

and shall limit any oral presentation to a summary of the written statement; and (B) each witness appearing in a non-governmental capacity shall include with the written statement of proposed testimony a curriculum vitae and a disclosure of the amount and source (by agency and program) of any Federal grant (or subgrant thereof) or contract (or subcontract thereof) received during the current fiscal year or either of the two preceding fiscal years.

(4) When a hearing is conducted by the Committee or a subcommittee on any measure or matter, the minority party members on the Committee shall be entitled, upon request to the Chairman of a majority of those minority members before the completion of the hearing, to call witnesses selected by the minority to testify with respect to that measure or matter during at least one day of the hearing thereon.

#### MEDIA COVERAGE OF PROCEEDINGS

(e) Any meeting of the Committee or its subcommittees that is open to the public shall be open to coverage by radio, television, and still photography in accordance with the provisions of clause 3 of House rule XI.

#### SUBPOENAS

(f) Pursuant to clause 2(m) of House rule XI, a subpoena may be authorized and issued by the Committee or a subcommittee in the conduct of any investigation or series of investigations or activities, only when authorized by a majority of the members voting, a majority being present.

#### RULE 3—GENERAL OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITY

(a) In order to assist the House in:

(1) Its analysis, appraisal, evaluation of (A) the application, administration, execution, and effectiveness of the laws enacted by the Congress, or (B) conditions and circumstances which may indicate the necessity or desirability of enacting new or additional legislation, and

(2) its formulation, consideration and enactment of such modifications or changes in those laws, and of such additional legislation, as may be necessary or appropriate, the Committee and its various subcommittees, consistent with their jurisdiction as set forth in Rule 4, shall have oversight responsibilities as provided in subsection (b).

(b)(1) The Committee and its subcommittees shall review and study, on a continuing basis, the applications, administration, execution, and effectiveness of those laws, or parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the Committee or subcommittee, and the organization and operation of the Federal agencies and entities having responsibilities in or for the administration and execution thereof, in order to determine whether such laws and the programs thereunder are being implemented and carried out in accordance with the intent of the Congress and whether such programs should be continued, curtailed, or eliminated.

(2) In addition, the Committee and its subcommittees shall review and study any conditions or circumstances which may indicate the necessity or desirability of enacting new or additional legislation within the jurisdiction of the Committee or subcommittee (whether or not any bill or resolution has been introduced with respect thereto), and shall on a continuing basis undertake future research and forecasting on matters within the jurisdiction of the Committee or subcommittee.

(3) Not later than February 15 of the first session of a Congress, the Committee shall meet in open session, with a quorum present, to adopt its oversight plans for that Congress for submission to the Committee on House Oversight and the Committee on Gov-

ernment Reform and Oversight, in accordance with the provisions of clause 2(d) of House rule X.

#### RULE 4—SUBCOMMITTEES

##### ESTABLISHMENT AND JURISDICTION OF SUBCOMMITTEES

(a)(1) There shall be three subcommittees of the Committee as follows:

(A) Subcommittee on Health, which shall have legislative, oversight and investigative jurisdiction over veterans' hospitals, medical care, and treatment of veterans.

(B) Subcommittee on Benefits, which shall have legislative, oversight and investigative jurisdiction over compensation, general and special pensions of all the wars of the United States, life insurance issued by the Government on account of service in the Armed Forces, cemeteries of the United States in which veterans of any war or conflict are or may be buried, whether in the United States or abroad, except cemeteries administered by the Secretary of the Interior, burial benefits, education of veterans, vocational rehabilitation, veterans' housing programs, readjustment of servicemen to civilian life, and soldiers' and sailors' civil relief.

(C) Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, which shall have authority over matters that are referred to the subcommittee by the Chairman of the full Committee for investigation and appropriate recommendations. *Provided, however,* That the operations of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations shall in no way limit the responsibility of the other subcommittees on the Committee on Veterans' Affairs for carrying out their oversight duties. This subcommittee shall not have legislative jurisdiction and no bills or resolutions shall be referred to it.

In addition, each subcommittee shall have responsibility for such other measures or matters as the Chairman refers to it.

(2) Any vacancy in the membership of a subcommittee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of that subcommittee.

##### REFERRAL TO SUBCOMMITTEES

(b)(1) The Chairman of the Committee may refer a measure or matter, which is within the general responsibility of more than one of the subcommittees of the Committee, as the Chairman deems appropriate.

(2) In referring any measure or matter to a subcommittee, the Chairman of the Committee may specify a date by which the subcommittee shall report thereon to the Committee.

##### POWERS AND DUTIES

(c)(1) Each subcommittee is authorized to meet, hold hearings, receive evidence, and report to the full Committee on all matters referred to it or under its jurisdiction. Subcommittee chairmen shall set dates for hearings and meetings of their respective subcommittees after consultation with the Chairman of the Committee and other subcommittee chairmen with a view toward avoiding simultaneous scheduling of Committee and subcommittee meetings or hearings whenever possible.

(2) Whenever a subcommittee has ordered a bill, resolution, or other matter to be reported to the Committee, the Chairman of the subcommittee reporting the bill, resolution, or matter to the full Committee, or any member authorized by the subcommittee to do so, may report such bill, resolution, or matter to the Committee. It shall be the duty of the Chairman of the subcommittee to report or cause to be reported promptly such bill, resolution, or matter, and to take or cause to be taken the necessary steps to bring such bill, resolution, or matter to a vote.

(3) In any event, the report of any subcommittee on a measure which has been approved by the subcommittee shall be filed within seven calendar days (exclusive of days on which the House is not in session) after the day on which there has been filed with the clerk of the Committee a written request, signed by a majority of the members of the subcommittee, for the reporting of that measure. Upon the filing of any request, the clerk of the Committee shall transmit immediately to the Chairman of the subcommittee notice of the filing of that request.

(4) A member of the Committee who is not a member of a particular subcommittee may sit with the subcommittee during any of its meetings and hearings, but shall not have authority to vote, cannot be counted for a quorum, and cannot raise a point of order at the meeting or hearing.

(d) Each subcommittee of the Committee shall provide the Committee with copies of such records of votes taken in the subcommittee and such other records with respect to the subcommittee as the Chairman of the Committee deems necessary for the Committee to comply with all rules and regulations of the House.

#### RULE 5—TRANSCRIPTS AND RECORDS

(a)(1) There shall be a transcript made of each regular and additional meeting and hearing of the Committee and its subcommittees. Any such transcript shall be a substantially verbatim account of remarks actually made during the proceedings, subject only to technical, grammatical, and typographical corrections authorized by the person making the remarks involved.

(2) The Committee shall keep a record of all actions of the Committee and each of its subcommittees. The record shall contain all information required by clause 2(e)(1) of House rule XI and shall be available for public inspection at reasonable times in the offices of the Committee.

(3) The records of the Committee at the National Archives and Records Administration shall be made available for public use in accordance with House rule XXXVI. The Chairman shall notify the ranking minority member of any decision, pursuant to clause 3(b)(3) or clause 4(b) of the rule, to withhold a record otherwise available, and the matter shall be presented to the Committee for a determination on written request of any member of the Committee.

#### EDUCATION ISSUES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from New York [Mr. OWENS], is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, the State of the Union Address has come and gone, and there are a great deal of items in the State of the Union Address which we must consider carefully. I would like to point out that the one item that received the greatest amount of applause, a standing ovation from both sides of the aisle, was the President's proposals that we go forward and improve education in America on a bipartisan basis; that the partisanship should stop at the schoolhouse door. I am very optimistic that, if nothing else happens in this 105th Congress, we will go forward in a bipartisan team approach and we will improve education.

We stood up and we applauded the President, because the President offered a great deal of vision in this area. He offers a concrete program to follow up on that vision. The President should be applauded. We should not do what I hear some cynics doing on television. The commentators are dismissing the President's speech as having too much rhetoric. He calls on us to understand that we are an indispensable Nation and they call that high-blown rhetoric. But I think the President is to be applauded for the vision expressed in that statement, and for the fact that he is seeking to inspire the Nation. Inspiration is invaluable.

We had a President who had problems with the vision thing, and this President has no problem with the vision thing. The vision thing will not get us there. The vision thing is not enough alone, but it is certainly a good place to begin. We are the indispensable Nation. We are the indispensable people on the face of the Earth. That should not be stated in a boasting manner, it should be stated with a great sense of humility and commitment. If America fails, then the cause of mankind on the planet earth also will fail. We should recognize that.

We should applaud the President for his overall vision. He understands regarding the 21st century and he is inspired by that thought, that he will take us into the 21st century. We should follow that leadership.

We should applaud the Members of Congress who stood up and applauded the President and signaled that they are ready. Democrats and Republicans are ready to follow the President. They are ready to take their own initiatives in the area of education.

This has not always been the case. That has not always been the case. Certainly for the last 2 years in the 104th Congress Democrats and Republicans were going in different directions on education. Never before have the differences been so pronounced as they were 2 years ago when the Republican majority took over the House of Representatives.

The differences were so pronounced that the Republican majority was demanding that the Department of Education be abolished. They made that demand, and they followed up by producing a budget and appropriations process in 1995 which gutted most of the education programs in America. We were going to have an almost \$3.7 billion or just say \$4 billion cut, in 1995 a \$4 billion cut was proposed by the majority party. They know the American people forget these things quickly, and they are right. Despite the fact that there was a horrendous movement to wipe out the role of the Federal Government in education, we fought it to a standstill.

They did not prevail in 1995. The Democratic Party leadership, the members of the Committee on Education and the Workforce who are Democrats waged all-out war for the

minds of the voters of America. We went to the people. We appealed to the common sense of the American people. The polls were clearly showing all the time that education is consistently a high priority with the American people. It is a high priority with the voters.

We let the voters know what was happening here in the Capitol, and the common sense of the American people has expressed itself. Not only did we not have a cut in 1995, they backed down and there were zero cuts in 1995. But a miracle happened in 1996. In the fall of 1996, during the appropriations process, and we applaud the Republican leadership and the Republican majority for this, they reversed themselves totally. Education received one of the largest increases that it has received in a long time, a \$4 billion increase, almost a \$4 billion increase, instead of a \$4 billion cut.

Mr. Speaker, I applaud the common sense of the American people. I congratulate the Congress, especially the members of the majority, for listening. I applaud the Democrats for keeping the issue alive, for going to the American people and appealing to their common sense. I applaud the members of the Committee on Education and the Workforce, Democrats and Republicans. The members of the Committee on Education and the Workforce are not the most popular people in this Congress. Our status is generally very low. In the time that I have been here, for many years we have had to beg people to serve on the Committee on Education and the Workforce. There have been some Members who have consistently been there, both Republicans and Democrats. I want to applaud them for their consistency, I want to applaud them for their fortitude.

The cynics told me when I got here almost 15 years ago, they told me, do not get on the Committee on Education and the Workforce. They tell freshmen that all the time. Do not get on the Committee on Education and the Workforce, it is not a money committee.

You might say, why am I bringing this up, because everybody's mind is on campaign finance reform. Let us see the impact of campaign finance reform on the education issue. There are very good minds and very brilliant people who have refused to join the Committee on Education and the Workforce because in fact they are told you cannot raise any money. It is not a money committee.

Children of America do not have any political action committees. The unions, the teachers unions, the education-represented unions, they have been blown up and made to appear to be bogymen and monsters, but they are very small players when it comes to the financing of political campaigns. So there are some people who allowed themselves to be swayed and not join the Committee on Education and the Workforce because of the fact that it is not a money committee.

I am upset because of the fact that we only have one New Yorker on the committee. I am the only New Yorker on the committee. For a long time I was the only New Yorker. Now I have been joined by the gentlewoman from Long Island [Mrs. MCCARTHY]. I want to welcome Mrs. MCCARTHY. And say now we have two New Yorkers on the committee. The people of New York should understand what I am saying. In the future, let us make certain that we have always a good representation on the Committee on Education and the Workforce. I applaud people who, like myself, have been there for years, and I applaud the newcomers, both Republicans and Democrats.

I want to send a message in this statement that as we go forward to seriously improve education in America we do not want the barbarians to come in, the opportunists to come in and try to dictate what should be done. It is the people on the Committee on Education and the Workforce who have the experience and knowhow, they have been with this problem a long time. Let us at least be willing to follow the leadership in the Congress of the people on the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

We applaud the Republicans for their sudden conversion last year. I am not here to make a great commentary today about the outcome of the election, but it was a stroke of genius, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH], whoever fashioned the reelection strategy of the Republicans, it was a stroke of genius to reverse themselves on education, to give a \$4 billion increase, and to go out and campaign as the friends of education.

They got the message that many of my Democratic leadership colleagues did not get. They got the message, and as we know, many of the contests for reelection were won or lost on the basis of 1 percentage point, 1 percentage point.

I am not going to stand here and claim that the education issue was the determining factor always in every election, but I will make the claim that in a number of those elections, the position or the understanding of the candidate about the issues prevailing in education, the ability to articulate it and communicate it to the voters, appealed to their common sense and they got votes, so it made a difference in many of those elections.

I applaud the genius of the Republican majority for seeing that they had to make that 360-degree turn. Now I hope that we will play no more games. I hope it is clearly understood now that education is a high priority, that education is a national security issue. The voters with their common sense understand that, that when we consider the greatness of America, there is no component in our national effort as important as education. We have always understood this. This is not something new.

The people out there across America have always considered education important. They have always considered it a local matter only, that primarily the States and the localities should deal with it. Common sense dictates that it is not working; that as the world has become more complex, as society has become more complex, the national effort and what we do on a national basis in education becomes important.

Those nations which have some kind of national guidance are producing students far superior to ours. We are not going to duplicate and imitate those nations because we do not necessarily want the kinds of emphases they have, but we should at least have the common sense to see that some central involvement is necessary.

If we have maximum central involvement in America, it would still only be a small part of the whole situation. Right now the amount of money expended for education by the Federal Government is really less than 8 percent. The total amount of money spent on education by the Federal Government, the State governments, and the local governments, is close to \$350 billion. If you consider higher education and all education efforts under one umbrella, the Federal Government is responsible for only 8 percent of that, less than 8 percent. Large amounts of that go into higher education, so local education in the elementary and secondary education area is minuscule. If we increased the Federal involvement and the expenditures by 25-percent, we are still only slightly involved, compared to the local and State governments.

If you had 25 percent involvement of the Federal Government against 75 percent involvement of the State and local governments, and if you translated the 25 percent involvement of the Federal Government into Federal control or attempts at Federal control, we would only have 25-percent of the votes. If there was a vote being taken on education in any locality, and the Federal involvement versus the State and local involvement was a consideration, the State and local governments would have the decision-making power. So there is no threat. There is no threat that the Federal Government would ever take over education.

There is a great need that we have a central area of resource division, a central place for research and development, a central place where we can come and collect statistics and share experiences, so that what is working in Oklahoma can be made to work in my district in Brooklyn; what is working in Florida can be made to work somewhere in Iowa. Iowa, by the way, they have a tremendous education system, and they use telecommunications. Some of the States like Iowa and Idaho are way ahead of places like New York State, especially New York City.

We applaud the fact that there was a turnaround and an end to this hysteria

which was going forward this time 2 years ago, a hysteria which called for the elimination of the Department of Education and a drastic reduction in Federal funds for education.

I want to applaud particularly the chairman of the Committee on Education and the Workforce, although he is a member of the other party, because they were in control. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING], played a major role in this turnaround. He knew what had to be done when the time came, when the conversion within the Republican party, within the leadership, when it came.

Suddenly they understood that they had to follow the common sense of the American people. They needed somebody there with the good sense to tell them how to do it. They needed somebody there to tell them where to make the increase. So the \$4 billion of increase for education is not just money being thrown at the problem. Chairman GOODLING and his colleagues who were there at the table made some wise decisions, and I applaud the work of Chairman GOODLING at that moment, that magic moment in the history of the Republican positionmaking on education.

□ 1045

I applaud the National Education Association, I applaud the American Federation of Teachers, I applaud the United Federation of Teachers in New York City. They are making great contributions day to day in this whole policy debate.

There is a healthy dynamism in America. The school boards, the associations, the various organizations that are going forward on education, they all ought to be applauded. We have averted a disaster. A major disaster in policymaking has been averted. We are at the brink, we were about to go over the cliff. You know, we had a serious situation.

Two years ago at this time the former Secretary of Education, Mr. Lamar Alexander, and the former Secretary of Education, Mr. Bennett, Alexander and Bennett both, who were former Education Secretaries, they both came into a hearing before the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities and they both testified that we should abolish the Department of Education. We were that close to the brink. We were that close to the brink. The majority party said we should abolish the Department of Education.

Now, we are at a stage where both parties rise in thunderous applause when the President says let us go forward without bipartisan obstacles in the area of our quest to improve education in America. So this is a day to celebrate. We should all be saying hallelujah. This is a time to celebrate. There is a dynamism out there among the American people. The common sense of the American voters has prevailed. Our system is working. We are going in the right direction.

I hear the critics every day now. They say, well, the President's proposals on education, they are nickel and dime matters. And I agree with that. I am ready to do far more. But let us first catch our breath. Let us first understand how close we came to disaster and then let us go forward in the right direction.

Now, we have a chance to resolve concrete problems. We have a chance to begin to correct the savage inequalities. There are savage inequalities in our education system. There are schools and school systems that are in a state of emergency.

The New York City school system is in a state of emergency. The New York City school system at the opening of school in September 1996 did not have places for 91,000 children to sit. There were no adequate places, no desks, no places for 91,000 children to sit.

You say, well, that was a state of crisis in September 1996. If you read the papers in New York, if you listen to the mayor of New York, you would think that the crisis is over, but we have never heard, where did they find seats for the 91,000 youngsters?

For days now in the New York City papers there have been articles running about the mayor's plan to have 1,000 youngsters, 1,000 students moved from the public schools to the parochial schools. There is a great brouhaha. And I applaud this. I am not being negative about it.

There is a great deal of discussion about financing. Private industry is coming forward, business is coming forward to finance the tuition for poor youngsters to go to these parochial and private schools, but it is only 1,000. One thousand. Any sophomore in high school would ask the obvious question: Where are the other 90,000? Where are the other 90,000 going? If you had 91,000 that had no places to sit, what happened to the 90,000 if you are only dealing with 1,000? What are you doing at this point?

Well, some of us know that they are sitting in bathrooms in some cases. They are sitting in closets, they are sitting in halls, they are sitting in the assembly auditoriums, they are sitting in cafeterias, cafeterias that are overworked because there are so many students in some schools in my district that they have three lunch periods.

Can you imagine having lunch at 11 o'clock in the morning, 10:30, 11 in the morning? Having lunch. You just had breakfast, but they have to have an early lunch for some kids because they have to have three lunch periods because there are so many youngsters in the school. And they are in a school that was not built for 2,000 youngsters. They were built for half that number.

So where are they putting them all? They are putting them in places which make it difficult to learn. How can you learn if you are sitting in some cramped closet, if you are sitting in a bathroom, if you are sitting in a hallway, if you are in the general assembly

room with several other classes, if you are in the cafeteria with several other classes? But this is the state of emergency that faces New York City at this point.

So I am here to praise the President for his rhetoric and his vision. I am here to applaud the Congress for responding positively to that, but I am also here to praise the President for his concrete proposals that will address the emergencies in situations like this all across America.

New York City is in trouble and most of the big city schools are in trouble. Most of the big city, inner city schools are in trouble. There is a correlation between the difficulties and the state of emergency in the big city, inner city schools and the racial composition. Racism in America is not dead, it is still very much a factor in decision-making.

Decisions are made by people who are not the parents of the children in these inner city schools. The people who are making the decisions at the city council and the mayoral level in many cases are not reflective of the populations of the schools. Certainly the people who make the big decisions at the State level are not reflective.

What you have across America in several big cities is still a rule which says you finance schools on the basis of the State gives aid, as they do in New York State, on the basis of attendance and not enrollment. State aid is given on the basis of the number of children attending school on a specific number of days where the schools are monitored.

Now, that is a swindle, and every big State with big cities across the country, they tied into that swindle at one time, some States having changed it. It is a swindle.

It is a way to take money away from inner city, urban schools which have large populations of children but they do not attend school regularly. If you catch them in the attendance game, and you have certain days where you test, you are going to find the attendance in the inner city, urban schools is not as great in relation to the number of youngsters who are eligible to attend; of the number of youngsters who are a certain school age, it is not as great as it is in the surrounding suburbs of the big cities. It is not as great as it is in the rural areas of the States.

So for a long time cities like New York have been swindled out of their fair share of State aid. For a long time the expenditure per pupil in the big cities has been far less than State expenditures in the suburbs and in the surrounding rural areas. So it is not by accident that you have a state of emergency; that you do not have a building program which would keep up with the growth of the youthful population in New York City.

The overall population of New York City has not jumped. It might have gone down slightly. Now it is on the roll, going up again. We fluctuate be-

tween 7½ and 8 million people in New York City as a whole.

But we clearly understood the demographics in terms of age, and for some time now we have understood that there was a burgeoning youthful population. We understood that even before the impact of large numbers of immigrants. When we had the immigrants coming in with children and we looked at the statistics in terms of age, we knew for some time that New York City would have a space problem, a facility problem; that we would not be able to give a seat to the young people who were coming into the schools if we did not do something.

We had a chancellor named Ramon Cortines. Ramon Cortines laid out a plan for a building and repair program over 5 to 10 years, and he had a price tag on that plan. And Ramon Cortines was run out of town by our mayor. Mayor Giuliano browbeat, harassed, and pushed Ramon Cortines until he finally left town. He said, "I give up."

When he left town there was no more discussion of the plan to renovate, repair, and rebuild schools in New York City. And then in September 1996 the bomb fell. The bomb fell and we understood that we had a problem of 91,000 children.

This is hard for most of America to comprehend. Most of the school districts across America do not have 91,000 children in the whole school district. Most school districts in America have trouble getting up to 25,000. So it is hard to comprehend.

But stop and think about the fact that there are 8 million people approximately in New York City. There are a million youngsters in the school system of New York. We have 60,000 teachers, and most of the school districts across America do not have 60,000 pupils. We have 60,000 teachers. We have a million young people. We have more than a thousand school buildings.

So you can have a situation where 91,000 out of a million do not have a place to sit if you do not plan properly, if you play politics with education, if you drive the superintendent, the chancellor we call him there—it is a huge system. We have superintendents at the local level. We have 32 local school boards, 32 local superintendents, then we have the central board of education and we have the chancellor who presides over all of this. It is necessary in a complex city like New York.

I am not here to criticize the structure. I am here to criticize the fact that at the local level, where it had to be first, the mayor of the City of New York blundered politically, mightily. The same mentality that was driving the majority here in the fall of 1995 drove the city hall Republicans to drive Ramon Cortines out of town.

So here we are now in February. We had a crisis in September. What happened to the crisis? It has not been resolved. I want to applaud the United Federation of Teachers for going to court. They brought a lawsuit against

the city and said, look, these crowded classrooms, too many students in one class, no proper place to sit others, it is against the negotiated contract where certain conditions are supposed to be provided. It is not safe for children.

They mentioned very much that you are at the level where you are not just talking about an atmosphere that is not conducive to learning, you are at a level where you are talking about an atmosphere where it is unsafe for children. You are at a level where, if we really enforced the health code properly, you would probably have to close down some of the classrooms. There are too many bodies, too many youngsters in some of these schools.

So when the President proposes some concrete proposal like his seventh proposal in his education proposal in his State of the Union message, "We cannot expect our children to raise themselves up in schools that are literally falling down. With the student population at an all-time high and record numbers of school buildings falling into disrepair, this has now become a serious national concern," the schools need an emergency effort.

"Therefore," the President said, "my budget includes a new initiative: \$5 billion to help communities finance \$20 billion of school construction over the next 4 years." He has a \$5 billion program which deals with the immediate emergency and he has a larger program which deals with additional construction.

I do not know the terms of this program. I suspect that the President and I may not agree on the terms. We need outright grants, Mr. President. We need outright grants. I want the whole Congress to know that we cannot have the meaning of the emergency be contingent upon the money available at the local level or the money available at the State level.

If you have a crisis, you need the money. If you have a crisis, a disaster, you should react. New York is in a state of education crisis. When California has an earthquake, when California has mud slides or hurricanes, when Florida has hurricanes, when the Midwest has floods, we respond to them as disasters and we give the full amount. We do not say, "We will give you 90 percent funding to cover the cost."

We gave California more than \$8 billion to deal with the earthquake and related disasters. We gave the Midwest nearly \$6 billion to deal with the flood and related disasters. We gave Florida nearly \$6 billion to deal with the hurricane disaster. We deal with natural disasters. Why can we not deal with a disaster that has been made by blundering of elected officials and for whatever reason?

The children should not suffer because we have had a crisis situation, exemplified by the fact that 91,000 youngsters had no place to sit on opening school day. If the leadership of New York City is not able to come to our rescue, if we do not have it there, then

let us consider it the way we consider the emergencies in Haiti, Bosnia. We have a local leadership crisis. The leadership cannot rise to the occasion. They are not dealing with the emergency.

□ 1100

It is February now and they are still talking about the placement of 1,000 youngsters in private schools and nobody is concerned about the other 90,000. Thank you, Mr. President, for your initiative on education construction, on construction, school construction. We look forward to working with you on that.

As I said before, I want to applaud the fact that we are going in the right direction. I am talking about the education initiative of President Clinton as exemplified by his State of the Union Address, and I want to talk to all of the cynical voters out there in America who think, who say, and really believe that politicians do not really make a great contribution to our society on a systematic basis. That is sheer nonsense.

We have term limits. Part of the philosophy behind term limits is that anybody can do this job. Anybody can be a politician. There is nothing serious at stake here. That is a dangerous, wrong-headed notion. Most dangerous. You do not ask for a surgeon who is new and fresh, you do not ask for a lawyer who is new and fresh, you do not ask for anybody in any responsible endeavor who is new. Newness is not a virtue anywhere else, except in politics suddenly. Suddenly you say, new people coming in once every 6 years and that is the answer to our political logjam, our gridlock, and corruption. It is not the answer.

There is a need for continuity, and in the area of education, continuity, political wisdom, institutional memory, the participation of elected officials at every level, all of that has brought us to this moment in history where we have averted a major disaster in educational policy making and we have launched a new crusade for a bipartisan effort to improve education.

This is a major, pivotal, landmark place that we stand in. We did not come here by accident. I am sure God had a lot to do with it, but we have step by step as individuals, as human beings, brought ourselves to this place. Republicans and Democrats have to be given the credit. If President Reagan had never launched the study of the crisis in American education and we did not come back with a study, "A Nation at Risk," we would have never had President Bush launching America 2000. President Bush launched America 2000 where he set forth the goals that we should strive for in education.

Those are the same goals that President Clinton is also espousing now. He has added a few, but those same six, the first six, are still there. President Bush launched this. He took it to the Governors' conference. Among those

politicians, those Governors, who are politicians, was Bill Clinton. Bill Clinton endorsed the idea then. There has been a continuity. The Governor of Colorado, Governor Romer, has been one of the key factors all along in this process. The Governors made a decision about standards. All the way back under George Bush, we were talking about trying to move toward national standards; national standards, not Federal standards; national standards developed by the appropriate people, and no State would have to automatically participate in those national standards. The national curriculum and the national standards are voluntary, State by State. That has always been there, from Bush to Clinton, and it prevails right now.

They called for national testing. It has always been there. Bush, Clinton. In Bush's America 2000 plan, it was there. It continues under Clinton. There has been a continuity under all the politicians. There have been some disagreements about the pace, there has been disagreement about the emphasis. Under Bush we had a greater emphasis on choice and vouchers, and it threw a lot of the other parts of his program off track. But the other parts were there.

I was the chairman of the Subcommittee on Select Education at the time that President Bush launched America 2000. We were engaged in a reauthorization of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement. We prepared a report at that time which is entitled Education 2005, the Role of Research and Development in an Overwhelming Campaign for Education in America.

This was issued in August 1991. The Role of Research and Development in an Overwhelming Campaign for Education in America. We called it Education 2005. That was 1991. We looked at the situation and said over a 15-year period, we should strive to achieve the goals set by America 2000, and we talked about specific ways to implement those goals, and we talked about the role of educational research and improvement in those goals. The process of implementing them had to be buttressed by research and development.

It is amazing how many of the things that are contained in this report, how many recommendations, have gone forward. It is amazing how the Congressional Black Caucus budget, which was put on the floor in 1995 and met the requirement of being balanced by the year 2002, we met the requirement. We were told you cannot bring your budget to the floor unless the budget shows how you are going to have a balanced budget in 2002, and they thought they had us stymied.

How can the Congressional Black Caucus which wants to recommend more money for social programs, more money for education, Head Start, Medicare, Medicaid, how can they come to the floor with a balanced budget? We

came to the floor with a balanced budget. We showed where you can get the revenue to do what you want to do. You can get the revenue by not taxing families in America. In fact, we called for a tax decrease, and I intend to push for an even greater call among the members of the Congressional Black Caucus and the members of the Democratic caucus for a tax decrease. The people in America, all of the families and individuals deserve a decrease in their taxes.

The problem in America is that we have a situation where we did a topsy-turvy thing. In 1944 we reversed the way income taxes are collected proportionally. In 1944 we had a situation where only 27 percent of the income taxes collected in America came from families and individuals, and almost 44 percent came from corporations. We reversed that.

In 1983 under Ronald Reagan, the contribution of corporations to the income tax went down to 6 percent while the individual taxes leaped up to 44 percent of the total. So that reversal is the problem.

What we need in America is a great cut in the taxes for individuals and families and an increase in the taxes on corporations, because corporations are where they are making the money. It is like Slick Willie Sutton said when asked, "Why do you rob banks?" His answer was an obvious one: "That's where the money is."

The money is in the corporations that are going forward. Wall Street has the biggest boom in its history. We have 10 percent of the population of America who derive tremendous amounts of income from the corporations, making far more than they ever made in their lives.

Now is the time for a tax cut for average American families and you can balance that off by getting rid of corporate welfare, some of the loopholes we have which give subsidies to corporations, and also raising corporate taxes. I am not here today to talk about that.

But we balanced the budget. The Congressional Black Caucus balanced the budget. My point here is that the Congressional Black Caucus proposed in the spring of 1995 when the budget was introduced, we proposed in this budget that you increase the funds for education by 25 percent. We showed how you can increase the funds for education by 25 percent. We proposed those increases.

The President's budget that is being offered here this week proposes to increase the funding for education by 20 percent. There are some people who are members of the Congressional Black Caucus who have said, this is a futile effort; why do we even prepare a budget and take it to the floor? There are some people out there among our constituents who say, why do you bother? You go to the floor, you get 57, 58 votes for the Congressional Black Caucus budget.

Here is the proof. We offered the vision. We offered a vision. It has happened over and over again, that what appears in a Congressional Black Caucus budget in one year, 5 years later is almost fully adopted.

We are going at a faster pace now. What appeared in our budget in the spring of 1995, we had a tiny fraction of the adopting of that in the fall of 1996 by the Republican majority. Some of the increases that we asked for in the Congressional Black Caucus budget, the Republican majority gave them to us in 1996.

Now we have a President who is calling for a 20 percent increase. Twenty percent. The Congressional Black Caucus budget called for 25 percent. Twenty percent. Where are the increases going to go that the President proposes?

Head Start. We called for full funding of Head Start. The President does not propose full funding by 2000 but he is proposing that we fund at least 1 million youngsters across the country by 2000. Okay, Mr. President, you are going in the right direction. You have accelerated your speed. We applaud that.

We proposed that Pell grants be increased. The President is proposing an increase in Pell grants. I could go right down the line. We have it in the Congressional Black Caucus budget for 1995 and 1996. It is not a futile gesture.

I hope that voters out there who are cynical about this whole process understand one of the reasons America is a great country is because that boiling that takes place, the contention, the debate, all of it does produce positive results.

It takes a long time sometimes. But as long as you are moving in the right direction, do not abandon the process, do not give up. Our democracy is working. God moves in mysterious ways. I cannot figure out the mystery. I wish the Democrats would regain control of the House and less mystery. But the movement in mysterious ways should not stop us from going forward and being positive. On this one issue, we can demonstrate all together, both the voters and the Members of Congress, everybody at every decision making level, demonstrate that America can go forward and build the best school system in the world.

Why bother to do that? If we are truly what the President says, the indispensable Nation, then one of the ways we are indispensable is by setting models, being the role model for the rest of the world.

H. G. Wells talked about education; history is a race between education and catastrophe. It is still true. If we do not have education, if we do not go beyond technological education, which is very important because it improves ways to release people from having to struggle to make a living so their minds are free and you can get the opportunity for education, it generates the revenue.

Capitalism and technology. Capitalism has shown, and we ought to end that debate. We ought to end the debate on what the best economic system is. For the Chinese and for the Americans, for the Australians and for the Russians, for everybody, capitalism is the best system, proven by experimentation. Proven. They say in social areas you cannot really prove anything, and I am using the word "proof" loosely. Only in science and math can you prove things conclusively. I think we have enough experience to say capitalism is the best system. It is the best system because it understands human nature, it understands the need for incentives, it understands the danger of bureaucracy, the danger of smugness, the danger of people who are very inspired and very enthusiastic but when they get in a certain situation, the lethargy sets in.

You have got to have the ferment of capitalism, the push. But there are dangers in capitalism. Capitalism now must be accepted as the best economic system. We have to go forward to refine capitalism and make capitalism work in tandem with democracy.

What is campaign finance reform all about? It is about keeping capitalism in check. Do not let the people who have the money take over the running of the Government through their campaign financing. It is as simple as that. We have laissez faire. We have always said leave business alone, leave the economic system to its own dynamic process, it will work itself out, working out the marketplace process.

The marketplace has been left alone, very much so, in America. We have set an example for the rest of the world. Even China, with a Communist government, is building a capitalistic economic system. So they understand that.

The problem is that laissez faire has to work both ways. You cannot have the capitalists, power accumulated, try to take over the Democratic processes. You have to have a balance. So checks and balances are necessary. Capitalism is king. We want to go forward and show the world that it is the best system.

Education is a vital part of keeping both capitalism working and democracy working. In this complex society, the Nation which learns best how to educate human beings, the Nation which learns best how to develop its human resources and how to maximize its human potential, wasting nobody, allowing everybody to add value, every individual can add value by education. The mechanic who works on the airplane is as valuable as the pilot who flies it. I do not worry, when I fly, about the training that the pilot got. I know that the most expensive training in America is given to airline pilots. The cost of the training that they go through is the most expensive in America. I worry about the training that the mechanic got who put the nut in the right place. I worry about the training

that the man who lubricated the thing got, that he used the right pump. I worry about him knowing his job.

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Everybody in a complex society like ours has to know what they are doing. They add, you add value to them at every level and neglect nobody and therefore, you know, that is why the present system is so good. He talks about everybody being educated beyond high school, the opportunity for 2 more years, and I hope that we are going to be smart enough not to combine, you know, confine that to academic education; you know, the plumbers, the electricians, the computer specialists.

There is a whole lot of people do not need to pass academic tests and who can do a great job, and we should not rule them out just because they cannot pass academic tests. We should not have these rigid rules which doom a certain portion of our population to unemployment and deny them the chance to earn a very good income.

There are many people who are plumbers who, as you know, earn far higher salaries than teachers. There are many people who are plumbers and carpenters and contractors who never went to school, went to college, who know how to operate a business far better than college graduates. There are many geniuses that have developed in our times, the last 20, 30 years, who did not finish college. I do not know how far Bill Gates got. He had a lot of folks around him who did not finish. The guy who developed Federal Express in my hometown of Memphis, you know, his professors told him the idea would not work.

We know in America that academic education is important, but let us not get you caught in the trap where we devalue the education.

In New York City we have a problem with Apex Institute, came to me recently, said, "Look, we got a situation now where they are setting some new criteria and people who used to come in because they have the aptitude in order to do the job, they got to pass a written test now. They have to pass a written test. They can't get in here and take a one-year course or a 6-month course which will allow them to go out and get their license in refrigeration or get their license in auto mechanics work, you know."

So education adds value. The nation that learns how to educate the population, how to get the maximum development out of its population will be the nation that leads the world in the future.

You might say, well, you know there is some people just cannot be educated. Well, the challenge is there. Everybody can be educated. Make the assumption. We have in America every kind of population you can imagine. We have in America every educational challenge that you can imagine. If you meet the challenges in America, you can go anywhere in the world and say: "Look, we

have the model. People have problems with language, the bilingual education problem. We have solved the problem and certainly gone a long way toward dealing with the problem. We have the problem of low-income people who have no vision, no hope, who are beat down so until they need to be motivated, who have no previous history of education, the human capital that is in every college, every home where you have parents with college graduates."

What we take for granted, people who graduate from college, they bring to their home human capital that their children feed into long before the child ever goes to school, that even as they go to school they are also piggybacking off the knowledge and the culture of the parents. What if there are large numbers out there whose parents have never gone to college or never gone to high school? What about the descendants of slaves, who for 232 years had a deficit accumulating? Nobody got an education. States passed laws which forbade teaching reading to slaves.

So you got a deficit of 232 years in the population of the descendants of slaves like myself. Not only do you have a deficit economically where we did not have a chance to accumulate any capital because our parents, our forefathers could not own property. So we cannot pass that down, and rich, you know wealth, in America, a large part of it is money that is passed on from one generation to another. We are a group of people, the descendants of slaves, who did not have the benefit of having that wealth passed on to us. So we are the least wealthy in terms of capital.

Even the black middle class, by the way, which has closed the gap in terms of income, earning power, they have a great gap between black middle class and the white middle class in terms of wealth because wealth is defined in the terms of assets. They have property and stocks and bonds, et cetera. Many other people in America who have those assets, property, stocks and bonds, inherited, had a large portion of it passed on by parents.

There have been a couple of books written about this; that is not on my topic for today.

I want to close out back to education. What I am trying to say is that if you fully address the education problem in America, if you try to educate everybody, if you meet every challenge with every group, problems related to income, problems related to language, problems related to ethnic background, meet every problem, you will be in a position to offer solutions to the rest of the world. But more important than that, your population will be functioning fully because the future belongs to those who can master technology and also master political civility, law and order. You can have a nation which is advanced technologically which destroys itself because it has not mastered civility, political civility, law and order, democracy is not working.

We have seen a great example, the great giant Soviet Union collapsed. In the great giant Soviet Union, now the parts of it, many people are beggars. It is pitiful to watch people with Ph.D.'s, people with high degrees, great deal of knowledge who cannot find jobs in the Soviet Union.

The head of the Soviet Union nuclear program, the man in charge of all the nuclear programs in the Soviet Union, the man who helped as a young person to produce the hydrogen bomb, who caught up with American technology, that man recently committed suicide. You know why he committed suicide? Because the people in his institute had not been paid in many months, and finally when the Soviet Government sent the payment they only sent 1 month's pay. He gave up on the whole system. He took a gun to his head and he shot himself.

That is where a great nation with great technological advances, the Soviets, put a space ship up there long before we did, the Soviets have the record in terms of longevity in space, they have marvelous kinds of inventions of many kinds. Our space and technology program now is using the Soviet program to improve itself. We are in contract with the Soviets on a lot of engines and various gadgets which improve the ability of our space program to perform.

But that great advanced technological society has collapsed economically because first it collapsed politically. They had closed door, central command decision making, they lost touch with the people, common sense went out the window, folks sitting there saying destroy this and destroy that; look only to the expenditures for war, and they collapsed.

Before the Soviet Union we had the German empire, Hitler's Third Reich which was as technologically advanced as any society ever in the history of the world. Not only did Hitler's Third Reich collapse, but before it collapsed it produced a horror never before seen on the face of the Earth.

So we need education for technological improvements, we need education for national security, but if we do not educate our populace in ways which guarantee that they are able to handle the complexities of democracy then we are going to find ourselves, no matter how technologically advanced we are, going down to doom.

If the people of America continue not to come out to vote, as they did in the last election where you had a decrease in the number of people who came out to vote—Presidential elections are the most important elections we hold. If we do not get people out on Presidential election, you know you are really in serious trouble. Well, we saw a decline in the number of people coming out to vote. The percentage went up.

The only place where you had a pronounced increase in the number of people who came out to vote was in black

male voters, and of course they had an easy jump because of so few before, but nevertheless they increased. They see a threat in the kinds of policies that are being promulgated. In the black community overall there was an increase, small percentage but there was an increase. It did not go down. They see a threat in the kinds of policies being promulgated.

So the democracy is working. Will it work fast enough? And in the long run what about the problem of all of the people who are better off who did not bother to go out to vote? The great middle class, second to the middle class, did not vote, the working class did not vote. What is going to happen? Unless we have better education our system is going to fall apart. So we need education for that reason, too.

Telecommunications can play a major role in this education process. The President has proposed that, among his proposals, we go forward and educate our population partially using telecommunications, educational technology.

Why is it so difficult to understand that the Army, the Navy, the Marines, they have been using it for a long time. Government bureaucracy has been using it for a long time, simple use of videos. You do not have to get into computerized instruction, but there are a thousand ways being developed in industry, in the military, that we can apply in our school system, especially in areas where children have great difficulty and see an increase in education performance.

I am going to close by again going back to my beginning, where I applauded the President and I did not applaud some people in my own district. We have a thing called Central Brooklyn NetWatch, which is going to wire the schools in our district. We are going to wire the schools because we had NetDay on September 21, and NetDay, which is a day where volunteers come out and wire the schools. There is a national pool where they buy the equipment and the supplies. You can get for \$500 enough to wire the school, one school. The wiring definition is you wire five classrooms plus the library.

Now, in New York City we did not have very many wires. The Governor of New York was in charge of the Net. He announced that 3,000 schools in the State were wired, but I could not find one in my district, and my district has 70 elementary and junior high schools and 10 high schools, and only one is wired. Then I looked for all New York City and very few were wired there.

So we came up with NetWatch. This is a group who signed these to technology. We are trying to wire schools in our district on an ongoing basis in harmony with the President's program.

But I want to conclude on a rhetorical note, you might say, or a poetic note. The poet who recited the poem at the President's inauguration was a tremendously profound man, was a profound poem, and I congratulate him.



But I was a little worried about the style of it, and I think that in the future Presidents ought to commission a whole group of poets in different styles, and one may be chosen of course but we ought to publish a book of different styles of celebrating America, and I choose to celebrate America in the following way:

#### INDISPENSABLE NATION

Under God  
The indivisible indispensable Nation  
Guardian of the pivotal generation  
Most fortunate of all the lands  
For a brief moment  
The whole world we hold in our hands  
Internet sorcery computer magic  
Tiny spirits make opportunity tragic  
We are the indispensable Nation  
Guardian of the pivotal generation  
Millionaires must rise to see the need  
Or smother beneath their splendid greed  
Capitalism is king  
With potential to be Pope  
Banks hoard gold  
That would fertilize universal hope  
Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, King  
Make your star spangled the legacy sting  
Dispatch your ghosts  
To bring us global visions  
Indispensable leaders

Need profound decisions  
Internet sorcery computer  
Tiny spirits make opportunity tragic  
We are the indispensable Nation  
Guardian of the pivotal generation  
With liberty and justice for the world  
Under God.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. OWENS) and to include extraneous material:)

Mr. DINGELL.  
Mr. HAMILTON.  
Ms. WOOLSEY.  
Mr. KUCINICH.  
Ms. DEGETTE.  
Mr. HOYER.  
Mr. PALLONE.  
Mr. PASCRELL.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SNOWBARGER) and to include extraneous material:)

Mr. LOBIONDO.  
Mr. ROHRBACHER.

Mr. FAWELL.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. OWENS) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. MEEHAN in two instances.  
Mr. FAZIO of California.  
Mr. BARR of California.  
Mr. DAVIS of Virginia.  
Mr. LAHOOD.  
Mr. HUNTER.  
Mr. DINGELL.  
Mr. QUINN.  
Mr. FOGLIETTA.  
Mrs. MINK of Hawaii.  
Mr. FORBES.  
Mr. FILNER.

#### ADJOURNMENT

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

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 11 o'clock and 28 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, February 10, 1997, at 2 p.m.

#### EXPENDITURE REPORTS CONCERNING OFFICIAL FOREIGN TRAVEL

Reports and amended reports concerning the foreign currencies and U.S. dollars utilized by various committees of the House of Representatives for official foreign travel during the second, third and fourth quarters of 1996, as well as a consolidated report of expenditures by various delegations and individuals authorized for official foreign travel by the Speaker, House of Representatives, during the third and fourth quarters of 1996, and the expenditures for official foreign travel by various miscellaneous groups, House of Representatives, pursuant to Public Law 95-384, are as follows:

#### REPORT OF EXPENDITURES FOR OFFICIAL FOREIGN TRAVEL, COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, EXPENDED BETWEEN APR. 1 AND JUNE 30, 1996

Name of Member or employee	Date		Country	Per diem <sup>1</sup>		Transportation		Other purposes		Total	
	Arrival	Departure		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency <sup>2</sup>	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency <sup>2</sup>	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency <sup>2</sup>	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency <sup>2</sup>
Hon. Tom Bevill .....	3/31	3/31	Panama .....				( <sup>3</sup> )				
	3/31	4/2	Ecuador .....		326.00		( <sup>3</sup> )				326.00
	4/2	4/5	Chile .....		848.00		( <sup>3</sup> )				848.00
	4/5	4/8	Argentina .....		822.00		( <sup>3</sup> )				822.00
	4/8	4/14	Brazil .....		1,383.00		( <sup>3</sup> )				1,383.00
Hon. Charles Wilson .....	3/31	4/2	England .....		576.00						576.00
	4/3	4/8	Pakistan .....		868.00						868.00
	4/8	4/10	Egypt .....		406.00						406.00
	4/11	4/13	Azerbaijan .....								-0-
	4/14	4/18	France .....		912.00						912.00
Commercial airfare .....							11,210.00				11,210.00
Hon. Frank Wolf .....	4/12	4/13	Bosnia .....		240.00		( <sup>4</sup> )				240.00
Gregory Dahlberg .....	4/10	4/14	United Kingdom .....		864.00						864.00
Commercial airfare .....							4,982.00				4,982.00
James W. Dyer .....	4/10	4/14	United Kingdom .....		864.00						864.00
Commercial airfare .....							4,982.00				4,982.00
Charles Flickner .....	3/30	4/3	Haiti .....		552.45						552.45
Commercial airfare .....							642.95				642.95
R. Scott Lilly .....	4/10	4/14	United Kingdom .....		864.00						864.00
Commercial airfare .....							4,982.00				4,982.00
Carol Murphy .....	4/10	4/14	United Kingdom .....		864.00						864.00
Commercial airfare .....							4,947.95				4,947.95
Julie Pacquing .....	4/2	4/3	Croatia .....		230.00						230.00
	4/3	4/7	Austria .....		1,012.00						1,012.00
	4/7	4/10	Hungary .....		636.00						636.00
Commercial airfare .....							5,628.00				5,628.00
John Plashal .....	4/10	4/14	United Kingdom .....		864.00						864.00
Commercial airfare .....							4,982.00				4,982.00
Committee total .....					13,131.45		42,356.90				55,488.35
Surveys and Investigations staff:											
Richard A. Helmer .....	5/11	5/16	England .....		1,130.25		4,651.02		153.25		5,934.52
Robert W. Lautrup .....	5/11	5/16	England .....		1,130.25		4,651.02		166.18		5,947.45
Robert J. Reitwiesner .....	5/11	5/16	England .....		1,130.25		4,651.02		156.64		5,937.91
Committee total .....					3,390.75		13,953.06		476.07		17,819.88

<sup>1</sup> Per diem constitutes lodging and meals.

<sup>2</sup> If foreign currency is used, enter U.S. dollar equivalent; if U.S. currency is used, enter amount expended.

<sup>3</sup> Military air transportation.

<sup>4</sup> Transportation by private organization.