

have enjoyed the last 45 minutes. I thank my colleagues from Tennessee, Virginia, and Arizona. I serve on the Banking Committee and have great respect for my colleague from Wyoming who chairs the subcommittee that deals with these issues.

The committee had extensive hearings going back into last year. The Senator from Wyoming deserves a great deal of credit—I know my colleagues share these views—for his tireless efforts to bring forth a bill that reflects not only the desires of exporters, but also takes into consideration the very important national security issues that our colleagues from Virginia, Tennessee, and Arizona have raised this afternoon.

The committee sent out this bill in March after seven different hearings with extensive testimony. I have been supportive of this effort.

I say to my colleague from Virginia, that he raises some very good points. This is not a debate that is going to attract nightly news attention. It can get rather detailed, as the Senator from Tennessee pointed out when he started talking about various provisions and what is intended by them.

As I listened, I clearly heard the spirit with which my colleagues raised these concerns, and they are concerns to which we should all pay attention. I know my colleague from Wyoming does. I, for one, thank them. I do not know what is going to happen with the debate. I hope my colleagues can address some of these concerns. Some amendments may be necessary. I suspect they will get broad-based support.

So, I came over to give a speech about education and I got educated, myself. I thank my colleagues, and I appreciate the points they raise. They are very valuable. The point raised about China is worthy of valuable note.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I thank the Senator for his courtesies as always. It is a very simple equation. The bill got the attention of the administration. It is a new administration. Secretary Rumsfeld, for example, has in place today only three persons who have reached the full confirmation process and are now sworn into office. Six more have been processed by the advise-and-consent procedures of my committee and will come before the full Senate next week.

The administration is struggling to put together this highly technical response. I think they should be given a reasonable period of time before we plow into a legislative process in this Chamber.

Mr. President, I thank my colleague.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I thank my good friend and colleague from Virginia.

Mr. President, I am not going to take much time. I see my good friend from West Virginia who always has worthwhile information to share with this body. I see my colleague from Louisiana is here as well.

I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EDUCATION

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I am here to continue to raise my voice and express concerns about the forthcoming debate regarding elementary and secondary education.

During almost my entire service in the Senate, I have been fortunate to serve on what now is called the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee.

I have had the privilege of serving with many wonderful Members, Democrats and Republicans, over the years, who have dedicated themselves to improving the quality of public education in America: Senator Pell, Senator Stafford, Senator KENNEDY, the present ranking member, Senator JEFFORDS, the present chairperson of the committee. Each of them deeply committed to seeing to it that this Nation provides our children the best educational opportunities possible. I believe that the Members of the Committee, today, are anxious to continue that tradition.

I do not know exactly when this matter will come before the Senate for consideration, but I am troubled that during the process of negotiation, while we are trying to work out our differences, not all the issues are on the table for discussion.

It has been most worthwhile for us to deal with the issues of accountability. Our colleague from New Mexico, Senator BINGAMAN, has for years championed the cause of the accountability of our schools across America, both as a Member of this body, and earlier as a Member of the other body. He brings to this debate years of experience and knowledge and I am particularly grateful to him for his help.

Over the years, we typically have passed education bills that enjoyed broad support, 90 or 95 votes, to support our elementary and secondary schools. I enjoyed being part of those truly bipartisan efforts.

Every day, about 50 million children attend public schools in the United States. Many of them, through Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, depend on Congress to provide them with resources that they need to help them get the education they need and deserve. Yet, we spend only about 2 cents of every Federal dollar on public education. In my view, we have not been a very good partner with our local communities in helping to improve the quality of education. Another—probably surprising—fact is that the Federal government contributes only about 7 cents to every dollar spent on education. Our small towns, cities, counties, and States provide the other 93 cents education.

So, for all we talk about what needs to be done about public education, we really haven't put our money—your money—where our mouth is. A couple

weeks ago, we debated the budget of our country. The great debate was over the size of the tax cut that the President has proposed. Virtually every Member, in fact, virtually everyone I know, believes that a tax cut makes sense given the budget surpluses projected.

But how much of a tax cut? The President wants \$1.6 trillion, based on ten-year economic projections. I don't know of a single economist worth his or her salt who believes that we can project with any degree of certainty what America's and the world's economic situation will be a decade from now. Yet the President of the United States and those who support him on this matter want to spend \$1.6 trillion of this budget over the next 10 years on a tax cut. And, Mr. President, \$680 billion of that \$1.6 trillion, will go to individuals who presently earn more than \$300,000 a year. Over that same period, the President would increase spending on education by \$42 billion, or about one-sixteenth of what he would spend on tax cuts for the wealthy.

I think in that context that we really ought to do better than spending only 2 percent of our budget to support America's educational. The administration and others say that full funding for title I of ESEA, which provides Federal dollars to the most needy school districts in America, is just too costly; that full funding for special education is just too costly; that we just can't afford it. But, we can afford \$680 billion for a tax cut for people who make more than \$300,000 a year which by the way is about twice as much as the Federal, State, and local governments combined spend on education in this country.

I represent the most affluent State in America on a per capita income basis. Some of my constituents want a tax cut. I have represented my State for more than two decades in the U.S. Congress. I am home almost every weekend. I have a fairly good idea of how people in Connecticut feel on issues.

On this issue, the overwhelming majority of my constituents, including those from the most affluent communities, tell me that we don't need this size tax cut, in light of the economic forecast and the many needs that America has. And, these are the people who would be the direct beneficiaries of the proposal the President is advocating.

This tax cut threatens to throw us back into the situation I encountered when I arrived in this body 20 years ago. I had been here a year, I say to my colleague from West Virginia, when I was asked to vote on a tax cut proposal that I thought was dangerous then. I wasn't sure. I was a new Member.

I was one of 11 people who voted against the tax cut proposal, and as I look back over 20 years of public service in this body, I don't think I ever cast a better vote. And I don't know many Members who were here that day who wouldn't like to have that vote back because of the great harm it did

to our country, throwing us into a deficit that took our national debt from \$900 billion to almost \$5 trillion in a little less than a decade.

Today, we have come out of that situation for a lot of reasons which I will not go into this afternoon. We have been given a second chance not to make the same mistake we did two decades ago. In the midst of this, we are going to have a debate about educational needs. The President has said many times that this is his No. 1 priority. How many times during the past year did we see the President campaigning in front of a banner that said "Leave No Child Behind."

I supported Al Gore for the Presidency, but I liked that the President said he was committed to leaving no child behind. And, part of me said that maybe he would take the right track. But, I am sad to report after 100 days that the "Leave No Child Behind" administration will do just that, if we adopt their education program that imposes strict new mandates on local communities—that they can't afford on their own—but won't commit the resources to match.

Unlike the defense authorization or the agriculture bill, which we consider every year, we won't consider the elementary and secondary education bill again for seven years. This is our one chance to establish our educational priorities as we start the new global millennium.

A child entering an elementary school in Connecticut today is not competing with a child from Louisiana or West Virginia or Oregon. They are competing with children from Beijing, Moscow, Australia, South Africa, and Europe. We are in a global economy. We have to produce the best educated, best prepared generation America has ever produced. And in no small measure what we do in the next few weeks will determine whether or not we are successful in that endeavor.

We talk about testing teachers and testing students. Well, we are about to take a test, ourselves. The test is whether we can get beyond politics in discussing an education bill, as we used to do around here. It is an embarrassment that we spend only two cents of each dollar of the national budget on education, when the President says that education ought to be our top priority. I agree with the President on that, but not on the resources he is willing to devote to education.

I am very worried that, during the ongoing negotiations, as we talk about testing and accountability, which I agree have and merit, we have not reached a consensus about how we will support real improvements in the schools. Tests are measurements, not reforms. We also need to support the real reforms that the tests will measure.

An educator in my home State of Connecticut said the other day: Taking someone's temperature three times an hour does not improve their health,

medicine does. Or, as my good friend and colleague from Louisiana, Senator LANDRIEU, said the other day: Resources without reform are a waste of money. But reform without resources is a waste of time.

That is about as good a statement I have heard in this debate over the last number of weeks. She is exactly right.

I would like to place on the table, in addition to accountability and testing and the other things we are discussing, the principle that we ought to have resources committed to school construction, and other issues. It is a disgrace that the average American child goes to school in a building built in the 1950s. And, we need to help schools get class sizes down to a level where teachers can teach and kids can learn. That ought to be a part of this negotiation.

Teachers do a magnificent job every day. I am somewhat biased in this. My oldest sister has been a teacher for about 30 years in the public schools of my State. She taught in the private schools; in the Montessori system of teaching before that. I have a brother who taught 25 years at the university level and my father's three sisters taught for 40 years apiece in the public school system in my State. All three are now gone, but they prided themselves on that and dedicated themselves as teachers. One of them was a Fulbright scholar. She taught in the Hartford Public High Schools. So I come to this debate and discussion, I suppose, with somewhat of a bias in that I have grown up with two generations of my family dedicated to teaching young people.

Nothing makes me more angry than when I hear people suggest that teachers do not care. Maybe there are some, but I have never met one. The ones I have met, the ones I know, could have chosen other career paths in their lives and been financially rewarded to a far greater extent than they were as teachers. But they were dedicated to improving the educational quality of their pupils.

This Nation is built on a number of great things. One of the best is a commitment to education by a group of people who educate succeeding generations of Americans. Those teachers embrace the values incorporated in our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution. We ought to applaud them every single day and thank them.

I listen to teachers talk about what needs to be done. We all ought to pay attention to that. We ought to listen to our PTAs and school boards, people who work every day with these issues. When I talk about class size, school construction, afterschool programs, teacher quality—these are not my ideas; these are not issues the Senator from Louisiana or the Senator from West Virginia or the Senator from Oregon thought up on our own. We were back listening to the folks at home who told us this is what is needed to make the system work better.

In the remaining hours and days here, before we begin a debate on this

subject matter, let us not be co-architects of a plan we will come to regret. There are those who are anxious to see the public educational system of this country disappear. I know that sounds like a radical thought, but there are those who believe it. I believe we may be setting up a system that will have a self-fulfilling prophecy ingrained in it, to produce the result that schools do not work and that we have to come up with alternatives to those to educate people in this country.

That is not an answer. Mr. President, 55 million children went to school today: 50 million went to a public school, 5 million went to a private or parochial school, 5 million. There is no way in the world we are going to create a private or parochial school system to accommodate the educational needs of generations of Americans for the 21st century and beyond. We have an obligation, every one of us here and at home, to weigh in and to make our schools better. We need national leadership that is going to put their shoulders behind that effort. And you cannot do it on the cheap. You cannot go around the country and talk about it every day and show up in classrooms for photo opportunities and come back here and say: We just cannot afford to do this, but we can afford to spend \$1.6 trillion on a tax cut, nearly half of which goes to the most affluent.

I hope my colleagues in the coming days will find that common ground and put these items on the table. Let's negotiate these items as well before we come to the floor with an education bill that runs the risk of testing kids and holding schools accountable but not providing the resources that our most needy schools require to implement reforms.

I apologize to my colleagues for taking a bit more time than I thought I would, but I thank you for your attention, and I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

MR. BYRD. Mr. President, I congratulate my colleague on his speech this afternoon. I share his thoughts, so beautifully and so eloquently expressed on this Senate floor. I salute him, and I will be working shoulder to shoulder with him to advance the education of our children.

During a recent break, I read a book by Sir Francis Bacon. The book is entitled, "The Advancement Of Learning." He was talking about some of the same things we are talking about today: the need for equipment in our educational institutions; the need to pay, the need to remunerate the people who teach in these schools. So I think we are—I was about to say "walking in good footsteps." I hesitated because Sir Francis Bacon was impeached and went to the tower for a while. But anyway, I congratulate my friend.

Mr. President, I understand my friend and colleague from Louisiana is also interested in speaking. May I ask her how much time she would need?

Ms. LANDRIEU. I could probably use 5 minutes, if the Senator could be so gracious to allow that, for comments on education.

Mr. BYRD. I have three speeches. I am not noted for brevity in my speeches, but I do not worry about that too much because Cicero was once asked which of Demosthenes' speeches, he, Cicero, liked the best.

Cicero's answer was, "the longest." He liked the longest of Demosthenes' speeches the best. Of course his speech "On the Crown" was probably the greatest speech ever made.

I wonder if the distinguished Senator will let me do my first speech, which will require less than 10 minutes. Then I ask unanimous consent that I may yield to the Senator for her remarks, and that I retain the floor so I might complete my other two speeches.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SENATOR STROM THURMOND

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, this morning's Washington Post contained a front page story on our distinguished colleague, Senator STROM THURMOND.

I am the Senator in this body who has served longest with Senator THURMOND. I served with Senator THURMOND when Senator THURMOND was a member of the party on this side of the aisle. So, having served with Senator THURMOND all of these long years, I began reading the story, thinking how nice it was that the paper would devote time and space to take notice of the longest serving U.S. Senator in American history, Senator THURMOND, who has cast more than 15,800 votes. He is a man who loved his country so much that he gave up his draft exemption status during World War II in order to enlist in the U.S. military and take part in the invasion of Normandy and the liberation of Europe. I salute Senator THURMOND for his patriotism. He didn't have to do that, but he did it.

As I read the story, I was filled with dismay, then revulsion. Contrary to my expectation, what I was reading was a demeaning drivel filled with denigrating language and insensitive images.

As I read, I kept asking myself, what is the point of this story? Is there any purpose to be served by it?

This is certainly not a news story. Yet, it is on the front page of a major national newspaper—a newspaper that is read around the world everyday, a newspaper that is a great newspaper.

I can see neither a point nor a purpose to the story other than a pathetic attempt to demean an outstanding man and a long serving, distinguished federal lawmaker.

Every senior citizen in America ought to be offended by this orgy of pejorative blather which aims only to viciously exploit something as normal as the human aging process.

We are all going to be old one day, if we live long enough. We ought to be

conscious of that fact. We should be conscious of it every day regardless of what pursuit we follow in life.

Is there no decency anymore?

Is there no respect for anything anymore?

The people of South Carolina continue to place their confidence and their trust in Senator THURMOND. They elected Senator THURMOND to represent their State in the U.S. Senate. And they have elected him and reelected him many times. That is their judgment to make, and I respect their judgment, and so should everybody else.

The Senate is a collective body of 100 men and women who have been elected by the people of their various States to make the Nation's laws. We are a unique body. One-thousand, eight hundred and sixty-four men and women have served in the Senate since the first day it met in 1789.

We are a special body. While we may have our disagreements on this floor, I believe that the Members of this body for the most part respect each other off the Senate floor as well as on the Senate floor.

However, midway through the story, the Post journalist quotes a Senator who "agreed to speak candidly only if he was granted anonymity."

I am speaking candidly today, and I don't do so with anonymity.

At any rate, the story quotes the unnamed Senator as saying, in talking about Senator THURMOND, "At what point do you draw the line?"

That is the question I kept asking myself as I read this inappropriate, tasteless, cheap-shot piece of journalism: At what point do you draw the line?

That is the very question the Washington Post should have been asking before they chose to print their tabloid tripe: At what point do you draw the line?

May I suggest that the real story here is not Senator THURMOND's age. The real story should be that he loves this institution so much and loves serving the people of South Carolina so much that he, at the age of 98, continues to serve and have the courage to carry on, and that he loves his country so much that he was willing to set aside his exempt status in World War II and participate in that dreadful landing on the beaches of Normandy and risk his life, as so many others risked their lives. And many of them never returned. Senator THURMOND continues to serve and have the courage to carry on, in spite of non-news, deeply offensive stories such as the one in today's Washington Post.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana is recognized.

EDUCATION

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from West Virginia for his heartfelt and wonderful remarks. I thank him for yielding just a

few minutes this afternoon to me to speak about the subject of education to follow up on many of the things our colleague from Connecticut, Senator DODD, said so eloquently just a few minutes ago. I appreciate the Senator from West Virginia yielding.

I could actually spend over an hour speaking about this subject because it is so important to our Nation, and it is so important to the State I represent, Louisiana. I will come back often during this debate to try to help focus our attention on some of the aspects of this educational debate that is so important.

Let me begin by simply saying that we are spending a good amount of money on education today. We are spending about \$18 billion. That is a lot of money. It is a lot of money to the people of Louisiana. And title I is \$3.6 billion with a "b"—not a million but a billion. That is a huge amount of money, but, unfortunately, I am here to say today that it is not enough to do the things we know we need to do to help reform and improve our schools and to truly give every child in this country a chance to succeed.

As the Senator from West Virginia knows, there are no guarantees in this life. The Government cannot guarantee every citizen a good life. But our Constitution, the formation of this country, and the reason we come to work I think every day as Senators and Members of this body is to try to provide at least equal opportunity and an equal chance to succeed, to be a part of this great Nation.

There are many ways we can try to do that. But one fundamental way is through the process of formal education—providing excellence in education to every child, whether they be born into a wealthy family, or a poor family, a black family, or a white family, whether they are born in California or New York or Louisiana or Minnesota.

Today, as a nation, we believe we have an obligation. We did not always believe that because prior to 1965 education was a very local enterprise. But since 1965, this Government has recognized that the Federal Government does, in fact, have a role to play, not only in helping States with dollars but, hopefully, now helping them with direction, and moving them to reforms into excellence because while some of our public schools are working, too many of them are failing.

So as we speak about this education debate, yes, we are spending a significant amount of money, but it is not nearly enough. In fact, you can look at how our money has really not increased.

For the record, let me share with you that the title I portion, which is \$3.6 billion of the \$18 billion total, since 1965, has barely kept pace with inflation. So while every year we come to Washington and say education is our No. 1 priority—the polls most certainly indicate that on the Republican side