

they have also got to recognize that when it becomes unpleasant and the outcomes are not what we desire, in some instances, or what some of us do not desire in a pluralistic society, they cannot run away and say "Oh, we could not be responsible for that, because after all, it is just a movie." No, you cannot take that genius and understand and know what you have created, and then deny it the next moment, to suggest it has none of the impacts for which you designed it in this movie, but it could not have any impacts over here.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, I would just hope that we would not let this get down to who is getting the advantage and not getting the advantage in presidential politics, but we would bring this as a national conversation about the future of our children. I hope to have more to say on this to their body, to my constituents and to others, but I think we need this conversation without jumping to a conclusion, but understanding the responsibilities, the powers, and the obligations that go with this medium and with those of us in public office.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S VETO ON THE RESCISSIONS BILL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SCARBOROUGH] is recognized for 30 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Mr. Speaker, I could not help but notice that the President vetoed the rescissions bill, and our attempts to cut back spending on the Federal level, and to send money back home on education programs and on job training programs. The President vetoed the bill because he thought it cut too much. I have to tell you, I agree with the President that the bill was not perfect, but I do not think it was perfect for another reason. I do not think we went far enough.

Let me explain, Mr. Speaker. When he talks about education dollars, when he talks about job training dollars, what he is actually talking about is spending money on the Department of Education bureaucracy in Washington, DC. We are not talking about spending money on children, we are not talking about spending money on raising teachers' salaries, we are not talking about spending money on hiring more teachers so we can lower the student-teacher ratio, so our students can learn more. We are talking about spending more money in Washington, DC, on an education bureaucracy that has, unfortunately, failed miserably over the past 15 years.

Mr. Speaker, I was named to head the task force to look into education reform. I believe today, more than at any other time in this country's history, we have to be bold and aggressive in reforming the educational system of this

country, because if our children are going to be prepared for the 21st century, and if our children are going to be able to work in the 21st century workplace, they are going to have to do it by having the best education possible. With two young boys in public schools, I have as much at stake in this fight as anybody.

Mr. Speaker, we have to start with basics. The bill that we are introducing is called the back-to-basics education reform bill. The basics that we begin with are these. First of all, parents and teachers and principals know how to teach our students and our children better than a bureaucrat in Washington, DC. That is not a foreign concept in this country's history, or in our educational history.

The fact of the matter is that over 200 years ago we had Founding Fathers, who believed that education belonged in local communities; that we were to be a nation of communities, instead of a nation of bureaucrats and a nation of education bureaucracies.

James Madison wrote, as he was helping to frame the Constitution, "We have staked the entire future of the American civilization not upon the power of government, but upon the capacity of each of us to govern ourselves, to control ourselves, and sustain ourselves according to the Ten Commandments of God." That was from James Madison, one of the 3 men that was most responsible for framing the Constitution.

Of course, Thomas Jefferson wrote that "The government that governs least governs best." As they were saying that, they were not saying that because they were antigovernment. Far from it. The men and women that helped found this great constitutional republic believed government could serve a useful purpose. In fact, they dedicated their entire lives to this government, put their lives on the line in a brutal war, where they could have been killed or where they could have been hung as traitors. They believed that the Federal Government had a role, but that role was in protecting the God-given rights of the men and women and the children of the country that they were serving.

One of those rights, I have to believe, was the right to teach your children and to educate your children, instead of having bureaucrats in Washington, DC do it. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison believed that this country should be a great experiment; that we should have a country that was a nation of communities, and not a nation of bureaucrats and bureaucracies; that would have parents and individuals and families and communities making decisions on how to teach children, and what type of school programs needed to be implemented.

Unfortunately, somewhere along the line we lost our way, because in the late seventies the great education bureaucracy experiment began. It began in 1980, as Jimmy Carter struck a deal

with the NEA teacher's union to set up a national education bureaucracy. Since that time, we can see what has happened to education.

Back when it started in 1980, we were spending \$14 billion on education in this Federal bureaucracy. Since 1980, spending has gone from \$14 billion in Washington, DC, to \$33 billion. What have we gotten for our education revenue? The fact of the matter is that despite the fact we have gone from spending \$14 billion on an education bureaucracy to \$33 billion in 15 years, we have spent more money on the bureaucracy, but as you might guess, the results have not been positive. Test scores have gone down. Dropout rates have risen.

Of course, as all of you know, violence in schools has risen. You go to inner-city schools, whether it is in the South Bronx or whether it is in South Central Los Angeles, or Gary, IN, or in parts of Miami or Tampa, or even in your hometown, you know and parents know and I know as a parent that our educational system in this country continues to decline.

□ 1730

That is because education dollars are not getting into the classroom. They are coming up to Washington, DC, to our Federal bureaucracy.

Let me give you a perfect example of how this has happened. Do you know this year the Department of Education will be cutting \$100 million from their budget to keep our schools safe? Think about that. They are cutting \$100 million to keep the infrastructure in our schools safe across the country. But at the same time when they are saying we don't have the money to keep our school buildings safe for our children, they are spending \$20 million to upgrade their own bureaucracy right down the street.

Think about that. This is not robbing Peter to pay Paul. This is robbing our schools across the country, I suppose what they consider to be the flyover space between Washington, DC and Los Angeles. They are taking the money out of our schools so they can bring it up to Washington, DC, and upgrade their bureaucracy.

Is that what education should be about? Is that what educational reform should be about? I don't think so, and I know that men and women across the country that have a little bit of common sense don't think so, either. We need to put our education dollars in our school system, but the fact of the matter is that by the time the money goes through the process, the education dollars don't get to the schools.

Think about it. Where I come from—I am from northwest Florida, specifically I live in Pensacola, FL—when I have to pay a dollar for my taxes, that dollar goes from Pensacola, FL, to Atlanta, GA. That is our regional IRS center.

So when it goes up to Atlanta, the IRS center up there, they obviously

have to take out their brokerage fee in Atlanta. Then it comes up to Washington, DC, goes to the IRS there, they take out their brokerage fee, so this education dollar is getting carved up a little bit around the edges.

Then it goes to Treasury and they take out their brokerage fee. After that, of course, it goes over to the Department of Education and they take out their brokerage fee, so the education dollar is getting cut up.

Does it go down to the schools now? No, it goes to our State capital. In Florida, that State capital is Tallahassee, so the dollar goes to Tallahassee. Of course they have to take out their brokerage fee, too. By the time it gets back to our community, that dollar is being carved up and cut up in such a way that you would not even recognize it.

Some officials of the Department of Education claim that they only spend 2 percent on overhead. If you believe that, I have got some swampland to sell you in south Florida. We all know that is not the case. That dollar takes a very tortured route before it gets back to the school districts. We need to keep education dollars in the communities.

This is not a budget-cutting exercise. It is about making sure that our children get the most bang for their educational buck. We are not going to do it as long as we keep throwing money at Washington and that money is not coming back home.

Some people have suggested that this is some ideological battle, that Republicans, or conservatives, want to take power away from an educational bureaucracy for their own ideological purposes. The fact of the matter is, Republicans and Democrats alike, as well as liberals and conservatives, are slowly coming around to the realization that our teachers and our parents and our communities and our States can be trusted with the important role of educating children.

Alice Rivlin, the President's OMB director, wrote a book back in 1992 when she was at the Brookings Institute. Of course at that time she was not working for President Clinton, so she was allowed to think for herself. When she did, she wrote what I thought was a tour de force on educational reform and on reforming this Federal Government.

Alice Rivlin talked about a productivity agenda where you had States experimenting in educational reform and in job training reform and in other areas. She talked about the States all competing against each other to see who could come up with the best idea for educational reform, instead of having Washington throw down all these dictates saying this is how you are going to teach your students.

So we allow the States to compete, and the States that have the best educational system will obviously have the greatest economic development, and will have money coming into their

States and will have students coming into their States. It is what I like to call legislative laboratories.

Ask yourself this: Would you rather have Bill Clinton and an education bureaucracy in Washington tell us all how to teach our children, or would you rather have your State and your community competing with 50 other States to see who could do the job best?

What they would do is create legislative laboratories that would experiment, and they could borrow from other States. If California was doing something Utah liked, Utah could borrow from there. If Florida was doing something that Georgia liked, Georgia could borrow from that, instead of having Washington, DC, and bureaucrats in Washington continue to labor under the extremely, extremely presumptive belief that they know how to teach our children better than we know how to teach our children. It is a false premise. I have got to tell you, I believe that it is a very, very dangerous premise.

We have got again to spend our education dollars on teachers' salaries, on computers, on improving the teacher-student ratio. Let me tell you, I had an education townhall meeting in my district. I was absolutely stunned to find out that a special education teacher had 30 students in her class. Let me tell you something. There is no way a teacher teaching special education is going to be able to give children the type of attention that they need to have.

But there are shortfalls, budget shortfalls in the State. Why was that? Because we have got \$33 billion in education money coming up to Washington instead of going to the schools. We have got to do something about that.

I talked before about our Founding Fathers. We can talk about what works, what does not work, but we also need to look at what is constitutionally proper and what is constitutionally improper.

I would certainly say that any reading of the Constitution of the United States of America would show that the system that we are laboring under right now is patently unconstitutional. Read your Constitution. If you read the 10th amendment, the 10th amendment states explicitly that all powers not specifically granted to the Federal government in the Constitution of the United States are reserved to the States and to the citizens that live within those States.

You can look through the Constitution all you want to. But our Founding Fathers did not state that the Constitution of the United States allowed the Federal Government to get involved with an education bureaucracy.

If you read the Federalist Papers, when they explained why they wrote the Constitution the way they did, there is nothing in the Federalist Papers that show that the Federal Government wanted us to have an edu-

cation bureaucracy. The fact of the matter is the Constitution, the Federalist Papers, and all the other documents of the Founding Fathers show that they believed that our parents and our teachers and our communities should teach children instead of having an education bureaucracy in Washington, DC, teach children. I think they were on to something.

If the Federal Government does not have it in the Constitution, what about the States? It is not surprising that in all 50 State constitutions, every one of these documents state explicitly that State governments and communities and local governments should be the ones that get involved in educating our children. I think that is extremely important to realize, that the States and the Federal Government got together, drafted constitutions that clearly show that the Federal Government has no business in forming an education bureaucracy, that again it needs to be formed back into the States.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that we need to turn back where we trust communities again and we trust parents again and don't labor under this false assumption that they are too backward or too stupid to take care of their most important resource, and that is children, and in educating children.

I hear a lot of people say, well, look what happened 30 years ago. Look what happened when Bull Connor was running the streets of Birmingham, or 60 years ago when Huey Long was Governor of Louisiana. Can we really trust the States?

I say, yes, emphatically, we can trust the States. Alice Rivlin in her book "Reinventing the American Dream" talks about moving to a point where we can trust the States again. David Halberstam in his book "The Next Century" talked about the face that the most talented and most gifted leaders in this country did not occupy the well of the House of Representatives, and I know that might shock a lot of people in Washington, DC. But the people who know where the rubber meets the road are back in the States. They are the ones who have to put together an education budget every year, they are the ones who understand what losing \$33 billion in education revenue means. They are the ones that are closest to the problem.

Let's trust our parents again. Let's trust our teachers again.

As a parent of two young children who are in public schools, I have got to tell you, I am deeply offended by any bureaucrat in Washington, DC, who tells me they know how to teach my children better than I know how to teach my children.

I will side with James Madison and Thomas Jefferson and the Constitution of the United States any time over bureaucrats in the education bureaucracy who have destroyed our public education system over the past 15 years. If they have not destroyed it, well, they

sure have not done anything to improve it.

A lot of people will say that the burden of proof rests on those who say abolish the Federal Department of Education bureaucracy and send it back to the States.

I say the burden of proof rests on those bureaucrats that take \$33 billion out of local communities and school boards all across this Nation and give us very little in return.

Look at the test scores. Look at the dropout rates. Look at violence in schools. They have to step forward and explain how the principals of the NEA teachers union and how the principals of the education bureaucracy are somehow in harmony with the philosophies of Jefferson and Madison. I have got to tell you, they cannot do it.

Again, listen to the great words of James Madison:

We have staked the entire future of the American civilization not upon the power of government but upon the capacity of each of us to govern ourselves, control ourselves, and sustain ourselves according to the 10 commandments of God.

It is a very simple premise. Trust communities, trust families, trust individuals, trust parents. You can do that.

Two hundred years after the greatest experiment in the history of government, we are getting back to a point where we once again are going to untie parents and communities and teachers and school boards, and say, "Be creative, dare to make a difference." If we do that, if we return authority back to parents and teachers and school boards instead of an education bureaucracy in Washington, DC, then my two boys and children all across this country will once again be able to take control of their school system and be prepared for the 21st century workplace. We have got to do it now. We cannot delay any longer. I certainly would ask for all of your support.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DORNAN. I just wanted to thank the gentleman. As one of my troopers on the Military Personnel Subcommittee, it has been a joy working with the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SCARBOROUGH].

Because my fatherly days are behind me as far as education is concerned—my youngest son is graduating from UCLA on Sunday, the 18th of this month—but I have got nine grandchildren and, God willing, more to come.

Your statement resonates in my ears. I also take personal affront to any bureaucrat saying, "I know how to teach your children better than you do."

No, when that report came out that showed that for the first time in the history of this great Nation, in over two centuries, a generation, the current one, was not as well educated as their parents, the prior generation, we hit a stonewall in education, where all the educrats, the bureaucrats of education, do not have the answers anymore.

□ 1745

That is why I am a strong supporter of home schooling. I have not had to do that with any of my sons or daughters yet, but home schooling is growing across this country because the main area where our education system has failed us is in the area of teaching values, ethics, and if we have to come down to a plan that a grandmother told me the other day, not my own wife, but a grey-haired grammy, said, "Why don't you people just broadcast to every school in America now that we are on the informational highway on Mondays and Tuesdays the prayer at the beginning of the House of Representatives, and then on Wednesdays and Thursdays—you are smiling, Speaker GILCHREST, this is not your idea, is it?—then on Wednesdays and Thursdays we broadcast the prayer to every public school in America at the beginning of the U.S. Senate's day, and on Friday, a special day, the prayer at the beginning of the U.S. Senate, in every school in America. And then occasionally we can sing at general assemblies the most popular song during the War between the States that kept our Nation together, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." Mine eyes have seen the glory in the coming of the Lord. Who would that be? I do not know, would it be Jesus Christ, our savior, our redeemer, the son of God. Lilies across the sea in Jerusalem or Bethlehem or Nazareth, names familiar to one generation of schoolchildren, not anymore. I would love to see pumped to every school in America rabbis as we have seen here invoking the God of Abraham and the code of ethics of Moses, who is staring right down at the gentleman from Florida, look at him looking down at Speaker GILCHREST there, over in the corner, Maimonides, who in Sephardic tradition in Spain and Portugal rewrote the entire code of ethics for every Jewish person in the world. On this wall look at the wall of saints up there, Edward the Confessor, St. Ed, Alfonso, a saint of Spain, Gregory IX, a saintly pope, St. Louis, whose mother said "I would rather have my son dead at my feet than see him commit a grievous mortal sin."

So there is a lot of education our kids are not getting, it is being denied, and there is a way to do it, to recognize the Western civilization, culture, and there are a lot of colleges around, including UCLA, where in my son's first five classes Christianity was attacked by name in two of those classes, Catholicism attacked by name after they worked over Christianity, and in one of those classes Jesuits attacked. My son has never had the thrill of sitting in a class with a Jesuit teacher at the front, but I had 7 great years of it, and I am still grateful for my teachers. The Jesuits were all conservatives in those days and lived up to their fourth vow of being loyal to the Pope. They are having some problems these days. But I tell you, we are going to get this edu-

cation thing solved, and why are we going to do that, because Ronald Reagan said we are Americans, which means we can win any battle. Thank you for weighing in today. Glad to associate myself proudly with your words.

#### THE BATTLE OF OKINAWA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] is recognized for 30 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I am so pleased is not a strong enough word, I am so ecstatic today over this rescue in Bosnia that I am glad I have got a Marine Corps sergeant sitting in the Speaker's chair today. Let me see that 1,000-yard stare, because as a former Air Force fighter pilot, peacetime to be sure, let me thank you for the whole Marine Corps in that superb rescue this morning, and wait till you get details tonight on CNN or C-SPAN or whatever, because I have got the bare outlines off the wire service stories, I called the Pentagon, they are having down in the cellar of the Rayburn Building a goodbye party for some of our great military people, liaison people who help us understand everything we can about our heroic men and women all around the world they will they cannot tell me much because they are hanging off the wire services' stories too.

But let me put this in perspective for the Marine Corps and the Army and every fighter pilot in those days was either Marine, Navy, or Air Force, I mean Army Air Corps, there was no Air Force. I was going to finish my Okinawa special orders today, June 8, 1945, and it is interesting, fascinating that the Battle of Okinawa started on Easter Sunday in 1945, that was April 1, and it was no April Fool's Day for the bloodshed on those beaches. It started off easily as the Japanese warlord forces were back in their caves and said come on, soft beach landings, everything looked good, and said oh, this is not going to be Iwo Jima, and then it became hell on Earth. That started April 1, 50 years ago. So all of April is 30 days, all of May, we are up to 61 days, this is the 8th, this was day 69 of an 87-day battle which means they had 18 brutal days to go where more marines and more Army soldiers died in a battle than ever before. This was the highest-fatality battle of the whole Pacific war.

And MacArthur took a bum rap there. Some people called him Dugout Doug because they wanted to see more of him up front. If he was not up front with one unit it is because he was with somebody else. Where was Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who stood right in front of you in one of the greatest speeches ever given at the Presidential lectern there and said and like most