

these critical accounts, delaying needed airport improvement programs such as those going on in Des Moines today.

More importantly, a depletion of the trust fund poses a very real and very serious safety threat to our already strained air traffic infrastructure. I believe that we will be gambling with public safety if we fail to act promptly to extend the ticket tax.

The ticket tax has been a regular feature of airline travel since 1970. Although it lapsed at the end of last year, passage of this bill is not a new tax. It is an extension of an existing one which has expired.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of this important legislation.

□ 1500

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SOLOMON). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER] that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 668.

The question was taken.

Mr. HILLEARY. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 5 of rule I and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

PERMISSION FOR SPEAKER TO ENTERTAIN MOTIONS TO SUSPEND THE RULES ON WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1997

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday, February 26, 1997, the Speaker be authorized to entertain motions to suspend the rules and pass the following two bills: H.R. 624, the Armored Car Reciprocity Amendments of 1997; and H.R. 497, to repeal the Federal charter of group hospitalization and medical services.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO INSERT PROGRAM AND REMARKS OF MEMBER REPRESENTING THE HOUSE AT GEORGE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY CEREMONIES

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the program and the remarks of the gentlewoman from Maryland [Mrs. MORELLA], the Member representing the House of Representatives at the wreath-laying ceremony at the Washington Monument for the observance of George Washington's birthday on Thursday, February 20, 1997, be inserted in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

A TRIBUTE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON
(By Congresswoman Connie Morella)

Honored guests, ladies and gentlemen.

We gather here today at this monument in this great federal city of Washington to

honor George Washington, the father and founder of our country. He was a soldier, a nation builder, and a statesman—and, thanks to that mythmaker Parson Weems, a man who could never tell a lie.

As every school child knows, along with that cherry tree tale, Washington was Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Armies, and led the American colonies in their war of revolution against the British Crown.

For eight long years, through many defeats and hardships, Washington led his army of farmers, shopkeepers, and backwoodsmen against the mighty forces of King George III. Many doubted he would succeed, but he stayed the course, never wavering until finally the British were defeated and American independence was won.

(As an aside, I have to remind all the Virginians present that Maryland too has a certain connection to Washington. Monumentally and personally.)

I would like to point out that most of the marble facing for the monument came from Maryland—with a little help from Massachusetts!

As a Marylander, I am very proud to also point out that General Washington, after saying goodbye to his officers in New York City, traveled to Annapolis, Maryland, where the Congress was sitting. Two days before Christmas in 1783, Washington resigned as Commander-in-chief "with satisfaction the Appointment I accepted with diffidence. . . Having now finished the work assigned me, I now retire from the great theater of Action." Or so he thought.

Washington hoped to return to his beloved Mount Vernon, there to resume his life as a country gentleman and farmer. But, as we all know, our struggling young country needed him again, and again he answered the call to serve: to ensure our newly won independence, to help transform the government of the new nation from the Articles of Confederation to the Constitution, and then to lead the new republic through its earliest days as its President.

Incidentally, a few of our Founding Fathers were rather smitten by royalty. In fact, John Adams proposed that we call our chief executive "High Royal Highness, the President of the United States, and the Protector of the Liberties of the States." How's that for a title? Fortunately, Washington prevailed, and the title became simply "Mr. President."

Today, we search for role models, for leaders whose steadfastness, character, and selflessness will inspire our children to be good citizens, to use their talents in the service of their communities and country. My friends, we serve our children and grandchildren well when we celebrate the life and career of George Washington.

In 1814, fifteen years after Washington's death, Thomas Jefferson reflected upon his friend, our Friend President:

"His mind was great and powerful. . . no judgment was ever sounder. . . Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was prudence, never acting until every circumstance, every consideration, was maturely weighed, refraining if he saw a doubt, but, when once decided, going through with his purpose. . . His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known. . . He was indeed, in every sense of the words, a wise, a good, and a great man."

Ladies and gentlemen, I can add nothing more.

PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON
265TH BIRTHDAY OBSERVANCE

Thursday, February 20, 1997, 11:00 am,
Washington Monument, Washington, DC.

PROGRAM

Opening: Arnold Goldstein, Superintendent, National Capital Parks Central.

Presentation of Colors: Joint Armed Services Color Guard.

To the Colors: Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps.

Pledge of Allegiance: Cub Scout Stephen Strenio, Cub Scout Pack 461, Bethesda, Maryland.

Welcome: Superintendent Goldstein.

Musical Selection: Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps.

Remarks: Russell Train, First Vice President, Washington National Monument Society.

Remarks: Terry Carlstrom, Acting Regional Director, National Capital Region, National Park Service.

Remarks: Honorable Constance Morella, Maryland Eighth District, U.S. House of Representatives.

Presentation of the Wreaths: The Wreath of the U.S. House of Representatives, Honorable Constance Morella. The Wreath of the Washington National Monument Society, Russell Train. The Wreath of the National Park Service, Terry Carlstrom.

TAPS

RETIRING OF THE COLORS

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. (Mr. GEKAS). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

WITHDRAWAL OF REQUEST FOR SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. (Mr. GEKAS). The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GEKAS] withdraws his request for a special order.

THE ISSUE OF EDUCATION AND THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

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, we are again quite pleased to observe that the bipartisan consensus on education is rolling forward. I heard this morning a colleague speak of a new initiative to get Congressmen to go into the classrooms.

We have had such initiatives in New York, where they want you to be a principal or teacher for a day, for some time. These kinds of initiatives are minuscule in terms of the overall problem of improving education, but they are important. It is important to have as much contact as possible.

I understand over the weekend there was a special conference held in Chicago on education as it impacts upon the black community. Nowhere is it more important than in the black community that we take a close look at what is happening with education. The crisis in education is very much the number one crisis in the African-American community.

Anybody who takes any look at what is happening there, any proposals that are put forward, any new initiatives related to the mobilization of the institutions within the African-American community to deal with education, is doing a great service. It ought to be a priority for all of our churches, it ought to be a priority for all of our civil rights institutions, our fraternities, our local community-based organizations.

Nothing is more important in the African-American community than education. Nothing is more important in America as a whole right now than education, but there is a particular crisis in the African-American community, because the great majority of African-American children live in the inner city communities of America.

The inner city communities have had a situation where the education effort has been devastated over and over again. I speak of the education effort in New York City, I speak of the education effort in Chicago and Philadelphia, in Los Angeles. All over, where you have the greatest concentration of African-Americans and minorities, you are going to have a major crisis, and it is related to power and politics.

The people who have the power, the people who make the decisions about education funding, have moved out of the cities. They live in the suburbs. They live outside of cities. They run the State government and they run the municipal government. Even when they live outside of municipal areas or city areas, they control the institutions. They are the heads of the organizations. They have the political action funding. They are in charge of cities.

Cities are not ruled by the people who live there, they are ruled by people that have power, and the people who have power have residency in the suburbs, but they have the power base still, they control the power base in the city.

Of course, State governments are primarily responsible for the funding of education. State governments have the primary responsibility for education. City governments only exist at the pleasure of State governments. The role of city governments, municipal governments, in education is a role that is worked out with the State. The State has the last word. State governments are primarily controlled by people who are concerned about suburban and other than urban communities.

Right across the country we have had for years a situation where State governments have systematically swindled city governments out of education money. Education funding has been based on a formula that has been repeated from one place to another. In the city of Chicago, in the city of New York, in the city of Philadelphia they are confronted by a situation where the State government rules that money for education shall be distributed on the basis of attendance.

A simple formula like that swindles the city, because large numbers of

youngsters in the inner city communities come from poor homes, and people in poverty, wherever they are, regardless of what group they are in, go to school less. They are likely to be absent for one reason or another: The kid did not have a decent pair of shoes, the mother was sick and he had to stay home to take care of the mother, the little brother was sick and the mother wanted him to stay home because she had to go somewhere; all kinds of problems happen in families that are under pressure.

There is a correlation between attendance at school and poverty, a direct correlation. The States know this but they take advantage of it by insisting that the formula for the distribution of dollars is based on attendance, not enrollment. If you changed that little formula, and the distribution of money to the school systems in the States was based on enrollment instead of attendance, you would automatically get an increase in the replacement of funds available from State governments to city governments. But that is a swindle well known. That is why it has been a pattern right across the country. They all do it.

So the power lies somewhere else. Unfortunately, and it is a bit of a barbaric observation, the concern with children goes with the power. They are not as concerned with the children who are not theirs. The people making the decisions are not as concerned, and you have a distribution of resources that follows this pattern.

The schools in the surrounding suburbs in New York City are schools of tomorrow. You can find some of the best schools in the country in the suburbs of New York City. But just across the border in the city limits you will find the worst schools in the Nation in New York City. Probably the pattern is repeated in California, too.

I have two examples I would like to discuss briefly here this morning, or this afternoon. I want to do this because, despite the fact that we have a great deal of agreement that education should be a high priority, despite the fact that I am optimistic about both Republicans and Democrats going forward in this session of Congress to grapple with problems related to education as we have never done before, Federal aid is not the answer, of course, but Federal aid is an important part of the problem. Federal involvement, Federal advice, Federal influence, is very important.

Federal influence will never dominate the process. We do not have to worry about that. Education in America is local. Right now the Federal Government's total expenditure on education is about 8 percent of the total, 8 percent. A large part of that 8 percent of the expenditure by the Federal Government goes to higher education, higher education. So local education gets a very small percentage of its funds from the Federal Government. Education is primarily a State

and local function. There is no danger that the Federal Government is ever going to take over education.

There is a need that they participate more. Let us move from the 8 percent funding to at least 25 percent. If we had 25 percent funding, giving help to States and cities that are distressed and stretched out, they cannot find anymore sources for education funding, if we had that kind of funding it would not result in more Federal control. Or if you measure control by dollars, OK, maybe we would have 25 percent of control if we give them 25 percent of the funding, but they still have 75 percent of the control. State government would still have 75 percent of the control.

So this bogeyman that States and local governments are in some way threatened by the Federal Government in this bipartisan session of Congress, a Congress with a bipartisan spirit, let us get rid of that bogeyman and understand that the local school systems for the State control of education will not in any way be harmed by more Federal dollars or more Federal participation, more Federal advice, more Federal research, shared by the Federal Government with the States and with the local governments. It is not a problem. We must understand that as we go forward in our bipartisan effort, that we need to stick to substance and not be content with photo opportunities and headlines.

I started by saying that initiatives in Chicago on the African-American heritage this weekend, initiatives proposed by my colleague on the floor that Congressmen go to classrooms and any other initiative that you might take—and each fall, in October or November, I belong to an organization called the National Commission for African-American Education, and we sponsor an education funding support day. It is a major initiative to get laymen involved, to get public officials involved, so we cannot have too much of that. We cannot have too much involvement.

However, if we allow the involvement on a surface level, the photo opportunities, the headlines, the teacher for a day, the principal for a day, to go forward without any substance underneath it, then we are doing a great disservice. We are corrupting a process.

It is important that we have finally gotten the attention of the elected officials, from the President on down. Hurrah. The President is proposing an increase in education which is about a 20-percent increase. That is getting close to the Congressional Black Caucus budget, which last year proposed a 25 percent increase, so hurrah. We are going in the right direction.

But let us not just propose it and then not fight for it in the budget. Let us deliver on those funds. Let us not let the public think they are going to get a 20-percent increase and it never happens. It is just announced and it is headlines, but it is not delivered. We want to deliver. Let us not get involved with photo opportunities and headlines

and forget that there are concrete problems that are still unresolved.

The two examples that I want to give, in California and New York we have a problem where headlines are predominating over substance. In New York we had a situation where the State did its assessment of all the schools in the State and they announced that New York City schools have declined drastically in the last 10 years. Whereas the problem in New York City used to be its low-income neighborhoods, New York City is a city of 8 million people, there are 60,000 teachers, there are a million children in schools. So you are talking about a lot of different situations when you talk about education in New York.

□ 1515

The problem has always been the portion of the youngsters attending school in low income communities. It has always been related to poverty, where the scores of the youngsters in the poverty, the schools that have the greatest amount of poverty, were the lowest scores. And they were struggling to get up to the average.

We have always had high performing schools in the other parts of the city. Some of the highest performing schools in the State have been in New York City. Some of the best performing schools, high schools in the country have been in New York City in terms of the Westinghouse science projects, anything related to national competition. We have schools traditionally in New York that have excelled across the Nation and beat out their competitors across the entire Nation.

What they found in the last evaluation is that the quality of all of the schools in New York City have dropped. It is not poverty related anymore. The decline in the performance is not poverty related. All of the schools in New York City were beginning to perform at a rate, at a level below the schools in the suburbs and the rest of the State. Let me repeat that. All of the schools, the high performing schools in the higher income areas were also lower than their counterparts in the rest of the State.

Now, what happened? While you have lip service being given to the effort to improve education, in New York you had a dastardly plot to drain funds out of education and put them somewhere else. It was not such a secretive plot because the elements were clear as to what was going on all the time. We had a chancellor named Cortinez who proposed a number of reforms and had the schools moving in the positive direction. But one of the reforms he proposed was not necessarily reform. It was a basic foundation item. He proposed that we have a building plan which would renovate the schools that are unsafe, and it could be renovated and build new schools because the statistics showed that there would be a population jump in the school system in the next 5, 6 years.

He laid it all out in a multi-billion-dollar plan, the multi-billion-dollar plan went all the way from putting gas heat in coal-burning schools. We have some schools in New York that burn coal. In spite of all the environmental regulations, all the knowledge we have about what it does to the lungs of people especially children, we still have coal-burning schools. Let us not talk about industry polluting the air. We still have schools that pollute the air right near where the children are attending school. Is it any wonder that we also have one of the highest asthma rates in the Nation? Children with asthma problems are higher in New York City than anywhere else in the Nation. There is a correlation.

But Cortinez proposed a building plan that would get rid of the safety hazards like coal-burning furnaces. It would get rid of the last asbestos problem. We still have problems with asbestos. Three years ago we had a photo opportunity, headline-grabbing effort to get rid of all asbestos. The schools opened 2 weeks late. They opened 2 weeks late because of asbestos contamination problems.

All the schools were just about closed down because so many had problems. They just closed the whole system down, and it opened 2 weeks late. They declared that the asbestos problem was resolved, but the asbestos problem is still there because the Governor announced September 21, 1996, just this past fall, that there would be a NetDay. Many of you heard the NetDay across the country. NetDay is a day the Clinton administration developed, the whole approach to volunteers, wiring schools for telecommunications so that there is a NetDay operation which is nationally operating.

They get the equipment, the wires and the gadgets, and they buy them in bulk. And you can get for \$500 enough of what you need in terms of equipment and supplies to wire a school. The definition of wiring a school is you have to wire five classrooms and the library of the school. Then we consider the school wired according to the NetDay definition. This all started in California.

They did a massive job in California. On a Saturday volunteers go out, and they wire the schools using this \$500 worth of equipment and supplies. And we had NetDay in New York because many Governors across the country picked up on what had been done in California, and they all wanted the headlines and the photo opportunities. And some of course seriously pursued the objective of wiring the schools. It was a photo opportunity, headline-grabbing situation in New York because the Governor, even before the day began, announced that 3000 schools in New York State had been wired. I have not been able to get a count of what the number of schools were wired outside of New York City. I have not been able to get a count to find out how many were wired in the rural parts of New York State or in the suburbs.

I cannot dispute part of that 3000, but New York City has 1000 schools, 1000 of the schools in New York State are in New York City. In my district, I have 75 elementary schools and 10 high schools. Only one of those schools was wired. Two were scheduled and one was supposedly wired. The one that was not wired was not wired because it has asbestos problems. The asbestos problem raises its head when you start drilling holes. Simple holes to put the wires through will result in asbestos contamination if the asbestos is still there in the walls and the insulation, whatever.

I later learned that many of the schools in New York City that had been scheduled to be wired on NetDay were stricken from the list because they have an asbestos problem. We still have the need for the plan that Mr. Cortinez developed which would get rid of the asbestos contamination, the coal-burning furnaces. There is a lead problem in some of the old school pipes. We are subjecting children to unsafe conditions.

But what happened to Mr. Cortinez and his multi-billion-dollar plan over a 5- to 7-year period? He conflicted with the mayor, and he was driven out of town. I mean, he resigned but he was constantly put under pressure by the mayor, ridiculed by the mayor. Finally he gave up. He left town. The following fall, after Mr. Cortinez was driven out of town, we had a situation where, on the opening of school, 91,000 children did not have a safe place to sit; 91,000, it said, were not properly taken care of. That was the situation.

The mayor, pursuing his policy of headlines and photo opportunities, immediately seized upon the need to have parochial schools and private schools come to the aid of the city. And he is still doing that. There is still a running discussion of the fact that the mayor is going to find places for 1,000 youngsters in parochial schools. A foundation has been set up to provide tuition for 1,000 youngsters at parochial schools. The obvious question that any sophomore or even a kindergarten kid would ask is, if you are taking care of 1,000, what is happening to the other 90,000? What is happening to the other 90,000? What has happened to the other 90,000?

In the schools which have been evaluated by the State board to be going down, declining, what has happened to the safe place for 90,000 children? Well, when you go to inquire now as to what is happening with 90,000, you get an answer like this: That was just a statistical formation. That was a statistical metaphor. We did not really have seats for 91,000 youngsters. We merely looked at the capacity of our schools, and we compared that with the total enrollment.

When you look at the capacity of the schools in bulk and you compare that with the total enrollment, you find that you do not have a place for 91,000. That was just a statistical analysis. Well, my question then is, What is

wrong with that statistical analysis? It is pretty sound. If your overall system has a capacity and you have an enrollment, you compare your enrollment with your capacity, and you conclude that you are over capacity by 91,000. That is pretty sound reasoning. You do not have to go into calculus or differential equations to figure that one out.

It is pretty simple. What you were saying was true. No, they said no, school by school that is not the situation. If you go school by school, you will not find that you can count up 90,000 that do not have seats. All right, we said. Let us go look at the empirical evidence. Let us go team by team to visit some schools. I belong to an organization. I founded an organization which serves as my education advisory committee called the Central Brooklyn Martin Luther King Commission. Members of the Central Brooklyn Martin Luther King Commission went out to look at some schools to talk to some principals.

One principal said, no, you have heard that my school has twice as many youngsters as it was built for. The school has about 1,500 youngsters. It was really built for 800. He is right. It has twice as many. He said, no, it has that, but we have places for all but 250. We only have a problem with 250 kids. The same schools I visited before, and I found out that the young people, the students go to lunch. They have three lunch periods. Students are forced to go to lunch at 10:30, that is the first lunch period. And then they are still in the lunch room until 2:00. The last students are in the lunch room at 2:00. So you have three lunch periods.

If you are not over capacity, Mr. Principal, I said, why do you have three lunch periods? Obviously something is wrong here. Why do you make children eat lunch at 10:30? I think that is child abuse, and I intend to pursue that; but it is kind of hard to pursue because many schools in New York City have regimens which make youngsters eat lunch at 10:30. They just had breakfast. I am not a health specialist, a nutritionist specialist, but surely there is something wrong with pouring everything into your system on top of each other and then there is going to be this big gap between lunch and dinner at home.

How many children of Congressmen go to schools where they are forced to eat lunch at 10:30 in the morning? Why is it that this condition will be accepted by a principal as normal and he is saying, we do not have a problem, we do not have an overcapacity problem except for 250 youngsters. That is a large number. If you are from the outside, you know that many schools do not have 500 or 600 youngsters in elementary schools. So a problem with 250 is still a large problem. That is the admitted problem. But if you have lunch periods which started at 10:30, you know there is another problem there.

The United Federation of Teachers brought a suit against the board of education in the city on overcrowding in individual classrooms. They had thousands of grievances where individual classrooms were overcrowded, and they also have situations where young people, children are being educated in closets, supply closets in hallways, in the cafeteria and the auditorium. They do not have places to study which are conducive to study, and in many cases they do not have places to study, to learn, which are safe.

There is one thing, safety is what every child should be guaranteed. Safety is what the New York City Department of Health, the fire department, they should be concerned about the way we have conditions in schools which would never be tolerated anywhere else. This is part of the collapse, just a physical provision of safe space and space conducive to learning. That is first.

Second, is that in the mayor's drive to cut the budget of the Department of Education, at least 10,000 teachers and administrators were seduced into taking early retirement. We provided incentives for the most experienced people to take early retirement. That saves money, and of course corporations downsize, but I doubt if any corporation in the process of downsizing commits suicide. They do not leave it wide open and tell everybody, here is the package, very attractive package that you can retire and get this bonus if you just get out of the system. We want you out of the system because you are making the highest salaries. They wanted the teachers that have been in the longest, who have, on the stairstep of increments, begun to make the highest amount of money.

Corporations do not behave that way in private industry. The last people to be downsized are the people who make the most money because corporations attach value to people who make the most money. The CEO, the CEO in every corporation has the greatest value attached to him. Then his subordinates have great value attached to them. The CEO, we know in America, we have the highest paid CEO's. In Germany, Japan, the chief executive officers make something like one-tenth of the amount paid to the average chief executive officer in America.

□ 1530

We pay millions of dollars to CEO's. We give them stock options and insurance and all kinds of benefits. So they are the last people that get laid off. The officers of corporations are the last people laid off. I imagine key people in the finance department, middle management, they do not lay off people at random in corporations. If a downsizing takes place, I assure you it has been carefully done to minimize the harm done to the corporation's ability to function.

But in New York City, when we offer downsizing to the teachers and the

board of education, it was maximizing the benefits for the people who had the most experience, the most know-how, the greatest skills in teaching, and in many cases the most dedication.

So what did we do? We pulled them out of the system. Is it any wonder that we would have a situation where the State evaluation now shows that our schools have declined; that even the best schools are not up to par? They are worse than their counterparts in the rest of the State. Can you pull out the best teachers, your principals and assistant principals, all the best, can you pull them out and expect not to have a collapse in the system?

So what we have is a collapse. The efforts to improve the system in New York City has collapsed because the political apparatus, the power brokers, starting with the mayor, have decided the most important thing is to save money.

If you have as your main objective to save money then are you surprised when the collapse takes place? When the evaluators come in and say the schools are declining, all of them, middle income neighborhoods as well as low income neighborhoods, can you not see what everybody else knew; that your best teachers were in your better income neighborhoods?

Because teachers have seniority. After they get through their 3-year periods and have tenure, they always want to transfer to the best neighborhoods, with the least problems with the children and the greatest benefits in terms of parking, in terms of less worry about crime. So the best teachers were transferred into the highest income neighborhoods. Is it any wonder that they would suffer great losses if you pull out the best teachers, the best principals, the best assistant principals? They are going to come out of the best schools in terms of performance.

But the headline grabbing, photo opportunity politicians, the mayor of the city, have accepted this collapse of the system by continuing to emphasize the fact that he is going to find places for 1,000 youngsters in parochial schools. And the newspapers, who love him, continue to write up the stories about how they are getting it together, the foundations have the money now and the children will get money and they will start going to parochial schools in the fall.

The big question now is how do you select the children? They are talking random lotteries and all kinds of things because they have many more applicants for the 1,000 places than they have places.

The question is still what about the other 90,000 young people? What about the other 90,000 students? The New York City school system has collapsed and we have to put it back together again and we need the President's initiatives, we need all the help we can get from every level.

Across the country, in California, a similar situation has happened also,

and big city schools in California, of course, are the ones who suffer the most. Always the inner city schools where you have the least amount of power will get the most disadvantage out of policies and legislation developed by people in power who do not live in those cities and do not care about all the children in the State.

They make a great mistake. We have to care about all the children in the State. We have to care about all the children in the Nation. We are making a great mistake by continuing to pursue policies geared to those who do come out and vote, those who do have involvement in the political system. That is very good for those who needed rewards.

Some of the President's policies in terms of higher education funding will go to middle class families that do need help and should get help, but the greatest need is in the lower class families who need an opportunity to get into college. Middle class families will get there. They will get help in paying tuition and costs, and they should have that, but at the same time we need to boost the amount of opportunity available for low-income people because the whole Nation needs as much education as possible.

The Nation has to understand the value-added theory of education. Everybody who gets an education has value added to them and they add value to the function of our Nation. It is not the airline pilot you have to worry about when you get on a plane. The airline pilot gets the best training in the world. They pay more to train airline pilots than they do any other sector of the work force. Airline pilots get good training, but we need to worry about the mechanic who tightened the bolts and the nuts and the guy who put the fuel in and a whole lot of other people who needed to have training and education so that they will have value added to them and do their jobs very well.

In our complex society all those pieces have to be in place. Unfortunately, we have some news recently about the people who design airplanes and we have a major design flaw in the 737's. It is quietly kept, but it is out there. The 737's have a design flaw in the rudder system. We probably would have avoided that if we had more engineers, more geniuses, even at that level of people who design these complex aircraft who do the work. If there were more of them, maybe we would have fewer mistakes in these complex aircraft.

We should stake our future as a civilization on the people who are educated. The number of people who are educated will drive our civilization. A nation that will be predominant will be the nation that decides it wants to educate all of its citizens to the maximum and also finds ways to do that, to implement it.

We just had a discovery in Australia, I think it is, Australia or New Zealand,

anyway a discovery which for years has been debated and discussed and many scientists concluded was impossible: Cloning, where you can clone, take a part of a living being, a living thing, and you can clone from that part, from that part you can clone an individual, a thing which is the same as the thing you cloned it from. That was science fiction stuff 50 years ago, 25 years ago, even 10 years ago when the discussion was a little more advanced and people who had the right kind of degrees and credentials were willing to discuss it. But now it is a reality. They have cloned a sheep. A sheep has been cloned in Australia or New Zealand, wherever, by a scientist, and the sheep is exactly the same as the pieces of the sheep from which the pieces of living matter were taken.

What are the implications of that? We know it is a reality. It is like the discovery of electricity took place a long time before we ever had the light bulb. It was discovered you had these magnetic forces that could generate electricity. It took thousands of years to work it all out to the point where you could get a light bulb and you could transmit energy, electrical energy, over long distances. All that took a long time because at that time the information was not being passed around rapidly about electricity and you did not have a place, an organized educated society, that could pick up on a discovery like that and go in terms of the application of it.

Nowadays we have the possibility of taking a discovery and picking up on it and working through all of the possible positive applications, and some negative applications, too. Nuclear energy and Einstein's formula, all that was very theoretical until it was decided it had a function in war, it could be used in war, and we raced to beat the Germans to the point where we could implement the theories of Einstein through the explosion of a bomb. Because we were worried about them and because we wanted to maximize our weaponry, we put the people to work to do it. Oppenheimer and all the best scientists in the country were supported by technicians who were supported by people under them who had education. All kinds of educated people were brought together to make the atom bomb happen rapidly.

And that is the way the world should go from now on. Whenever we want to make something happen, hopefully positive, then the people ought to be there and available to do it. But we need educated people to do it. We do not know exactly when or where we will need them, but assume that everybody ought to be educated who can be educated. Our maximum resource on the face of the Earth are human beings. Before we start exploring space, before we put colonists in space, which is almost inevitable, too, let us get the maximum resources moving on Earth. We have a job to do on Earth before we get to outer space.

The cloning of a sheep means that we can clone maybe parts of the body. We can take a piece of somebody's heart and clone it so that we can replace a defective heart with a heart that will not be rejected by the rest of the body because it came from the same body. The cloning of the sheep means that maybe we can clone an arm of a person that loses an arm and you can clone the part and put it back on them. All kinds of possibilities are opened up in terms of the reality that cloning is possible. They did not just clone a bacteria, they did not just clone a mouse, they cloned a mammal. They cloned a sheep.

The step from a sheep to a human is inevitable. Do not let anybody say God will never permit that. We do not know what God has designed. God likes to play with us and likes to see what we can do. I think he enjoys watching us fulfill our potential. If we are made in his image, then he knows so much more he does not have to worry about our knowing more than he does, but he must rejoice in our discovery of all there is to be discovered. I am sure God is not unhappy if we learn how to clone human beings. He will not be unhappy. He is unhappy because we are so far behind in our social sciences, in our relationships with each other and our ability to make laws and our ability to be merciful and compassionate toward each other.

I am sure God must spend a lot of days weeping when he looks down on us, especially Americans. In America we have a nation which for the first time has full stomachs basically. We have a little piece of heaven on this continent. America is as close to heaven as you will ever get on Earth. We have all kinds of luxuries, all kinds of benefits. Even poor people live better than most of the people in the rest of the world. But we still have this insistence that we are going to hate each other, we will put barriers in people's places, we will oppress welfare mothers while we let the people in the CIA continue to earn high salaries while they steal secrets from us.

We cut the budget of welfare when the CIA has a budget of \$28 billion or more, and we knew nothing about that. We add \$13 million to the President's military budget while we try to cut the budget for school lunches. Our social sciences, our welfare is way behind our physical science and our understanding of the universe. So God must spend a lot of time weeping when he beholds the way we behave.

God will not be afraid of cloning, but if we are going to go forward and take advantage of cloning or any other scientific advances, and genetics is already into a situation where it is only a matter of time and work. My daughter is a geneticist. She is in the field of genetics and works for a firm, and the process they are going through is almost routine. They know the outcome that they are going to discover more and more. They will have an opportunity to apply the benefits of genetic

engineering to more and more situations. It is just inevitable. It is going forward by leaps and bounds.

It is possible for some people to begin to live almost forever. It is possible that they will reach that point in my lifetime where we will have the facilities, the tools available to almost guarantee some people can live together or live far beyond the kinds of time span expected. They can stop the aging of our organs. All that is possible. All that is possible, but it will not happen unless we have a vast array of educated people involved.

In addition to the scientists and the technicians who are involved directly in that, we need a vast array of people who are lawyers, lawmakers, who can keep our society from exploding in upon itself. Look at the Soviet Union and how they were way ahead in science. There was no problem in science in the Soviet Union, science, engineering, astronomy. They put a person in space long before we did. They were way ahead in many ways, but the system, the political system, the stupidity of a control and command system, where they thought a group of people who had all power could run the society, was stupid. It was monumental stupidity, and the monumental stupidity came crashing down on them so that all their science systems have been rendered a bit ridiculous.

The head of the nuclear energy program in Russia recently committed suicide. A couple months ago he got a gun and shot himself because the system has collapsed and the people in his institute were not paid for 3 months, and when the money came for their pay it was only a month's pay. It was the last straw. He took a gun and shot himself. But that is symbolic of where Russia is. Not Russia, but the former Soviet Union, where science and scientists, highly educated people are in that society. Because the social science infrastructure, the political science infrastructure, economic infrastructure was based on stupid assumptions and they failed. So we need educated people right across the board.

□ 1545

I have talked a little bit about New York's collapse, how our system collapsed in New York.

Let me just mention California. I am reading from a publication called Editorial Notebook. It is opinion on the editorial page by Brent Staples of the New York Times.

Staples on Monday, February 10 wrote this article which I submit in its entirety for the RECORD, Mr. Speaker.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 10, 1997]

HOW CALIFORNIA BETRAYED ITS SCHOOLS—STARVED THEM OF CASH, THEN FED THEM FADS

(By Brent Staples)

Through most of this century, California served as a symbol of boundless promise and possibility. At the close of the 1960's, a breathless Time magazine described it as "El

Dorado" and a "mirror of America as it will become." The promise turned dismal with the tax revolt of the 70's. It fractured the civic structure and savaged support for California's universities, libraries, children's programs and, most tragically, its public schools.

Teeming with new Immigrants, California's classrooms were suddenly among the most crowded and neediest in the country. States with similar problems increased spending, but California stood pat. It now ranks 43d nationally in education spending—well behind such states as Texas, New York and Pennsylvania—and spends about \$30,000 less per classroom per year than the national average.

Penury has taken a toll. In 1995, the United States Department of Education ranked California's fourth graders at the very bottom, tied with Louisiana's, in reading skills. Gov. Pete Wilson and the Legislature have pushed through laws aimed at easing overcrowding and strengthening both teacher training and reading instruction. Still, it could take 25 years or more to reverse the damage of the tax revolt—if it can be done at all. Governor Wilson's reading initiatives are for the most part excellent. But the class-size measure lacks money and was poorly thought out.

In April of 1995, the federally sponsored National Assessment of Educational Progress painted a distressing portrait. Reading scores were stagnant in the lower grades and had declined for high school seniors nationwide. In California, about 60 percent of fourth graders fell below the minimum reading level, compared with 44 percent nationally. Typical were the fourth graders at Abraham Lincoln Elementary School in Sacramento, some of whom could not decode even the instructions to a simple vocabulary test. The instructions read: "Write a definition for each term." For these children, reading a book is out of the question.

Many Californians sought to blame Mexican immigrants for the poor test scores. But Asians, Latinos, blacks and whites all scored near the bottom when compared with the same groups nationally. Even the children of college graduates—a group that generally scores well—placed near the bottom when compared with the same students in other states.

Funding cuts set the stage for this tragedy, but educational fads played a role as well. In the 1980's, most California schools ceased to issue grades in primary school and gave up on standardized tests. These were replaced by touchy-feely performance descriptions that avoided the question of whether or not the children were learning. Most destructive of all was a reading curriculum that abandoned the phonics, spelling and vocabulary development that many children need, turning to fashionable but unproven methods like "creative spelling." After a politically tinged feud known as "the Reading Wars," the state revamped reading guidelines. Teachers are being retrained, and the colleges that educate them are being prodded toward change. The colleges are resisting and the state may eventually force the issue.

The new training and reading strategies are long overdue. But California's plan for reducing class size is likely to backfire. The law encourages schools to shrink classes in the early grades, but makes no provisions for new classrooms. Classes are being held two to a room. Computer labs and libraries are being sacrificed. To create smaller classes in the lower grades, the schools must strip money from the upper grades, where victims of the past are struggling to catch up.

The new initiative has increased the demand for teachers without increasing the teacher supply. Inner-city systems that have

trouble attracting qualified teachers are likely to suffer more as applicants flock to jobs in affluent districts. Some even suspect Governor Wilson of wanting public schools to fail—to make way for a voucher system that would offer private school education at public expense.

California offers a warning for states that would bleed public education for short-term gain. The schools are easy to destroy, but costly and devilishly difficult to rebuild.

In addition, I will read some parts of it. It begins as follows: How California Betrayed Its Schools, Starved Them of Cash, Then Fed Them Fads.

Through most of this century, California served as a symbol of boundless promise and possibility. At the close of the 1960's, a breathless Time magazine described it as "El Dorado" and a "mirror of America as it will become." The promise turned dismal with the tax revolt of the seventies. It fractured the civic structure and savaged support for California's universities, libraries, children's programs, and, most tragically, its public schools.

Let me just read one part of that: "It fractured the civic structure." The tax revolt of the seventies fractured the civic structure. It did not affect the physics professors or the chemistry professors or the laws of nature, but the civic structure was fractured. They took a wrong turn. As a result they have wrecked the schools, the public schools of California.

I resume quoting from the article:

Teeming with new immigrants, California's classrooms were suddenly among the most crowded and neediest in the country. States with similar problems increased spending, but California stood pat. It now ranks 43rd nationally in education spending, well behind such states as Texas, New York, and Pennsylvania, and spends about \$30,000 less per classroom per year than the national average.

This is California, that was described in the 1960's as being in the leadership in America in areas related to education.

Resuming the quote from the article:

Penury has taken a toll. In 1995, the United States Department of Education ranked California's fourth graders at the very bottom, tied with Louisiana's, in reading skills. Governor Pete Wilson and the Legislature have pushed through laws aimed at easing overcrowding and strengthening both teacher training and reading instruction. Still, it could take 25 years or more to reverse the damage of the tax revolt, if it can be done at all. Governor Wilson's reading initiatives are for the most part excellent. But the class-size measure lacks money and was poorly thought out.

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Typical were the fourth graders at Abraham Lincoln Elementary School in Sacramento, some of whom could not decode even the instructions to a simple vocabulary test. The instructions read: "Write a definition for each term." For these children, reading a book is out of the question.

Many Californians sought to blame Mexican immigrants for the poor test scores. But Asians, Latinos, blacks, and whites all scored near the bottom when compared with the same groups nationally.

Resuming the quotes from the article:

Even the children of college graduates, a group that generally scores well, placed near the bottom when compared with the same students in other States.

If you are shortsighted, if you are mean-spirited, if you are powermongers who are determined to help only those that can keep you in power, here is the kind of society you create. You bring it down for everybody. No man is an island and this applies in particular to your children. Your children cannot exist in a society which is based on elitist assumptions that you can take care of a small part of the population of a certain age and not take care of the rest.

Resuming the quotes from the article:

Funding cuts set the stage for this tragedy, but educational fads played a role as well. Funding cuts set the stage for this tragedy, but educational fads played a role as well. In the 1980's, most California schools ceased to issue grades in primary school and gave up on standardized tests. These were replaced by touchy-feely performance descriptions that avoided the question of whether or not the children were learning. Most destructive of all was a reading curriculum that abandoned the phonics, spelling, and vocabulary development that many children need, turning to fashionable but unproven methods like creative spelling. After a politically tinged feud known as the Reading Wars, the State revamped reading guidelines. Teachers are being retrained, and the colleges that educate them are being prodded toward change. The colleges are resisting and the State may eventually force the issue.

The new training and reading strategies are long overdue. But California's plan for reducing class size is likely to backfire. The law encourages schools to shrink classes in the early grades, but makes no provisions for new classrooms. Classes are being held two to a room. Computer labs and libraries are being sacrificed. To create smaller classes in the lower grades, the schools must strip money from the upper grades, where victims of the past are struggling to catch up.

Let me repeat: "To create smaller classes in the lower grades, the schools must strip money from the upper grades, where victims of the past are struggling to catch up."

One of the findings in New York City when they did a review of the budget of schools, school by school, one of the findings was that the expenditure for high schools was lower than expenditures for elementary schools. We have had our attempts at photo opportunities and headlines by doing certain things at the lower grade levels. We have also had a situation where the decentralization of the school system in New York means that every community has a community school board. There are 32 community school boards. The community school boards have fought budget cuts with more zeal than the central board which controls all high schools. The central board which controls high schools has acquiesced to the mayor's demands for budget cuts so you have less expenditures for high school students per pupil than you have for elementary schools.

Everywhere else in the country, in places where high school students are graduating at a high rate, with a better education, they spend more on high school students per pupil than they spend on elementary school students. California follows the same pattern. When you turn it loose, the politicians, the demagogues, the tax cut in California was not the product of the politicians. It was a product of lay demagogues. Laymen took over. People who were not politicians, had no experience, took advantage, and they whipped up mass hysteria and they cut the budget. So what you are doing is destroying institutions in the process. The public schools are not the only institution being destroyed, but the public schools probably are the most vital institution and they are being destroyed as a result of political decisions.

Who were the voters who went out and voted for the proposition? Many different, confused reasons resulted in that vote but nobody has had the guts to turn it around. Everybody in New York City thinks it is a great idea that we are reducing taxes. They think the Board of Education should have less funding. But the result is that in every neighborhood, low income, high income, everywhere, there is a decline in the performance of the students. You cannot take away the best teachers, you cannot take away the best administrators, downsizing, saving money, you cannot refuse to build decent classrooms, safe classrooms, and it not have an impact on education.

Finally, I want to read the last paragraph: "The new initiative has increased the demand for teachers."

This is called the Band-Aid approach, patching. The problem with President Clinton's plan is that we are glad we got his attention, we are glad the public opinion polls showing that education was a high priority got his attention and got the attention of the Republican leadership, it got the attention of the Democrat leadership. All the politicians are focused on education, but if you have this approach, where you are going to have a great

reading program here, every kid is going to learn to read by the third grade and over here you are going to give tax cuts, tax credits to people going to college, patching it up is better than nothing, but unless you have an all-out effort to improve the schools, the new initiatives are going to create problems in other places.

There are people in the education area, there are people on the Education Committee here in this Congress who know what a comprehensive, broad approach is like and what is needed. If the headlines push them out, then you are going to have a lot of photo opportunities and headlines but no progress.

Continuing the quotes from the article:

The new initiative has increased the demand for teachers without increasing the teacher supply. Inner-city systems in California that have trouble attracting qualified teachers are likely to suffer more as applicants flock to jobs in affluent districts. Some even suspect Governor Wilson of wanting public schools to fail. I am quoting from the New York Times op-ed piece on Monday, February 10, 1997. Some even suspect Governor Wilson of wanting public schools to fail, to make way for a voucher system that would offer private school education at public expense.

California offers a warning for States that would bleed public education for short-term gain. The schools are easy to destroy, but costly and devilishly difficult to rebuild. The schools are easy to destroy, but costly and devilishly difficult to rebuild.

I am in favor of experimentation, with charter schools and a number of other initiatives. I think we should try a variety of approaches, but beware. If we go the route of headlines and photo opportunities, we will destroy schools that we cannot rebuild. We will destroy systems that we cannot rebuild, and the entire society is going to suffer, not just the people on the bottom.

I want to end by paying tribute to Albert Shanker who died a few years ago at age 68. Mr. Shanker was the leader of the American Federation of Teachers. Before that he was the leader of the United Federation of Teachers in New York City. Mr. Shanker and I had some great disagreements in the early part of his career, and there were disagreements on methods, style, not the ultimate goal. Mr. Shanker was a dedicated educator who wanted the schools to educate all the children. Mr. Shanker was a dedicated educator who knew you cannot have teachers in an oppressive atmosphere where dictatorial administrators and managers disregard the priorities and imperatives of education. Mr. Shanker knew that school power, teacher power, meant getting the balance where you force the whole system, the policymakers and the administrators, to listen, to work out situations. Mr. Shanker got the first union contract in the country for teachers. There are many teachers who

still do not like the idea of unions. They belong to an association which acts just like a union. The American Federation of Teachers, the National Education Association, they are pretty much similar right now in terms of they are the leading advocates for children. They are the leading advocates for education. Their interests are closest to the interests of children and parents. It is to their credit that they were singled out for criticism by the Republican candidate for President because he felt the power that they are beginning to exert and the influence. It will all balance out. Shanker made it possible. Albert Shanker made it possible for the teachers union to be recognized on a national level as a force. Most of us feel it is a force for good. It is a force for education and a force for children. The United Federation of Teachers in New York City, founded by Albert Shanker, brought a court case against the Board of Education and the city recently to force them to reduce class sizes and deal with overcrowding in schools. Some of the facts that they have discovered, some of the cases that they brought have been very enlightening as to how bad the situation is. But it is a union operating on behalf of the children for education.

The United Federation of Teachers has nurtured power professionals, people out of the low-income areas who go into the classrooms as assistants without a college education and later on, after a long period of going to college part-time, become teachers. That is a program that has been nurtured by the United Federation of Teachers. There are numerous things that they are doing and have been doing that puts education in the city of New York in a better position. But they, like the rest of us, are now under great pressure from a Governor and a mayor that have indicated that they are not particularly concerned about doing all that has to be done to educate the children of New York City.

□ 1600

At the national level, the American Federation of Teachers, certainly, that also was captained by Albert Shanker during his last years, has also been a very vital force. They have done all kinds of positive things pushing to get education reform that is meaningful.

I think teachers and teachers' unions will be the first to tell you that there is a danger in having a great deal of attention focused on education if the people who are supplying that attention have a great deal of power and they are only concerned about headlines and photo opportunities. They can make a mess. Things can get worse.

It is our hope that things will not get worse, that we will not have fads substituting for substance, as there will be a real attempt to move forward and grapple with the need to improve education in America all across-the-board: suburbs, rural areas, inner cities; but most of all, education improvement

has to come to the aid of the desperate children of the inner cities of America and do it soon.

It is a desperate situation. We need opportunities to learn. Across-the-board we need a commitment, we need the resources, we need politicians, decisionmakers, powerful people who care about children because only in caring about children will you improve America and guarantee that our society will live up to its full potential. There is an unlimited world out there, and we need educated people to go forward to realize that world of unlimited possibilities.

SUNDRY MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Sherman Williams, one of his secretaries.

DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY

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

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, many Americans are not happy with the direction in which this country is going nor with the efforts that Congress has made to solve our problems.

By superficial analysis and as measured by Government statistics, our leaders would have us believe that the state of the union is strong. Yet with casual observation, one detects smoldering discontent among the people. In looking for solutions, Congress engages in political grandstanding that produces few answers for that growing number of Americans not confident about their future. Even many of those who are who are well off worry that their own futures, and certainly their children's futures, are not secure.

Mr. Speaker, it is estimated that throughout the world, 1.5 billion people live in deep poverty. These are not just people in developing countries, but some even live here in the United States. They do not go unnoticed and contribute to the anxiety of the times. Approximately 3 million children in this country are abused each year, and this does not count abortion.

Violent crime in the United States is a serious problem, with killers getting younger every year. From 1965 to 1992 the number of murders doubled while the percentage of murders solved has fallen.

For many Americans, the standard of living has dropped over the past 25 years. Nominal wages have soared but real income has fallen for low- and middle-income families due to dollar appreciation. Even with two family members working, keeping up has been difficult. Less parental supervision has contributed to the juvenile crime problem.

Generational conflicts are real. The demands of the elderly seem endless. Knowing that they have a greater tax burden to bear and expecting no returns at retirement frustrates the under-40 taxpayer. This resentment is not likely to fade any time soon, and will likely get worse.

Confidence in the future is far from robust. The balanced budget amendment, the line-item veto, term limits; they will not solve our economic and social problems. Cynicism flourishes throughout the land and especially here in the Congress. Frustration over how to solve our problems has led to rude behavior that once was rare in the House. Civility classes only address the symptoms and will not solve the philosophical conflicts nor address the economic limitations that are the source of the impasse the welfare state now encounters.

The radical political correctness movement undermines the first amendment and contributes to the anger expressed by various groups. Intimidation and ridicule of unpopular ideas are hardly a way to bring different social groups together. The same individuals that demand censures of those who do not use politically correct language condemn voluntary prayer as a violation of the first amendment. A consistent position on free speech will go a long way toward softening the growing resentment that strains our relationships with each other.

Our welfare state is now broke. We cannot meet our future obligations, now estimated to be over \$17 trillion. We must one day admit this fact. There are just not enough young victims left to tax to continue the process. We can and are limping along by continuing to rob Peter to pay Paul. This can last for a while longer but eventually we will have to admit that borrowing, taxing and inflating will not suffice.

These techniques pursued over the past 60 years cannot replace working, producing, saving, investing as the real source of wealth and prosperity. Government is incapable of producing wealth. Productivity growth, according to the Wall Street Journal, is now .3 percent per year. This is similar to pre-industrial revolution days. If this continues, it will take 10 generations for a person to double one's income.

Inflation has eaten away at the seemingly huge welfare payments that we no longer can afford. The average welfare check in 1970 was worth twice that of 1996.

More of the same, though, cannot address the problem of productivity and savings. Only good economic policy and sound political theory can do that.

We must realize we are not yet facing what other western developed nations are. Japan is in the doldrums, and even interest rates of less than 1 percent have not revitalized their economy. Where will they be when the United States quits buying Japanese products in our next recession? France and Germany are further ahead than we are in