

Second, I suggest that you recommend that Presidents of the United States appoint a lead advisor to coordinate all of the federal government responsibilities for higher education.

My greatest regret as U.S. Education Secretary was that I did not volunteer to be that lead person. Secretary Spellings, with the appointment of this commission, has assumed at least some of that responsibility. But the authority of the Secretary of Education over higher education is somewhat like the authority of the U.S. Senate Majority leader or a university president: overestimated. Almost every agency of the federal government has something to do with higher education, tens of billions of taxpayer dollars are invested every year and someone should be looking at all of this in a coordinated way.

Third, I urge you to join me on the bandwagon for deregulation of higher education.

The greatest threat to the quality of American higher education is not underfunding, it is overregulation. The key to the quality of our higher education system is that it is not a system. It is a marketplace of 6,000 autonomous institutions. Yet, thanks largely to the last two rounds of the federal Higher Education Act, each one of our 6,000 higher education institutions that accepts students with federal grants and loans must wade through over 7,000 regulations and notices. The President of Stanford has said that seven cents of every tuition dollar is spent on compliance with governmental regulations.

Fourth, I urge the Congress to overhaul the Medicaid program and free states from outdated federal court consent decrees so that states may properly fund colleges and universities.

You have two charts before you that tell the story. Nationally, during the five year period from 2000 to 2004, state spending for Medicaid was up 36 percent, while state spending for higher education was up only 6.8 percent. As one result, tuition was up 38 percent.

The story in Tennessee was worse. Medicaid spending was up 71 percent, while higher education was up only 10.5 percent, and tuition was up 43 percent.

By the way, during this same four year period, federal spending for higher education was up 71 percent.

When I left the governor's office in 1987, Tennessee was spending 51 cents of each state tax dollar on education and 16 cents on health care, mainly Medicaid. Today it is 40 cents on education and 26 cents on health care, mainly Medicaid.

To give governors and legislatures the proper authority to allocate resources, Congress should give states more authority over Medicaid standards and more ability to terminate outdated federal court consent decrees that remove decision-making authority from elected officials.

Fifth, I hope you will put a spotlight on the greatest disappointment in higher education today: Colleges of Education.

"At a time when America's schools face a critical demand for effective principals and superintendents, the majority of programs that prepare school leaders range in quality from inadequate to poor." Those are not my words, but those of a new report by Arthur Levine, the President of Teachers College, Columbia University. Or ask Richard Light, the Harvard professor, who is working with university presidents trying to find and inspire a new generation of leaders for our colleges of education. Sometimes colleges of education are even roadblocks to the very reforms they ought to be championing. In 1983, when I asked colleges of education to help me find a fair way to pay teachers more for

teaching well (which not one state was doing at the time), they said it couldn't be done. So we invented our own system for thousands of teachers, with virtually no help from the very people who are in business to figure out such things. And still today, despite the good work of Governor Hunt and others, the lack of differential pay is the major obstacle to quality teaching.

Finally, I hope you will put a spotlight on the greatest threat to broader public support and funding for higher education: the growing political one-sidedness which has infected most campuses, and an absence of true diversity of opinion.

To describe this phenomenon, allow me to borrow some words from the past which may sound familiar to your chairman, Charles Miller, who was once Chairman of the Board of regents of the University of Texas: "systematic, persistent and continuous attempts by a politically dominant group to impose its social and educational views on the university." This was what the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) called it in its censure of Texas Governor Pappy O'Daniel's Board of Regents when the Board fired University of Texas President Homer Rainey in the 1940's. This is reported in Willie Morris' book, *North Toward Home*. Then the AAUP was talking about one-sidedness imposed by the right, instead of by the left—but political one-sidedness is political one-sidedness, no matter from what direction it comes.

There is more to this charge of one-sidedness than the academic community would like to admit. How many conservative speakers are invited to deliver commencement addresses? How many colleges require courses in U.S. history? How many even teach Western Civilization? How many bright, young faculty members are encouraged to earn dissertations in the failures of bilingual education, or on the virtues of vouchers or charter schools?

I am not surprised that most faculties express liberal views, vote Democratic and that most faculty members resist authority. That is the nature of most university communities. But I am disappointed when true diversity of thought is discouraged in the name of a preferred brand of diversity. This one-sidedness is not good for students. It is not good for the pursuit of truth. And it undermines broad public support for higher education. The solution to this political rigidity lies not in Washington, D.C., but in the hands of trustees, deans and faculty members themselves.

Last year Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison of Texas invited former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso to join a small group of U.S. Senators in the Majority Leader's office for a discussion. Dr. Cardoso was completing a residency at the Library of Congress.

"What memory of the United States will you take back to your country?" Senator Hutchison asked Dr. Cardoso.

"The American university," he replied immediately. "The uniqueness, strength and autonomy of the American university. There is nothing like it in the world."

I salute Secretary Spellings and this Commission for undertaking to preserve and improve higher education, America's secret weapon for its future success. In coming to your conclusions, I hope that you will urge the President to adopt the Augustine Report and to designate a lead advisor for higher education, that you will jump on the bandwagon to deregulate higher education and preserve its autonomy, that you will urge Congress to overhaul Medicaid and federal court consent decrees so states can properly fund higher education, and that you will urge trustees to revamp Colleges of Edu-

cation and ensure a campus environment that honors true diversity of opinion.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, Secretary Spellings has appointed this commission to look at the future of higher education. Other than the war against terror, keeping our brain power advantage so we can create new jobs here in the United States and keep our jobs from going to China, India, Finland, and Ireland, is the biggest challenge we face as a nation.

I made a statement before the Commission on the Future of Higher Education that it adopt the recommendations of the National Academies' "Augustine Report" and urge the President to make it a focus of his State of the Union Address. The report recommends 20 steps to keep that brain power advantage, and was written by a distinguished panel of business, government, and university leaders headed by Norm Augustine, former CEO of Lockheed Martin.

I also urged the commission to make certain that we deregulate higher education; to make certain that the President appoints an adviser to coordinate all of the Federal Government's responsibilities for higher education; to urge Congress to overhaul Medicaid so States may properly fund higher education; to put a spotlight on the greatest disappointment in higher education today, our colleges of education; and, finally, to put a spotlight on the greatest threat to broader public support for funding of higher education, the growing political one-sidedness which has infected most campuses in an absence of true diversity of opinion.

I salute Secretary Spellings and her distinguished commission. I look forward to their recommendations. There could not be a more important subject to our country's future for them to consider than how do we take this remarkable system of higher education that we built in this country—the best in the world—and strengthen it so it can play a pivotal role in helping Americans keep good-paying jobs in the United States.

Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

TANF PROGRAM

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, I rise today to urge our colleagues in the Senate to instruct the conferees to the budget reconciliation bill to reject the House provisions dealing with the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, TANF, Program.

Like several of our colleagues, I have a long history of working to improve our Nation's welfare policies to, first of all, make them more effective for States, but also more effective for families.

When I was privileged to serve as Governor of the State of Delaware, I also served, at the same time, as co-chairman of the National Governors Association's Welfare Reform Task

Force, along with then-Governor John Engler, and played a lead role in helping to craft welfare reform legislation for Delaware and for our Nation.

As Senator, I have pushed, for the past 3 years, for welfare reauthorization legislation that emphasizes work while also providing help to welfare participants with respect to childcare and educational opportunities.

Because of my extensive involvement with welfare reform for more than a dozen years and my belief that the program can work for both States and families, I am troubled that the House of Representatives has chosen to include its welfare reauthorization bill in the budget reconciliation package. Doing so gives the Senate no opportunity to debate the needed changes in this important program.

The TANF provisions included by the House would reauthorize and make significant policy changes to our Nation's welfare program. Those changes include far more stringent work requirements than under current law while failing to provide sufficient childcare funding or other work supports to help participants meet those new requirements. The House bill would dramatically increase requirements on States without giving them additional resources. And the House language would make it more difficult for TANF recipients to make the successful leap from welfare to work.

The budget reconciliation process is not the right place to reauthorize our country's welfare program. Instead, we should take the opportunity to reauthorize welfare through the regular legislative process, using the bipartisan bill reported out of the Senate Finance Committee as our guide.

Earlier this year, you may recall, the Senate Finance Committee reported out a welfare reform bill—it is called the Personal Responsibility and Individual Development for Everyone Act, lovingly known as the PRIDE Act—on a bipartisan basis. This legislation would make commonsense changes and reauthorize the welfare reform program for the next 5 years. The measure would also provide long overdue stability to States and beneficiaries who have been waiting since 2002 for us to provide long-term reauthorization, a path forward.

I would like to commend this afternoon Chairman GRASSLEY and Ranking Member BAUCUS, their Finance Committee colleagues, and their staff for their hard work in crafting the bipartisan PRIDE Act. That legislation is a testament to their dedication and their commitment to enabling Americans to move off welfare and, most importantly, be better off. That committee was able to find consensus on issues that can be both complex and, at times, controversial.

The PRIDE bill can and should be taken up by the full Senate and debated on the Senate floor early next year. This is not a debate that should consume weeks but, rather, a debate

that should consume at most a few days. I pledge today to work closely with my colleagues on our side and the Republican side of the aisle to ensure that the bill does not get bogged down in the Senate and that we move it along.

A full debate, though, on the issues would give the Senate, not just a few Senate conferees to a reconciliation bill, the opportunity to have a real discussion about the future of welfare and what policies we should accept or reject during reauthorization. That is what we need to do. And I believe it need not take weeks to develop a consensus and pass a bipartisan bill by a wide margin.

In my view, the House welfare reform bill, called the Personal Responsibility, Work, and Family Promotion Act of 2005, is, unfortunately, decidedly partisan. The bill was reported out of both subcommittee and committee by party-line votes and was then dropped wholesale into the budget reconciliation bill.

While I am opposed to the inclusion of the House TANF provisions in the reconciliation bill, I encourage my Senate colleagues to oppose including it for a number of other reasons as well.

I fear that the House's inclusion of a welfare reauthorization bill in a budget reconciliation bill sets up two likely possibilities: No. 1, that the conferees will simply recede to the House TANF provisions; or, No. 2, differences between the House TANF provisions and the Senate PRIDE bill will have to be worked out during a hurried conference committee, in which a few conferees will be faced with tough choices on an incredible array of other issues. Neither scenario is acceptable. Welfare will likely be overshadowed in this context and is not likely to get much thoughtful review.

The work-first approach to welfare reform has enabled States to reduce caseloads dramatically over the last decade or so, while helping members of low-income families to move into jobs and toward financial self-sufficiency. We should build on these successes, not jeopardize them. By giving welfare the proper legislative consideration in both the House and the Senate, we can do just that.

The House TANF provisions differ greatly from the Senate's, and I believe a number of the House provisions are flat out unacceptable. The House bill would dramatically increase, for example, the number of hours that welfare recipients must work. You may recall, under current law, welfare recipients must work an average of 30 hours per week. However, under current law, mothers with young children under the age of 6 must now work at least 20 hours per week. The House bill, by comparison, requires that all welfare recipients—if you have a child a week old or a month old or a year old—even mothers with young children must work 40 hours per week. That is a dou-

bling of the required hours for single parents with young children.

I have been supportive of increased work requirements in the past, but the House bill increases work hours while failing to provide adequate funding for badly needed childcare.

My friends, we can do better than that. To me, it is just basic logic, basic common sense that in order to move parents off welfare into work, we have to give them access to decent childcare. The House bill provides only \$100 million per year in additional childcare funding to meet a doubling of work hours. Spread out over 50 States, that does not come close to meeting the needs of families. In fact, over 5 years, this level of funding is \$500 million less than what has been included in previous House-passed bills, and \$5.5 billion less than what the Senate would provide. What is more, according to the Congressional Budget Office, it is \$4.3 billion less than what is needed to keep pace with inflation and almost \$8 billion less than the amount needed to offset increased demand for childcare caused by the increased work requirements.

Again, when I was privileged to serve as Governor of my little State, I saw firsthand that parents cannot move to work successfully if they do not have an answer to this question: Who is going to take care of my children and how will I pay for it?

If we want to help parents find jobs—and I know we do—we need to help them secure childcare. It is just that simple.

In addition to what I feel are inadequate provisions surrounding work and childcare, the House bill also limits the ability of welfare recipients to participate in educational activities such as vocational education, allowing participants to participate in that activity for only 3 months in a 2-year period instead of the current 12 months.

The Senate bill, on the other hand, continues to allow 12 months of vocational education and also establishes something called a Parents as Scholars Program, which allows welfare recipients to go on to higher education, not forever but for at least a limited period of time.

In my view, the House bill is not friendly to States either. It asks States to make dramatic changes to their programs. Yet it gives them no additional funding to accomplish those changes and little time to meet those requirements before they would be subject to harsh penalties. The Senate bill, on the other hand, gives States time to meet new requirements. If States make improvements but for some reason are not able to immediately ramp up to the strenuous new targets, penalties will be temporarily waived—not permanently, temporarily. Perhaps some of my Senate colleagues on the other side of the aisle could find common ground with the House provisions. Perhaps some believe we could improve upon the House provisions in conference to

come up with something that is more workable.

I argue, however, that no matter what my colleagues think about the House proposal, we can all agree that the Senate should have the chance to consider welfare reauthorization under regular order, and soon. If we are allowed to debate welfare reform in this body, I am confident we could come up with a bipartisan agreement that truly advances our shared goal of making work pay more than welfare.

The motion I will offer tomorrow would urge conferees to give the Senate a chance to do just that, by rejecting provisions related to the reauthorization of TANF. Instead, the motion I will offer would urge that the Congress enact freestanding legislation that builds on the bipartisan Senate Finance Committee PRIDE bill.

I cannot emphasize enough that the Senate bill was reported out of the Finance Committee on a bipartisan basis. The House bill, on the other hand, has consistently enjoyed the support of only one party. Further, welfare reform should not be considered in the whirlwind of budget reconciliation. Reform should be based on sound policy, and we should seek to find bipartisan consensus on this most important issue, something I am confident we can do.

Tomorrow, when the motion to instruct is offered, I urge and invite my colleagues, both Democratic and Republican, to support it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for up to 30 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator is recognized for 30 minutes.

PATRIOT ACT

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, one of the major items that we will be taking up prior to the end of the year is the issue of the renewal of the so-called USA PATRIOT Act. There was quite an effort in the last couple of years in the Senate to try to fix the problems with the PATRIOT Act that led me to vote against it originally. That was a very difficult time, obviously, after 9/11/2001. The PATRIOT Act got through on a very accelerated basis, and a number of us identified serious problems that other people didn't have a chance to analyze at the time. But the situation now has changed. We have had years to look at this. Thankfully, the Senate worked together to do its job on this bill.

In the Judiciary Committee and in the Senate as a whole, we passed changes to the USA PATRIOT Act, along with renewing the provisions scheduled to sunset at the end of this year. It was a unanimous vote. People from very different philosophies came together and said: Let's get this right. Let's make sure law enforcement has

the power and the ability to go after the terrorist network. But, at the same time, let's do what we have to do to protect the civil liberties and rights of absolutely law-abiding Americans.

Sadly, the conference committee did just the reverse. The conference committee ignored the will of the Senate. The conference committee did not make changes in critical areas such as library records and business records, so-called sneak-and-peek searches, and national security letters, changes that were essential to reaching the changes that were agreed to in the Senate. I didn't think the Senate version did as much to protect civil liberties and the rights of innocent Americans as we should have, but it was a move in the right direction. Regrettably, the conference report is nothing of the kind.

I join Senator SUNUNU, who spoke eloquently about this earlier today, in saying that the conference report that will be before the Senate is not acceptable in its current form. The conference committee needs to go back to the drawing board and make the changes that are needed. The changes are very easy to find. They were contained in the unanimously approved Senate reauthorization bill.

Clearly, there will be much more to say about this as the week goes on, but we are prepared to use whatever means we are allowed to use under the Senate rules to try to prevent this conference report from becoming law in its current form.

IRAQ

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, over the past few months, I have addressed the Senate on a number of occasions about the administration's flawed Iraq policies. I have discussed a number of problems with those policies. But the most important problem is that they are undermining our ability to counter a wide range of transnational threats that face our country. In too many cases, these threats have been overlooked or insufficiently addressed because of this administration's misguided emphasis on policies in Iraq.

Today I will explain why we need to refocus our national security strategy on the global campaign against terrorist networks, and I will briefly identify five areas on which we need to focus. A clear, targeted strategy to strengthen our national security is not an option but a necessity in the face of the growing threats posed by jihadist terrorist networks. The President is spending a lot of time talking about success in Iraq. Unfortunately, he fails to recognize that success in Iraq will not be achieved by a massive and indefinite U.S. military presence. He appears to fail to understand the limited role that the U.S. military can play in Iraq's long-term political and economic reconstruction efforts. I am afraid to say, he fundamentally fails to understand that success in Iraq, as important as it is, is secondary to success in

our larger campaign against global terrorists. Iraq—simply put—is not the be all and end all of our national security.

Our brave service men and women won a resounding victory in the initial military operation in Iraq. They have performed magnificently under very difficult circumstances. Now their task is largely over. The current massive U.S. military presence, without a clear strategy and a flexible timetable to finish the military mission in Iraq, is actually fueling the insurgency and will ultimately prevent the very economic and political progress that the Iraqis are demanding and that the President has started to talk about in his speeches. This isn't a strategy for success in Iraq or a strategy for success in the fight against global terrorism. That is why we need a flexible timeline for meeting clear benchmarks and also withdrawing U.S. troops.

I am not talking about an artificial timetable, a phrase the President likes to use. I am calling for a public, flexible timetable with clear benchmarks. I have suggested the end of December 2006 as a target date for completion of that mission. But I have made clear that any date will have to be flexible to respond to unforeseen circumstances.

The administration has a unique opportunity this week to set our Iraq policy on track. Iraqis will return to the polls on December 15 to choose their leaders. Spelling out a plan for the timely withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq will signal U.S. support for an autonomous, independent, and self-sustaining Iraqi government. There is no better way to empower the new Iraqi government and the Iraqi people than by showing that the U.S. military mission in Iraq is not indefinite. If we don't heed the advice of a growing chorus of experts to set a timetable for withdrawal, it will be impossible to recenter our priorities and reengage in the global campaign against terrorist networks.

And that is what we need to do in order to defeat those networks.

We have not kept our eye on the ball, Mr. President. We have focused on Iraq to the exclusion of these critical priorities, and we have done so at our peril. It is far past time for us to engage in a serious dialogue about the threats we face, and come up with a tough, comprehensive national security strategy to defeat them.

What are these threats and where do they come from? As we all know, the jihadist network is global in its reach, and it is showing no signs of slowing its recruitment and organization in every region of the world. Since we waged war against the Taliban in the fall of 2001—a war I supported, by the way—we have seen the network of extremist jihadist movements proliferate throughout the world. We have seen it surface in Madrid, London, Amman, Bali, and in places such as the Philippines, Algeria, Pakistan, Somalia, and Nigeria. And while it has spread throughout the world, it holds certain