Greek Orthodox Church. I have talked to groups of about 200,000 Serbian Americans. They support Kosovo remaining a part of greater Yugoslavia. But at the same time, they realize there may have to be a cantonization of the area, much like the Scandinavian nations do, where you might have a separate area where the speech and schools are French or German or Swiss. They support that initiative. That may be the first start for a new Rambouillet. But in my opinion, if you try and take Kosovo away from greater Serbia, it is a no win policy.

NATO in Europe has to rebuild Kosovo, France, Germany, England, Italy, not the United States. We have already spent $14 billion in 6 weeks. This is a European issue. The United States is part of NATO and should have leadership, but we should not pay more than the lion's share.

The United States can use its intelligence services and the number of CIA that we have. George Tenet told me that our assets around the world that monitor terrorism are extremely limited; that because of Kosovo, we have had to pull those assets into Kosovo, which leaves us vulnerable in the United States.

So I feel that our intelligence assets have to be increased greatly, and the support that this Congress gives them is necessary.

□ 1730

The United Nations, who has become part of the problem in this, votes against the United States 90 percent of the time. We only have one vote in the United Nations. They vote against this 90 percent of the time, and we pay the lion's share of the United Nations again. Until those reforms are done, the President should say, ''No more money, United Nations.'' In my opinion, I would like to do away with them permanently.

There needs to be an international body. If my colleagues expect Milosevic to negotiate, knowing that he is going to go before a war tribunal for war crimes, do my colleagues think he is going to ever stop? No. But I think an independent body should be established to look at Tudjman, the head of the Croatians, that murdered 10,000 Serbs in 1995 and forced ethnic cleansing out of Croatia of 750,000 Serbs.

When we talk about Holocaust, that comes much closer to a Holocaust than Kosovo. The gentlewoman just before and the gentleman was talking about, look at the Kurds. Look at 25 different areas around the world that are far worse than this. Are they despicable? Yes. Are they Holocaust? No. The spin will not gain the President the Nobel Peace Prize.

Our United States military, we have got to rebuild it. I believe that peace does come through strength. Our 300-ship Navy that was established by the QDR, which is a report that says this is what we need to fight two wars. The bottoms up review for the services, our service chief said we cannot fight two wars. Is that why we have left the no-fly zone in Iraq? I do not guess Saddam Hussein is a problem anymore, because he is left unattended to do his will.

We need to build up our military, to replace the benefits of our military, and give them the strength so that we can walk softly and carry a big stick, instead of the President walking softly and carrying a big stick of candy for everybody.

I read this week where the President plans on paying the Albanians who house Albanian refugees, paying for that. Are we establishing a welfare system in Albania while we cannot support Social Security and Medicare and education and medical research in our own country? I think that is wrong.

The President has got to look at the President of Albania and demand that, since in 1850 the Albanians have wanted to take over through expansionism, Macedonia, Montenegro, parts of Greece and Kosovo, and he has got to say no more. We have got to recognize the borders that have been formed and stay within them.

I think that we also need to take a look, and the President, to get very tough on the foreign policy of Russia and China. We know that Russia today still, even though they say they are not, ships chemical and biological weapons and nuclear components to Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and we let it happen, and to North Korea.

The President in 1996 was briefed that there was espionage at our laboratories here in the United States and did nothing until 1999, where the Secretary of Energy has just started to do some things with Mike Richardson. He is doing what should have been done back in 1996.

The President was briefed in 1996 that the Chinese had stole our W–88 nuclear warhead, which is a small nuclear warhead, which took us billions of dollars, billions of dollars to develop and years.

We have an asset, but I cannot tell my colleagues what it is, where we reverse-engineered, that we were going to use that asset. We were building a system to combat the asset. Our system would not have worked, but we had that asset, so it saved us billions of dollars by having that asset and seeing how it worked so that we did not go the wrong direction.

Now the Chinese have got not only the W–88 warhead, but they have got secondary and tertiary missile boosts, which they did not have the capability to do.

George Tennet told us that Korea was 10 years away from being able to hit the United States with a missile, a nuclear missile. Guess what. They have it today with a Taepo Dong 1 and Taepo Dong 2 that China gave to them that we gave to the Chinese and they are exporting.

If that is not bad enough, the capability to MIRV, to put several of those W–88, and the President knew that China had these, the White House gave them the capability to use the MIRVing techniques that, again, took us billions of dollars to engineer.

If that is not bad, the targeting methods to use those missiles to make them accurate within a meter, a nuclear weapon. That was done after $1 million was donated by Loral and $1 million from Hughes and $300,000 from Liu Cheng Ying, who is the daughter of General Ying, head of technology in the PLA, to the Clinton-Gore campaign.

So, Madam Speaker, we have a monumental foreign policy problem. It is not just Kosovo. It is Russia. It is Greece. It is Libya. It is Kosovo. I feel that we need to chase the Turks out of Northern Cyprus, which they have held illegally for 25 years, and we have done nothing, because we need the Turk's support. But, yet, we let them stay in Northern Cyprus against international law.

Madam Speaker, it grieves me to see our Nation at war, especially when I think that we do not have to be there. From all of my military experience, to see a war run ad hoc and so desperately misused, it has cost human life, it has cost human suffering, and it is going to prevent many of us on both sides of the aisle from doing some of the things that we want with our domestic issues here in the United States such as Social Security, Medicare, education, medical research and defense.

It is not a pretty time, Madam Speaker. The President has got to get off his pulpit, whatever his agenda is, and he has got to recognize and put himself, as Jesse Jackson recommended to the President, to see both sides of this issue, to come, whether he has to admit defeat or have a small victory and declare a victory, I do not care, but we cannot put ground troops in, because even if we put ground troops into Kosovo, we are going to lose people.

The Chetnik type individuals, the guerillas will kill our people. I feel that the KLA, Mujahedin and Hamas will kill our people and blame it on somebody just to keep the pot going. Then if we do, we have just bought Kosovo for $3 billion to $5 billion a year, when we are already in Bosnia at $16 billion and Haiti. We are still in Korea for 25 years.

It is time to get out, Madam Speaker. It is time to build up the United States, to pay down our debt, and to take care of some of our domestic problems here.

COLUMBINE HIGH SCHOOL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, today is the 1-month anniversary of the tragedy at Littleton, Colorado. I hoped to come to the floor today to speak on what we as a Nation need to begin to

do to solve this epidemic of youth violence. I did not expect that we would have had another shooting at another high school, serving as another alarm, as if we needed one, prompting us to act.

During the memorial service in Littleton, a singer, Phil Driscoll, sang a song that he wrote for the occasion. In the song, he sang a line that I cannot get out of my mind. The line was, ''This is a wake-up call. How many innocent have to fall.''

Today we received another wake-up call coming from Conyers, Georgia. What a wake-up call it was. But what can be done to solve the problem? What can we do to address the concerns of students and parents?

I think there is a lot we must do and a lot that we can do. I refuse to accept the defeatist attitude which says this is a complex problem, and, therefore, there is nothing that Congress can do about it. That is wrong, and that is unacceptable.

We have a national security crisis in our schools. We have lost more American children in our schools than American soldiers in Kosovo. This is a national security crisis which requires the same kind of mobilization that we apply to any military threat abroad.

Obviously attention must be paid to the accessibility of guns in our society and the frequent and intense images of violence in our mass media. Clearly, we can make guns less accessible to kids. We can try to give parents better tools to supervise what their children are watching or playing on the TV or the Internet.

Legislation has been debated and passed on the floor of the Senate over the past week that tried to make progress on limiting the access of kids to guns. I favor effective legislation to keep guns out of the hands of kids and hope the House will take up this legislation before we leave for Memorial Day.

This makes sense and should have no impact on law-abiding citizens who want to purchase and own guns for sporting use and their own protection. We are talking about passing commonsense, child-safety legislation to make sure that children cannot get easy access to guns.

I hope the House can follow the Senate's lead and move this kind of legislation forward without loopholes.

But child-related gun legislation is only one part of the puzzle. There is a lot we must do to make sure that our children are not exposed to inappropriate violent material in the media.

The Vice President has begun a discussion with Internet companies to publish the same ratings for on-line gaming that most TV shows have already. The President has called on the movie theaters to better enforce the rating process that is already in place there. Newspapers must also do a better job of making the rating systems clear to parents.

Even if we are able to make the progress we hope for in these two areas, we know that these steps alone will not solve the problem. We need to address the broader issue of the quality of our children's education and how to give them the attention they need to grow up to be healthy in both mind and body.

At the President's meeting on school violence at the White House, various experts on violence repeatedly made the point that this problem of school violence is a problem with many layers. They also said that such a complicated problem demanded more than single simple solutions.

One cause of the problem is that parents spend nearly one-third less time with children than they did a generation ago. With more single-parent families and more parents working more jobs and more hours and spending more time in traffic, there is just a lot less time for parents to be with and communicate with and raise their children.

□ 1745

In many families today, the kids are left alone most of the time. And as we all know, kids do not raise themselves.

When parents are home, they often do not spend as much time talking with their children. With television, the Internet, pagers, and other distractions, parents communicate less with kids even when they are able to be home. Before television, time around the dinner table was a time for family communication. Now if a family has time for dinner together, many families have the television on during dinner and nobody really talks to one another.

Another factor that was mentioned was the amount of domestic violence and child abuse that some young people are exposed to today. We have always had these problems, but the problem is far worse now than it has ever been. It is obvious that children exposed to abuse are much more prone to resort to violence in their own lives.

Another factor is the size of high schools. Most of our schools were built after World War II when we were trying to accommodate the baby boom. The schools were built large for economic reasons, and the size did not matter when families were intact and parents could spend more time with children. However, in today's world, it is unwise to have anonymous children in large schools.

Another problem is the increasing diagnosis of mental illness among children. One of the experts at the summit said that mental illness is more prevalent than ever but health insurance covers these problems less than ever. Consequently, many kids have problems but cannot get the professional mental help that they need.

One expert said that our problems stem from what adults do to children or do not do for children. The answers to our problems lie with adults and what we can do to raise children properly.

We spend so much of our debate and our time addressing the symptoms of violence but not the causes of violence. We talk about guns or conflict resolution or school violence programs. And it is right that we do so. But we spend far too little time discussing how we can prevent these problems in the first place.

It is obvious that the modern family needs help in filling the time holes that exist. The only institution, in my view, that can possibly fill these holes are our public schools. Schools have complained about the need to fill all these holes. But the truth is that only through the public schools can we achieve the scale that we need to solve these problems with all the children of our country.

We need nothing short of a revolution in our public schools to deal with the modern problems that children face in the modern world. Nostalgia for the past, criticism of other institutions for not meeting these challenges, or finger pointing at institutions that are not doing enough will not get us to a solution of these problems.

We must really begin to build the public will to do what is necessary to really solve these problems. Raising and educating children correctly is a huge task and will not happen without human will to achieve that goal.

In World War II, everyone thought America was way behind and would not win. What critics misunderstood was the will of the American people. Once every American internalized the goal of winning the war, each one of them did what was necessary on a daily basis and the war was won. The same can be achieved with our children, but a similar effort to what took place in World War II must be achieved.

All of us, whether we have children or not, has a responsibility to enter into this effort to educate and raise our children. It is in our deep self-interest to do this. Government at all levels must help, and local government has the major responsibility. I hope in the days ahead we will work together to find answers to this crisis.

Before the memorial service in Littleton, I went with Colin Powell and Vice President GORE and the gentlewoman from Colorado (Ms. DEGETTE), other members of the Colorado delegation, to meet with the parents of the dead children. We met with them for an hour and a half before the memorial service. We hugged them. We cried with them. I told them that the whole country was there with us standing with them at this time of terror and sorrow.

One of the mothers, after sobbing uncontrollably and shaking in my arms, pulled back with a picture of her child and she said, ''Congressman, I hope you will lead in the Congress to make sure that my child did not die in vain.'' I will never get her face out of my mind.

And now we have more fathers and mothers in Georgia who today are saying, ''I hope my child was not injured in vain.''

How many more children have to go down for all of us to accept the responsibility that we have to see that children are cared for and loved and respected and disciplined so that this does not happen again?

We may not be able to agree on much here, but we owe every parent who has lost a child to violence our best, honest efforts to work together as a Congress to solve some of these problems.

I am not so arrogant to think that we have the power to single-handedly solve these problems. But we need to start the process of reaching out to one another for comprehensive, meaningful, effective solutions. We need an honest discussion of the profound changes that are happening in our society and what we can agree will begin to change our culture so that all of our children, every one of them, is raised to be a productive, law-abiding, contributing citizen in this great society. If we cannot somehow do that, we will be consigned to more and more Littletons and more and more Conyers, Georgia.

Every day in our country we lose 13 young people to suicide and violence. Every day there is a Littleton. And it has to come to an end. If we cannot act on something as important as our families and our futures, then we will fail in our most basic duty to promote the safety and well-being of all of our people.

We must do it now, not a month from now. We must do it before the next breaking news on CNN about another school shooting. We must do it before we see the pictures of children running across the lawns of schools trying to find safety. We must do it before we get another wake-up call and another specter of death among our young people in our schools.

We have already waited too long. We have overslept. It is time to wake up. It is time to hear the wake-up call and to say, this must stop, this must end.

And as another parent at Littleton told me, ''Surely,'' as tears rolled down his face, ''we can do better.''

This is the greatest country that has ever existed on Earth. We have a national crisis. The crisis is among our young people and it is in our schools. And surely we can summon the goodness and the greatness of our people and all of us to face down this death and to bring it to a final and lasting conclusion.

CRISIS IN OUR SCHOOLS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. EMERSON). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. STUPAK) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. STUPAK. Madam Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT), the Democratic leader, for those words. And I would also like the RECORD to note that earlier today, when we finished business, that the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT) also came down and spoke about recent shootings and tragedies facing this country.

I want to speak tonight, as the Speaker's designee in our special order, about what we Democrats as a party have been trying to do here to address this very, very serious national crisis, as the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT), our Democratic leader, stated.

But what we say here tonight, I want everyone to understand, is not a Democratic or Republican issue. We want to work with both sides to try to bring some consensus if we can on things that we should take as a Nation. But I think it is important for us to understand where some of us see as where we are going.

And things I say here tonight are my beliefs as the convening chair of the Crime and Drug Task Force for the Democrats, not just this Congress but the past Congress, and does not necessarily reflect the views of everybody in our caucus. And I am sure they do not reflect the views of my Republican friends.

But some of us are beginning to sit back and try to meet individually and bipartisan; and, as a Democratic caucus, we have been convening the chairs of the Education Task Force, the Health and Human Services Task Force, of the Crime and Drug Task Force and we have been meeting.

We were meeting before the tragedy of a month ago out in Colorado and really since the first of the year really. We had numerous meetings. In fact, today we had another one that we convened and tried to kick around more and more ideas and bounce ideas off people. I know many of us, both Democrats and Republicans, have been in schools and talking with teachers and parents and what can we could.

As the convening chair, my qualifications before I came into the U.S. Congress was I was a police officer for 12 years as a city police officer and as a Michigan State police trooper and worked with juveniles, worked in juvenile crime areas, and taught criminal investigations at the academies and constitutional law and everything else. And the school violence issue that has swept across the Nation the last 18 months, it is hard to put into words how it has torn at so many of us and how do we best address it.

What we have found through all of the meetings, through everything that has happened, even with the shootings today in Conyers, Georgia, I think the only thing we can see say is this is a very complex issue and there is no single solution, there is no magic program that we can pass that would solve this. And we have got to get past blame games.

I know the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT), the Democratic leader, again has asked the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT) to try to put together a bipartisan group. And I hope we can do that.

As we looked at what has happened, many of us see America has become alienated from each other. We see increases in hate crimes. For our children, we see and the experts tell us that we spend over the last 15 years one-third less time with our children than we did 15 years ago. So there is maybe less structure, maybe less discipline there, less guidance for our children.

For our children, the alienation that we see is now surfacing in schools. Society's problems are beginning to surface in schools. And even from our own leadership, I think when we have disputes on the floor which end in harsh words amongst each other does not speak well of the House as a whole or elected leaders and contributes to that alienation.

It is time for people to come together to try to reconcile our differences, the ill will that exists not only on the House floor of the U.S. Congress but the ill will that may exist in our families, our homes, our schools, our communities, our leaders, and even within ourselves.

So how do we end alienation and begin reconciliation to end the school and personal violence that we see that is gripping the headlines every night? How we do it is probably as varied as America. What works in North Carolina may not work in Michigan. Or we know the program that may work in North Carolina, character education, as they tell me, we may know it by a different name in Michigan where I represent. But what works in my northern rural district certainly will not work in the inner cities of our great cities.

☐ 1800

But what we understand is this. We understand that 100,000 weapons, be it guns or knives, come to school each day. We know that there are four times more guns out there, handguns, than there are children going to school, so there is access to guns readily available. We know as the Democratic leader said, there are 13 deaths per day of young people in America. We know that school psychologists tell us that probably 20 percent of the kids, students from K through 12 probably 20 percent of them need some help in dealing with problems at home, call it mental health problems, if you will. They also tell us that 3 to 6 percent of the students in our schools have severe mental health problems.

So when children lash out with those statistics, with the ready availability of weapons coming to and from school, you can see how the violence erupts and comes out and we see the headlines we see each and every day. We ask the statisticians and others in our meetings, is there a large enough sample of violence with the shootings that have occurred in the last 18 months, enough of a sample to say, are there similar characteristics of school violence in America? They have told us, no, the