

Mr. KENNEDY. Reserving the right to object, I would like to see if we could give at least some assurances to the Members about when we would come back to deal with the education legislation.

As the Senator himself knows, this is our one chance every 5 or 6 years to try to deal with this issue. We have been making some progress during the course of these last few days. We do not have a whole long list of amendments, and we are prepared to deal with short time limits.

I am wondering now whether the leader could give us at least some idea when we are going to come back to it.

Mr. LOTT. Let me again emphasize, first, that this would provide for a vote at 9:30 in the morning on the motion to proceed to the Africa and CBI trade bill. If it is agreed to, then the cloture vote, by agreement, will be Thursday morning at 10:30.

With regard to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, our colleagues probably are aware we have already agreed that there are two more amendments that, by unanimous consent, we would go to next—the Stevens-Jeffords and others amendment; to be followed by a Kennedy amendment. So we have the next group of two amendments that would be in order.

I have discussed this with Senator DASCHLE. It is our intent, now that we have appropriations bills that are becoming available, that, for probably now on into the summer, we are going to be dual-tracking bills wherever it is necessary, so we can get an appropriations bill done or an urgent bill such as the conference report on Africa trade and CBI. There is a belief we should go ahead and get that done and move to appropriations bills when they are available, and then come back to the authorizations, whether it is the elementary and secondary education bill or trade bill or whatever it may be.

So it is our intent to come back to ESEA and proceed with the amendments that it is already been agreed we will consider next while we work to see if we can get another grouping of two or more amendments to be considered.

I agree, there has been good debate. The amendments have been focused on elementary and secondary education, and we have amendments still pending on both sides that relate to that. As long as there is that kind of cooperation and progress being made, I think we should continue to pursue it.

So it is my intent to come back to elementary and secondary education, if not later on this week, then next week, when we have a window.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I appreciate what the Senator has said. As I understand, he will make the best effort to come back to it this week, but we will have an opportunity to come back to it next week. Is that the leader's plan?

Mr. LOTT. That is my hope and intent. We should be able to do that and continue to move appropriations bills, also.

Again, it will take cooperation on the MILCON construction appropriations bill, which does have the military funding for Kosovo and for the fuel costs. We have the agriculture bill that is available that has, I believe, the disaster funding in it in addition to the regular agricultural appropriations programs. And the Foreign Operations bill has been reported.

But we will work with the leadership as to exactly when those will come up. We will try to move through those three as quickly as we can and try to move the Africa trade bill with the CBI provisions, and the ESEA. I think those three appropriations bills and these two—the conference report and this authorization bill—will take the remainder of the time probably for the next couple weeks. We are going to stay on it.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, just further reserving the right to object, and I will not object, I take the assurances of the leader that we will return to this in every expectation next week. I think there are many of us who believe this issue is of equal importance to a number of the appropriations bills, since we are talking about appropriations next fall, next October, and we are running late in terms of the ESEA. So there is a real sense of urgency about it. But I am grateful to the leader for giving us those assurances.

I do not object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, if I could go further, I ask unanimous consent that the time between 9:30 a.m. and 10:30 a.m. on Thursday be equally divided in the usual form on the subject of the African and CBI trade bill.

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

Mr. LOTT. Therefore, a rollcall vote will occur at 9:30 a.m. on Wednesday, and a vote is scheduled for 10:30 a.m. on Thursday. There may be additional votes after that.

I think Members should expect additional votes on Thursday, although we have not agreed to what they would be at this point.

I do want to note that I certainly believe the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is very important. That is why we have been on it the second week. We have given a lot of time to it. I think that is fine. This is a high priority in the minds of the American people and every State in the Nation, and with us.

However, the appropriations bills each have emergency provisions in them—an emergency for the Kosovo funding and the fuel costs for our military; the agriculture bill has the emergency disaster funding in it, though some of it for North Carolina, and expected disasters; and the Foreign Oper-

ations bill has funding in it for the very dangerous situation involving Colombian drugs. That is why we are going to be trying to move those as quickly as possible.

I thank my colleagues and announce there will be no further votes this evening.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES ACT—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

AMENDMENT NO. 3139

(Purpose: To provide for early learning programs, and for other purposes)

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I have an amendment at the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS], for himself, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. DODD, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. BOND, Mr. KERRY, Mr. VOINOVICH, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. SMITH of Oregon, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. L. CHAFEE, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. ROBB, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. WELLSTONE, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Ms. MIKULSKI, Ms. SNOWE, Mrs. BOXER, Mr. KERREY, Mr. SPECTER, and Mr. WARNER proposes an amendment numbered 3139.

Mr. STEVENS. I ask unanimous consent reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The text of the amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Amendments Submitted.")

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from West Virginia to make a short statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

KOSOVO AMENDMENT

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the Senate Appropriations Committee today adopted, by a very strong bipartisan vote, an amendment authored by Senator WARNER and myself that addresses the ongoing role of United States participation in the Kosovo peacekeeping operation. Our amendment, which was attached to a Kosovo supplemental appropriations package, is cosponsored by Senator STEVENS and a number of other Senators on both the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees.

The Byrd-Warner amendment goes to the heart of the constitutional responsibility of Congress to address issues involving the deployment of U.S. military troops to politically unstable and potentially dangerous war-ravaged nations overseas.

I am troubled by the trend that has developed in recent years to de facto authorize military operations through appropriations bills without further congressional discussion or debate on the policy. Under this practice, the Executive Branch determines how and

where it will spend the money, and how much money it will spend, and then presents the bill to Congress. We saw it happen in Bosnia, in Haiti, in Somalia, and now it is happening in Kosovo.

Mr. President, I do not believe that such a back-door authorization process is what the founding fathers had in mind when they delegated to Congress alone the power of the purse.

By continuing to allow the Executive Branch to deploy U.S. troops overseas and merely send the bill to Congress later, Congress is effectively abrogating its responsibility under the Constitution and to the American people.

The Byrd-Warner amendment restores congressional oversight to the calculation. Our amendment cuts off funding for the continued deployment of U.S. ground combat troops in Kosovo after July 1, 2001, unless the President seeks and receives congressional authorization to continue such deployment. At the same time, the amendment requires the President to develop a plan to turn the Kosovo peacekeeping operation entirely over to our allies by July 1, 2001.

The amendment provides ample time and an orderly process for this President, and the next President, to either develop a plan to turn the ground troop element of the Kosovo peacekeeping operation entirely over to the Europeans, or to seek congressional authorization to keep United States ground troops in Kosovo.

As an interim step, the amendment withholds 25 percent of the Kosovo money included in the supplemental appropriations package pending certification by the President that America's allies are making adequate progress in meeting their monetary and personnel commitments to the Kosovo peacekeeping operation. The certification is due by July 15. If the President cannot make the certification, the funds held in reserve can only be used to withdraw United States troops from Kosovo unless Congress votes otherwise.

Mr. President, this is a reasoned and reasonable approach to dealing with foreign peacekeeping operations. Senator WARNER and I believe that it can be executed without major disruption to the NATO peacekeeping mission in Kosovo. We are not turning our backs on Kosovo. We are not attempting to micromanage the Pentagon. We are merely attempting to restore congressional oversight to the peacekeeping process.

When it comes to exercising its constitutional authority, Congress has been sleeping on its rights. This amendment is a long overdue wake-up call. I thank Senator WARNER for his work on the amendment, and for his unswerving dedication to the nation and to the Senate, and I look forward to continuing to work with him on this very important issue.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I am pleased to join today with my distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia, as his principal co-

sponsor on this important Kosovo amendment which was adopted this morning by the Appropriations Committee. We have worked together as partners on this endeavor for the past several weeks, and I have confidence that the outcome of our efforts is sound precedent for our Nation's security policy.

The amendment which will soon be before the full Senate is a true collaboration—a melding of the original Warner certification amendment and the long-standing efforts of Senator BYRD to ensure that Congress exercises its constitutional role in decisions to deploy U.S. troops into harm's way.

There are two main goals that we are seeking to accomplish: first, to ensure that our allies are shouldering their commitments, their fair share of the burden for implementing stability and peace in Kosovo; and, second, to require the Congress to fulfill its constitutional responsibility to vote on the continued deployment of U.S. ground combat troops in Kosovo.

I would like to address—up front—what we are not doing with this amendment. We are not doing a "cut and run" from Kosovo. We are not deserting our NATO allies. I want to be very clear on these points. We are simply saying that our allies must fulfill the commitments which they made—I repeat, which they made—to provide assistance and personnel to rebuild the civil society in Kosovo; and that the Congress must take action—vote—to specifically authorize the continued presence of United States ground combat troops in Kosovo after July 1, 2001.

These are not precipitous or ill-conceived measures. They are supported by a respected group of cosponsors who are all strong supporters of NATO and who are determined not to let the United States military simply drift into an endless presence in Kosovo. The vote in the Appropriations Committee was overwhelmingly in favor of the Byrd-Warner amendment—23 to 3.

I would like to address in detail the certification requirement contained in this amendment, as it is an updated version of an amendment I originally put before the Senate on March 9. Subsection (d) of the Byrd-Warner amendment would provide 75 percent of the over \$2 billion contained in the Supplemental for military operations in Kosovo immediately—no strings attached. The expenditure of the remaining 25 percent of the funding would be dependent on a certification by the President that our allies had provided a certain percentage of their commitments of assistance and personnel to Kosovo. If the President is not able to make that certification by July 15, 2000, then the remaining 25 percent of the Kosovo funds contained in the fiscal year 2000 supplemental could be used only to conduct the safe, orderly and phased withdrawal of our troops from Kosovo. This limitation could be overcome by a vote of the Congress—under expedited procedures—to allow

the money to be used for the continued deployment of our troops in Kosovo, despite the lack of the Presidential certification.

Why do I feel so strongly about our Allies meeting their commitments in Kosovo? Because of the sacrifices of our brave men and women in uniform who bore the major share of the burden for the air war in Kosovo, and the continuing sacrifices of our troops, today and for the future, on the ground in Kosovo. As my colleagues know, the United States flew almost 70 percent of the total number of strike and support sorties in Operation Allied Force, at great personal risk, particularly to our aviators, and at a cost of over \$4 billion to the U.S. taxpayers.

In return, the Europeans have promised to pay the major share of the burdens to implement and secure the peace. So far, they have committed and pledged billions of dollars and thousands of personnel for this goal. The problem is that not enough of the money or the necessary personnel have made it to Kosovo.

Since I first signaled my intentions on this amendment several months ago, considerable progress has been made—I gratefully acknowledge this. There has been a positive response from our allies. But more needs to be done, particularly in the areas of police and reconstruction.

What is happening as approval of this assistance for Kosovo is slowly working its way slowly through the bureaucracies in Europe? Our troops, and the troops of other nations, are having to make up for the shortfall—by performing basic police functions, running towns and villages, guarding individual homes and historic sites, escorting ethnic minorities—all functions for which they were not specifically trained and which increase their level of personal risk. When will this end? Time is of the essence as our troops stand in harm's way until relieved, in large measure, by civilians specially trained.

General Klaus Reinhardt, the fine German general who recently relinquished command of KFOR, said that he expects military elements of KFOR to be in Kosovo for a decade. I find this unacceptable, but I can see how it is possible if we do not move quickly to establish the basic economic and security infrastructure in Kosovo that is essential for long-lasting stability in that troubled region. That is one of the main goals of this amendment—to spur our allies on to quickly fulfill their commitments.

What we cannot—must not—allow to happen is for the current situation in Kosovo to drift on. There are problems. They must be addressed and addressed in a timely manner.

The principal sponsor of this amendment, the distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia and noted historian has eloquently addressed the constitutional responsibility of the Congress in deploying U.S. military forces overseas. I would simply add that it is

time—past time—for the Congress to fulfill its obligations regarding our deployment to Kosovo. Since last June, the United States has had thousands of troops engaged in a dangerous operation in Kosovo, and thus far Congress has taken no action, other than emergency supplemental appropriations, on this deployment.

This is disappointing, but not surprising. The last time the Congress exercised its constitutional responsibility to declare war was during World War II. Since that time, the United States military has been involved in over 100 military deployments—including the Korean conflict and the war in Vietnam, and where has the Congress been during all of that time? We occasionally pass resolutions authorizing the use of force—as we did for the Persian Gulf conflict—but more often than not, we simply fail to act. That must stop. We owe it to our brave men and women in uniform to act on their behalf. They are fulfilling their responsibilities; we must fulfill ours.

This amendment does not say we must leave Kosovo. This amendment does not mean that we are shirking our NATO responsibilities. This amendment simply says that Congress—as a co-equal branch on foreign policy matters—must exercise its constitutional responsibilities and authorize the continued deployment of United States ground combat troops in Kosovo.

I urge my colleagues to join us in our effort to prevent an open-ended United States military commitment in Kosovo.

Mr. President, in summary, the Byrd-Warner amendment was today adopted by an overwhelming majority of 23 to 3 in the Senate Appropriations Committee.

This is an amendment on which Senator BYRD and I have worked for the better part of 2 months. We have had extensive consultations with a number of our colleagues, and thus far we have, as cosponsors, Senators STEVENS, INOUE, THURMOND, ROBERTS, SNOWE, INHOFE, GREGG, SMITH of New Hampshire, and SESSIONS. There are others who will be added in due course.

Senator BYRD and I are concerned about two things: The indefinite commitment of our troops into the Kosovo situation and that indefinite commitment not being backed up by an affirmative action of the Congress of the United States, which has a clear responsibility to act when we send young men and women into harm's way.

This is not a cut-and-run amendment. This is simply an assertion that the United States together with its allies is trying to bring about peace and stability in that region. We have succeeded after an extensive 78-day combat mission, 70 percent of which missions were flown by the U.S. airmen. It is time to address the future and to have our allies meet their commitments in a timely fashion, commitments they made prior to the combat action and shortly thereafter.

Secondly, we believe there should be some certainty as to how long our troops must remain in this commitment. It cannot be indefinite. We are, as a nation, now with troops all over the world. And we are stretched. We are having problems with retention, problems with recruiting because of the overextension of the U.S. military forces.

What Senator BYRD has emphasized—and many times on the floor of the Senate—is it is the duty of the Congress of the United States, through a vote, to affirm the policies of the executive branch as we deploy our troops into harm's way.

So those are the basic elements of this amendment.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the amendment be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BYRD-WARNER AMENDMENT

At the appropriate place, insert the following new section:

SEC. —. LIMITATION ON AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS FOR UNITED STATES GROUND COMBAT TROOPS IN KOSOVO.

- (a) LIMITATION.—
- (1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (d) and except as provided in paragraph (2), none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available under any provision of law (including unobligated balances of prior appropriations) shall be available for the continued deployment of United States ground combat troops in Kosovo after July 1, 2001, unless and until—
- (A) the President submits a report to Congress—
- (i) containing a request for specific authorization for the continued deployment of United States ground combat troops in Kosovo;
 - (ii) describing the progress made in implementing the plan required by subsection (b); and
 - (iii) containing the information described in subsection (c); and
- (B) Congress enacts a joint resolution specifically authorizing the continued deployment of United States ground combat troops in Kosovo.

(2) EXCEPTIONS.—The limitation in paragraph (1) shall not apply to the continued deployment in Kosovo of such number of United States ground combat troops as are necessary—

(A) to conduct a safe, orderly, and phased withdrawal of United States ground forces from Kosovo in the event that the continued deployment of United States ground combat troops in Kosovo is not specifically authorized by statute; or

(B) to protect United States diplomatic facilities in Kosovo in existence as of the date of the enactment of this Act.

(3) WAIVER.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), absent specific statutory authorization under paragraph (1)(B), the President may waive the limitation in paragraph (1) for a period or periods of up to 90 days each in the event that—

(i) the Armed Forces are involved in hostilities in Kosovo or that imminent involvement by the Armed Forces in hostilities in Kosovo is clearly indicated by the circumstances; or

(ii) NATO, acting through the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, requests the emer-

gency introduction of United States ground forces into Kosovo to assist other NATO or non-NATO military forces involved in hostilities or facing imminent involvement in hostilities.

(B) EXCEPTION.—The authority of subparagraph (A) may not be exercised more than twice unless Congress enacts a law specifically authorizing the additional exercise of the authority.

(4) REPORT ON SUBSEQUENT DEPLOYMENTS.—Absent specific statutory authorization under paragraph (1)(B), whenever there is a deployment of 25 or more members of the United States Armed Forces to Kosovo after July 1, 2001 pursuant to a waiver exercised under paragraph (3), the President shall, not later than 96 hours after such deployment begins, submit a report to Congress regarding the deployment. In any such report, the President shall specify—

(A) the purpose of the deployment; and

(B) the date on which the deployment is expected to end.

(5) STATUTORY CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this subsection may be construed to prohibit the availability of funds for the deployment of United States noncombat troops in Kosovo to provide limited support to peacekeeping operations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Kosovo that do not involve the deployment of ground combat troops, such as support for NATO headquarters activities in Kosovo, intelligence support, air surveillance, and related activities.

(b) PLAN.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The President shall develop a plan, in consultation with appropriate foreign governments, by which NATO member countries, with the exception of the United States, and appropriate non-NATO countries will provide, not later than July 1, 2001, any and all ground combat troops necessary to execute Operation Joint Guardian or any successor operation in Kosovo.

(2) QUARTERLY TARGET DATES.—The plan shall establish a schedule of target dates set at 3-month intervals for achieving an orderly transition to a force in Kosovo that does not include United States ground combat troops.

(3) DEADLINES.—

(A) INTERIM PLAN.—An interim plan for the achievement of the plan's objectives shall be submitted to Congress not later than September 30, 2000.

(B) FINAL PLAN.—The final plan for the achievement of the plan's objectives shall be submitted to Congress not later than May 1, 2001.

(c) REPORTS.—

(1) MONTHLY REPORTS.—Beginning 30 days after the date of enactment of this joint resolution, and every 30 days thereafter, the President shall submit a report to Congress on the total number of troops involved in peacekeeping operations in Kosovo, the number of United States troops involved, and the percentage of the total troop burden that the United States is bearing.

(2) QUARTERLY REPORTS.—Beginning 3 months after the date of enactment of this joint resolution, and every 3 months thereafter, the President shall submit to Congress a report on—

(A) the total amount of funds that the United States has expended on peacekeeping operations in Kosovo, and the percentage of the total contributions by all countries to peacekeeping operations in Kosovo that the United States is bearing; and

(B) the progress that each other country participating in peacekeeping operations in Kosovo is making on meeting—

(i) its financial commitments with respect to Kosovo;

(ii) its manpower commitments to the international civilian police force in Kosovo; and

(iii) its troop commitments to peace-keeping operations in Kosovo.

(d) CERTIFICATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Of the amounts appropriated by this Act for fiscal year 2000 for military operations in Kosovo, not more than 75 percent may be obligated until the President certifies in writing to Congress that the European Commission, the member nations of the European Union, and the European member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have, in the aggregate—

(A) obligated or contracted for at least 33 percent of the amount of the assistance that those organizations and nations committed to provide for 1999 and 2000 for reconstruction in Kosovo;

(B) obligated or contracted for at least 75 percent of the amount of the assistance that those organizations and nations committed for 1999 and 2000 for humanitarian assistance in Kosovo;

(C) provided at least 75 percent of the amount of the assistance that those organizations and nations committed for 1999 and 2000 for the Kosovo Consolidated Budget; and

(D) deployed at least 75 percent of the number of police, including special police, that those organizations and nations pledged for the United Nations international police force for Kosovo.

(2) REPORT.—The President shall submit to Congress, together with any certification submitted by the President under paragraph (1), a report containing detailed information on—

(A) the commitments and pledges made by each organization and nation referred to in paragraph (1) for reconstruction assistance in Kosovo, humanitarian assistance in Kosovo, the Kosovo Consolidated Budget, and police (including special police) for the United Nations international police force for Kosovo;

(B) the amount of assistance that has been provided in each category, and the number of police that have been deployed to Kosovo, by each such organization or nation; and

(C) the full range of commitments and responsibilities that have been undertaken for Kosovo by the United Nations, the European Union, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the progress made by those organizations in fulfilling those commitments and responsibilities, an assessment of the tasks that remain to be accomplished, and an anticipated schedule for completing those tasks.

(3) LIMITATION ON USE OF FUNDS.—If the President does not submit to Congress a certification and report under paragraphs (1) and (2) before July 15, 2000, then, beginning on July 15, 2000, the amount appropriated for military operations in Kosovo that remains unobligated under paragraph (1) shall be available only for the purpose of conducting a safe, orderly, and phased withdrawal of United States military personnel from Kosovo, unless Congress enacts a joint resolution allowing that amount to be used for other purposes. If Congress fails to enact such a joint resolution, no other amount appropriated for the Department of Defense in this Act or any other Act may be obligated to continue the deployment of United States military personnel in Kosovo. In that case, the President shall submit to Congress, not later than August 15, 2000, a report on the plan for the withdrawal of United States military personnel from Kosovo.

(e) CONGRESSIONAL PRIORITY PROCEDURES.—

(1) JOINT RESOLUTIONS DEFINED.—

(A) For purposes of subsection (a)(1)(B), the term “joint resolution” means only a joint

resolution introduced not later than 10 days after the date on which the report of the President under subsection (a)(1)(A) is received by Congress, the matter after the resolving clause of which is as follows: “That Congress authorizes the continued deployment of United States ground combat troops in Kosovo.”.

(B) For purposes of subsection (d)(3), the term “joint resolution” means only a joint resolution introduced not later than July 20, 2000, the matter after the resolving clause of which is as follows: “That the availability of funds appropriated to the Department of Defense for military operations in Kosovo is not limited to the withdrawal of United States military personnel from Kosovo.”.

(2) PROCEDURES.—A joint resolution described in paragraph (1) (A) or (B) shall be considered in a House of Congress in accordance with the procedures applicable to joint resolutions under paragraphs (3) through (8) of section 8066(c) of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1985 (as contained in Public Law 98-473; 98 Stat. 1936).

Mr. WARNER. I thank my distinguished colleague for yielding the time. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES ACT—Continued

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, this is an amendment that I have introduced with 27 cosponsors, and we invite other Members to join us. It is an amendment to deal with early learning opportunities of our children.

Research shows that children's brains are wired—literally wired—between the ages of birth and 6 years of age. The number of synapses that the brain forms, that is, the connections in the brain, depends upon the level of brain stimulation. The capacity to learn and interact successfully in society is determined even before children begin school. Long-term studies looking at data over 30 years show that children who participate in early learning programs are less likely to require special education, less likely to suffer from mental illness and behavior disorders, less likely to become pregnant before they are married, more likely to graduate from high school and college, less likely to be arrested and incarcerated, have lower recidivism rates if they are incarcerated, less likely to be violent and engaged in child or spousal abuse, and they earn higher salaries when they become adults. Both the General Accounting Office and the Rand Corporation made studies which showed that for each dollar invested in early learning programs, taxpayers saved between \$4 and \$7 in later years.

This amendment provides for block grants to States. States will work with local governments, nonprofit corporations, and even faith-based institutions to determine what is needed most at their own local level. Local entities can use the funds to expand Even Start, the program for children from birth to 3 years of age; expand Head Start to more children, expand it to full day or year-round coverage; offer

nursery and preschool programs; train parents and child care professionals in child development, and provide parent training and support programs for stay-at-home moms and dads.

The amendment provides set-asides for Indian tribes and Native groups and provides for a small State minimum of 0.4 percent. This amendment has been endorsed now by the Christian Schools International, by Parents United, United Way, some 1,400 local organizations, Fight Crime-Invest In Kids, 700 police chiefs, and the National Association for the Education of Young Children, Children's Defense Fund, Child Care Resource Center, National Black Child Development Institute, and the National Education Association.

As a father of six children, I come to this amendment late in my life. I only wish I had had the opportunity to have had this type of information available to me and my wife when we, as a very young, newly married couple, decided to have our family very quickly. We had five children in less than 5 years, and there is a lot we had to learn along the way.

This is a bill to try to make America think about what we want to be. We have invested heavily in science, and through the decade of the brain that was stimulated by our late departed friend, David Mahoney, and the group of scientists he put together with Dr. Jim Watson, who worked with him, we now know a lot more about the brain than we did a decade ago. Basically, we learned of the fantastic capability of young people to absorb knowledge and to be stimulated to develop the abilities to absorb even more knowledge as they grow older. I think this is one of the most important things I have been involved in during my life.

I believe it is a time for change, a time for us to recognize that young children—little babies—can be stimulated in a way that will assure their capability will be improved to learn and to be good citizens and, in particular, to be able to lead the kind of lives their parents dreamed they would lead. I thank every Member who has cosponsored this amendment, and I hope for its early adoption.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, first of all, I express my appreciation for the excellent statement that the Senator from Alaska has just given and thank him for his leadership on this issue. I also thank the chairman, Senator JEFFORDS, for his hard work on this issue as well. Both of them have helped us understand how parents and other caregivers can have a very positive impact on children and infants at very early ages. I thank colleagues on our side, including my colleague from Massachusetts, Senator JOHN KERRY, who has been particularly interested in this issue and has spent a great deal of time on it, and also the Senator from Connecticut, Senator CHRIS DODD, who has