is the flat tax, but we have got to give it serious debate, and we have got to do it very soon.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman from Michigan would continue for the benefit of our colleagues of what he has learned in his educational survey, I know that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON] and I would certainly like to hear more about it.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. We are going to be coming to your States. What we are doing is we are working on a project which we call Education at a Cross-

roads: What's Working and What's Wasted. We have evidence that there are problems in education around the country, but we know that there has been a Federal response. It is kind of interesting. We have kind of gotten into a debate with how many programs are there really. Nobody can really tell us. Are there 500 programs? Are there 700 programs? We started this process a year ago and we went to this book, which is called the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance. This is one big book.

Mr. KINGSTON. Was it good reading?
Mr. HOEKSTRA. I have some very qualified staff people who have the opportunity to read these.

But this Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance, you go to the section that is called Education, and this is all in fine print, and you read this, and you count them, and you find in this document that there are at least 660 education programs just under the Education title.

You then go on to the Office of Management and Budget, and you ask them how many programs there are, and you go to the Congressional Research Service, and they say, "Well, we think you maybe don't have all the programs," so they find about another 116 programs. Here is what the Congressional Research says, and the Department says:

"As is noted below, these counts do not include possible additions of education-related programs in the areas of foreign aid, educational or cultural exchanges bringing foreign citizens to the United States."

They also go on to say that they cannot verify the completeness of this information.

"We are aware of no listing or other source of information on Federal education-related programs that is sufficiently comprehensive in detail to fully meet your needs."

Remember, our need was a very simple question: How many Federal education programs are there? That was our need. They said there is not an exhaustive list. "At the same time we are aware of no better source of this information than the CFDA," which is the big binder that I held up.

So we know that, according to Government documents, there are well over 750, 760 programs that go through 39 different agencies and spend over \$120 billion per year. What it means is that for a long time, Washington has been working on a program, and we are doing different lessons in education every week, but this is lesson No. 2, that we like kids, we care about kids in Washington, but we have designed a system that has given us this kind of mechanism and this kind of cottage industry.

□ 2200

And this is two binders, OK? These are two big binders, and the title of this binder is Guide to Federal Funding for Education. And so what we have done is we have just developed layer on

layer of education programs, and you know as the gentleman from Pennsylvania said earlier, we recognize we need to help kids. But when we put together this kind of process, and this tells you who to go to and how to apply for the grant and how to write your grant, and then there is an interesting thing in here that is called—what is this called? It is called the Funding Opportunity Rating System. The following system rates programs for most competitive, which is one star, to least competitive, which is five stars, to tell you that the feasibility and the probability of getting Federal funding, and what we have done is we have created a complex system that means we are friends at the IRS; you know, 110,000 plus are out there taking taxpayer dollars, taking dollars away from families. We design a complex system so that you have got to have these kinds of binders to find out exactly how to get the money. Then they go back to the classroom with all kinds of rules and regulations.

The end result is we are going through this process, and we will find out more when we go to Pennsylvania and when we go to Georgia. Our expectation is that maybe only 65 or 70 cents gets to the child. That is not good enough.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Where is the rest of it; in bureaucracy?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. The rest of it is in applying for the funds, finding out about the funds, promoting the programs, the bureaucracy, administration, all of those kinds of things, and you know as we are talking about some of these new programs that the President wants to do, the debate here on some of these programs is not going to be about whether these are things that we should be doing. We need to be in certain cases helping improve education. The debate will be if we are only getting 65 cents of the dollar to the child, are we going to increase spending to \$1.20 to get up to 70 cents or 75 cents to the child, or are we going to take a look at that 30 to 35 cents and say that is too much going to bureaucrats and bureaucracy? Let us see if we cannot cut the overhead like we did in welfare, if we cannot cut the overhead in the bureaucracy and get the money to the child and get it to the classroom without having to increase taxes or increase deficit spending.

Mr. KINGSTON. You know, it is interesting during this period of time, and I generally attribute most of it since the conception of the Department of Education in Washington, and the gentleman may know the exact year. I believe it was 1978; but was it not 1978?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Anyway our colleague in the back might—1978 or 1979?

Mr. KINGSTON. I am certain it was when Jimmy Carter was President, and so let us just say thereabouts. But what is interesting, during that same period of time that we have had this absolute explosion in programs, which has also taken away the flexibility and

freedom for the teacher to teach in her or his own classroom, what has also happened is the SAT scores have fallen from approximately 937 to about 910 points, if not more than that, and the interesting thing as you know, the SAT scores have been recalibrated, and 900 in 1975 would equal about a thousand today. So in reality the SAT scores have fallen more than 30 points, but to probably about a hundred despite all of this Federal Government help to States which has proven not to be help but hindrance.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. I would ask Congressman HOEKSTRA, how do we get education to be more child centered?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Well, this is exactly what we are talking about. I think our vision of education, the vision that we see, and you know the exciting thing about going around the country and in some cases going to some of the most troubled areas and some of the roughest areas in the country, education in many of those areas is working. There are entrepreneurs, there are strong, driven individuals, there are parents that are going in and they are making a difference. And you know this is our vision for education. Our vision for education is a child-centered approach where the programs that we have in place are focused on helping the child, they are empowering parents, they are recognizing the importance of teachers in this process, that it is a partnership with teachers and parents and the student coming together to help that child learn.

You know, one of the exciting things about this is we have seen lots of innovations in getting to a child-centered education. Charter schools; we have got them in Michigan, we saw them in California, we visited them in Phoenix. And when we had our hearing in Phoenix, the National Education Association came out and said they are going to be doing four charter schools around the country.

I think that is exciting. I think it is wonderful that the teachers' unions are accepting the challenge of charter schools which provide them a new flexibility to try to redesign and recreate what goes on in a school outside of the bureaucratic maze, and I am, you know, I am excited that they are taking that challenge because if anybody can work and design a good school, it should be teachers in the local community working with parents and designing what that community needs.

I am looking forward to where they establish them. I am hoping and expecting that they will establish a charter school in the State of Michigan so that we can learn from their experience and their expertise. But the focus is this model right here along the bottom. It is parents focused on the student, it is teachers focused on the student, and the important thing is here the teachers know the name of the kids, the parents know the names of the kids; and it is an alternative to

what the Washington Senate approach is, which is where we are today, which is at the end of the stream is the student, at the top of the stream is the bureaucrat. The bureaucrat does not know the name of the kids.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. The gentleman from Michigan is right on target because the fact is that each district knows best what is good for their students, what the needs are, special programs that relate to industry in the district that relates to industry maybe having adopt-a-school programs to bring in community scholars. There are all kinds of innovations. If we tap into the private sector, there is no telling how far we can go. And education, just like every other area of life, business, the arts, everything is being questioned of how can we improve, how can we spend less by getting our money's worth, getting the taxpayer what they want, quality education at a reasonable price, making sure we maximize dollars but minimize waste.

Mr. KINGSTON. The gentleman in your newsletter, and I am attributing everything to you that I am plagiarizing here, but you pointed out in Washington, DC, a 57-year-old grandmother who started a program called Children of Mine, and the program in Washington, DC, provides hot meals, homework help, tutoring, computer instruction, Bible study, and a safe place for at-risk children to play, go to after school, to know that they are safe and have security and so forth. And the interesting thing is as this woman, Miss Hannah Hawkins, has turned around the lives of so many children since—well, I am not sure she started it in 1970 or how long she has been doing it, but not one dime comes from the Federal Government.

And you are finding all kinds of programs similar to this Children of Mine.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I thank the gentleman for yielding. That is exactly what we are doing with A Tale of Two Visions, and you know the earlier examples that we cited were examples of Government inefficiency, Government being asked to do things that maybe it could not do or that it should not do, and in the same issue of every edition of this newsletter we also publish success stories, nonprofits, individuals, private enterprise, churches going out and making a difference in their community so that people can get a sense of actually what is going on in the country.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman will yield, I have seen back in my home area of Montgomery County, PA, just how what you talked about is happening. Whether it is churches or synagogues or civic groups or boys and girls clubs, they have done the thing which is related to education in community youth groups. Whether it is the DARE Program, the Drug Abuse Resistance Education, through our sheriff's office, our town watch programs; no Government funding there. It is the eyes and ears of local police depart-

ments. Community policing; it is an idea where local police departments work with the community, work with the civic organizations, and that is really where we are making a great difference because it is not the Government trying to solve all problems. We are part of the solution, and that whole idea is, I think, coming to fruition.

Mr. KINGSTON. We have an example in Savannah, GA, which I mentioned to Mr. HOEKSTRA about, of a weight lifting coach named Michael Cone who actually had been an Olympic weight lifter, and he went to work in the school, worked in the school system for 10 years, and under his jurisdiction was the Presidential Fitness Program, and we all took the Presidential Fitness Program when we were growing up, and, as he described it very accurately, you go to the class and you say:

All right kids, everybody come up here and do a pullup.

Well, children really cannot do pullups. There are a few who can, but the majority of kids cannot. So what happens? One kid goes up and cannot do a pullup. The other 29 in the class say we are not trying because they know not trying is better than failure. And so you got one kid who has been humiliated, and 29 say we are not going to touch that ball. And what happened is the Presidential Fitness Program has become somewhat humiliating to some kids. It has also become cumbersome in terms of testing the children, and the results do not lead to anything.

And so what Mr. Cone did in Savannah, GA, he went in with a local hospital and got them to underwrite and say: Why don't we prepare a physical fitness program for kids, a measurement so that each child could do something of the test? And let's don't throw in an 11-year-old who is 140 pounds with an 11-year-old who is 90 pounds because physically they are not equal. Why have their measurement tested the same way? Let's do it by weight more than age and so forth; just some practical commonsense approaches.

As a result of Mr. Cone working with the local hospitals, they now had an ongoing physical measurement program for kids all over Chatham County where they can find out if these kids have any physical problems, if they changed from the year before. If they are overweight they can make recommendations and so forth. But the best part is it is less extensive than the Federal program and it goes a lot quicker. They can test it in about a third of the time that the Presidential Fitness Training Program does, and again it is an example of local initiative.

But you know Mr. Cone told me the unbelievable part is he had to fight the bureaucracy to get this thing approved and get it running.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. The system that I think we are looking forward to is developing and bringing back in balance a role for Government, highlighting

the role that individuals can play, highlighting the role that private enterprise can play and highlighting the role, the responsibility of nonprofit faith-based types of organizations that American society where there is an equal balance between those four is when we really excel, and that when one of those becomes too dominant is when maybe we encounter most of our problems.

And I think what we have seen over the last number of years is where the role of the Federal Government has gotten so big and where we are spending \$1.6 trillion per year and we are \$5, approaching \$6 trillion in debt, and we are saddling our kids with interest payments of \$258 billion per year. We are out of whack. You know when a two-wage earner family is a requirement and not an option, we are out of whack and we have got to bring that back into focus.

I ask my colleague, and I know my colleague from Pennsylvania has a passion for higher education, and I ask my colleague if he saw this last edition of Time Magazine talking about the cost of higher education, whether you have had an opportunity to read that article?

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Briefly; yes, sir.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. And I think, you know, as we really take a look at how we help young people for those that select and believe that they want to go to higher education, I think that article points out that before we throw a lot more money and programs at some of this we need to take a look at the correlation and the dynamics between Federal spending and the cost of education. And it is kind of a complex issue, but we ought to at least have some hearings and have some debate and dialog on that to make sure that when we fund higher education programs and we are trying to help kids, that is exactly the result that we are going to have, and we do not fuel a price war in the wrong direction toward increased prices.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman yields, I believe that, you know, there is a greater role for the Federal Government in this area. There are many students who I found in my district who are qualified to go to school but yet do not have the financial means. So they need the loans and grant program.

One of the important pieces of legislation that is before us during this session that I hope in fact has passed will improve the opportunity for students. One will last; for instance, the reinstatement for employers, the deductibility for helping the students pay the tuition, and it will not be treated as a gift to the student to provide a disincentive.

The fact is we have to provide the incentives for qualified students to go into higher education not only to take over positions of government but to discover things in medicine to help us

live longer and better, and our universities provide that kind of opportunity, and I understand what you are saying. Obviously we need accountability, too, that we are not overcharging our students for what a quality education should be, and that is part of what your committee will continue doing, and I hope that will give Congressman KINGSTON and me a chance to weigh in and be a part of your crusade.

□ 2215

Mr. KINGSTON. One of the things that is interesting in one of the statistics your committee came out with is that 30 percent of the American students entering higher education, entering colleges and universities have to take remedial courses.

I believe one of the reasons that they have to take remedial courses is because this bureaucracy that we are throwing on local school systems makes teachers spend far more time in paperwork than they should be and far less time helping students, because when they are filling out paperwork they cannot help that marginal student who needs just a little extra help in math that day. I mean a C student, C-plus student who might come up to a B or B-plus or an A, but instead moves in the opposite direction because the teachers are not there any more.

So what does the President do? He says we need tutors, so let us go in with these \$20,000 a year volunteers from AmeriCorps to solve this problem. It is absolutely absurd. We do not need more Federal programs, we need less, and more flexibility for the teachers; we need less paperwork for them.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, my subcommittee also has oversight on the Corporation for National Service, which is the parent corporation for AmeriCorps.

There is debate about whether AmeriCorps works or whether it does not. I originally voted for the program, and as I have now had oversight over the program for the last 3 years, I have some questions about the program and exactly how it has worked, and it is working different than what I maybe anticipated it was going to do. There are two fundamental facts. Their books are not auditable, and we have known that for about 12, 18 months, that we really do not get a full accounting of where the money goes.

We have had hearings on this and there has been some explanation that the corporation came together and it had some old programs with dirty books and they had to kind of clean those up, and they are getting there. But more disturbingly, within the last 10 days, the auditors have come out and said that their trust fund is not auditable, which means that there is not an integrity to the system that the scholarships for the kids that worked, that will actually be able to match up the scholarship money to the kids that actually did the work. So it is kind of disturbing that there is not that integrity in the system.

I also wanted to build off on what my colleague from Pennsylvania is talking about, the tax deductibility for corporations to enable their employees to go to college. But in my State, it is important for them to get additional training, but it is also very important because being a huge automotive producing State, we need machinists, we need journeymen, and so we need the kids to go into the basic trades, which are great jobs, which certain kids have a great aptitude for and they love doing.

I could not do it. My colleagues would not want to take a look at the parts that came off the machine after I spent a few hours on them. But we need those kids, because it is part of the heart of our industrial strength, is having the journeymen and the people talented and skilled in those areas. It is really an art, and so we need the flexibility and the programs that we design that say if you are going to go to a 4-year college, if you are going to go to medical school, or if you are going to go and be a journeyman, we are going to support you in getting that additional learning, because we need that full range and that full breadth of skills, and we need to empower young people to match the skills that they want to get with the love and the profession that they have a passion for, and we cannot use these Government programs to coerce them into doing something that maybe they would not do otherwise.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I think one of the other things that we need to do, for the students 18 and under, they have no direct voice here in Congress in the sense that there is someone their age, and I think of the youth Congress when they take over the 435 seats in this House, they elect a Speaker and they pass some legislation that they tell us about. Because while student loans are important, reducing crime is important, their dreams and aspirations are important also. We get this reflectively sometimes through their parents, and sometimes in our town meetings, and sometimes I hear about them when I go to visit a school, but I would love to have a youth Congress sometime this summer and hear directly from them, because sometimes I do not think we hear enough from them.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield, that is a wonderful idea, having a youth Congress for a week where maybe every Member of Congress has the opportunity to select one member to represent them in this youth Congress for a week, where we could define a range of issues, maybe two or three or four issues that we would like them to work on and debate for a week. The biggest fear that I would have is that at the end of the week, the American people might be more impressed with the youth Congress than what they are with us.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. I think we can afford that risk to make the country stronger and better.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, one of the great parts about this job is that we do get lots of students come and visiting our offices and I am always inspired. It is interesting that there are a lot of folks who are down on students, but I look at the kids who are in our classes today and I feel very, very optimistic. But often, it is because of their own effort or their parents more than it is because of the education system.

We were talking about preparing kids for the future. One of the realities that children of today will face a lot more than our generation is that they will be competing directly against German, Japanese, British, Canadian children and so forth.

The question is, are we preparing them best? Of the 760 different Federal education programs, it is interesting to note that there are 14 programs that deal with reading, but 39 deal with art. There are 11 that deal with mathematics, but 27 that deal with environment.

Now, I think it is important to know about art and it is important to know about environment, but when you are talking about competing in a global economy, you better know your math and you better know how to read. But because the Federal Government passes things based on politics and emotion far more than logic, it is a lot more popular to vote for art and environmental programs rather than math and reading because they are somewhat lackluster. But are we cheating our children when we do that? I think we are. We have to prepare them for the global marketplace.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I know we are running close to the end of our time, and I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX], for taking the hour tonight.

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON] is absolutely right. We need to prepare our kids. But the bigger responsibility that we have is we need to prepare this country, which means I think that we have to carry forward on our vision toward getting a surplus budget and a government that can be funded by a one-wage-earner family, that a two-wage-earner family is an option, and that we get a government and we get it in a size and a scale that no longer sucks strength away from our families, but is in balance with what our families need.

If we can do that, we will prepare the proper environment for our children to be successful.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman's comments. I think that the gentleman's whole theme has been one that rings true for America, and that is to make our families stronger, and by doing that we make America stronger.

I did want to make one parenthetical comment, discussing AmeriCorps. I can tell my colleagues about a couple of programs that frankly in relationship back to what the Congressman from Georgia, Mr. KINGSTON, was talking

about, the RSVP and the foster grandparent programs have been outstanding examples, and I will have to look into the tutor program you spoke of to see whether it is as accountable and as beneficial. But I think the overall theme that the gentleman from Michigan has presented tonight, balancing our budget, getting tax relief to families, letting them become one-wage-earner families, if that is what they want, so that they can again spend more time together, enjoy the quality of life, build their communities, and I think that kind of vision of America's dream is certainly one that people from my district will want to embrace.

I yield to the gentleman from Georgia for a concluding comment.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, let me just say, I appreciate the gentleman from Pennsylvania and the gentleman from Michigan for letting me join them this evening, and I do agree with the title of the gentleman from Michigan's newsletter. We have two missions here, one of a command-control bureaucratic government where Washington experts tell the whole world how to run their lives, how to run education, and how to run their businesses and families and so forth, or we have a government that is smaller and based on common sense. The gentleman has an excellent newsletter, and if the gentleman would, could we get his Net page number and so forth.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. For my colleagues, this newsletter is delivered on a monthly basis, and they can get it from 1122 Longworth House Office Building.

[From the Atlanta Journal, Oct. 14, 1996]
WASTEFUL AMERICORPS SURVIVES ANOTHER YEAR

AmeriCorps, President Clinton's much-vaunted "volunteer" program, has survived another year. Too bad. It's past time to kill this costly program before it becomes a permanent government fixture. It is fast-growing and expensive, it eats away at the very definition of volunteerism, and it's costing taxpayers a huge amount per participant without any measurable gains.

In announcing AmeriCorps in 1993, the president spoke of a largely privately funded program that would engage the nation's young people in volunteerism and community service:

"While the federal government will provide the seed money for national service," the president wrote in a New York Times op-ed article, "we are determined that the participants—the individuals who serve and the groups that sponsor their service—will guide the process. Spending tens of millions of tax dollars to build a massive bureaucracy would be self-defeating."

But it has been the federal government "guiding the process" with tax dollars. The program cost \$217.3 million in 1994, but \$427.3 million in 1995. Congress put the brakes on the president's effort to pump even more into the program this year. Undaunted, Clinton is now seeking \$1 billion over the next five years.

The notion of private funding for AmeriCorps was also an illusion: Just 7 percent of the program is funded privately. National and state governments pick up the rest of the tab.

The General Accounting Office has discovered the program costs taxpayers \$26,700 per participant for 10 months of volunteer work.

And the type of "work" is not always what taxpayers would have paid for. In San Francisco last year, AmeriCorps volunteers organized 40 groups to fight the federal crime bill's "three strikes and you're out" provision. In Denver, "volunteers" who were supposed to be helping neighborhoods instead were passing out fliers attacking a city councilperson. In Orange county, Calif., AmeriCorps volunteers were paid to knit a memorial quilt for victims of the Oklahoma City bombing—a chore they never even finished.

And AmeriCorps destroys the healthy notion of volunteerism by paying participants to "volunteer." Participants receive a stipend of \$650 per month—about \$7.50 per hour—and \$4,725 a year for college costs. This even though more than half of Americans over 18 volunteer in the real sense—for free.

Neither are the benefits of AmeriCorps limited to the poor in need of financial aid for college. America's wealthiest are just as eligible—and far more likely to participate. While the program is supposed to give young people a chance to go to college, the cost of a single AmeriCorps participant would send 18 students to college with Pell Grants.

The president needs to look back at his original statement and ask if the program is indeed "self-defeating." It is, and it's an incredible waste of taxpayer dollars.

CIA OPERATIONS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentlewoman from California [Ms. WATERS] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, earlier today I started a presentation and a conversation about the Central Intelligence Agency. Recently I have become involved in taking a closer look at the Central Intelligence Agency. This was after the San Jose Mercury News series detailing allegations that the CIA operatives were involved in the trafficking of crack cocaine in south central Los Angeles.

What we have learned is quite disturbing. The CIA operatives, Oscar Danilo Blandon and Norwin Meneses were indeed connected with both the CIA and the DEA; that is, the Drug Enforcement Agency. Both Blandon and Meneses have long histories of involvement with drugs. Mr. Meneses in particular was well-known among the United States and Latin American law enforcement agencies as having trafficked drugs for years. These men were staunch supporters of the Nicaraguan contras and the FDN. That is the army of the contras.

There are those who question whether the CIA had any involvement with the distribution or trafficking of crack cocaine into south central Los Angeles. One need only look no further than current newspapers to find recent cases of CIA involvement with drugs.

Before I began to detail some more of the recent involvement, I would like to just share for a moment the fact that Mr. Danilo Blandon and Mr. Norwin Meneses both have been identified not only as having been involved with the CIA, but Mr. Danilo Blandon himself testified in Federal court that he was a CIA operative.