the late Paul Monette. Monette's 1988 book Borrowed Time: An AIDS Memoir garnered a National Book Critics Circle Award nomination and was acclaimed by many as ''one of the most eloquent works to come out of the AIDS epidemic'' (USA Today). His 1992 book Becoming a Man: Half a Life Story won the National Book Award. It is in this volume that Paul Monette, like Edmund White before him, puts forth what would once have been a controversial thesis about the sexual wants of prepubescent boys. ''Nine is not too young to feel the tribal call,'' he notes early on while recollecting his own childhood adventures with a boy his age. ''Nine and a half is old enough,'' he repeats later, adding the by-now familiar note that ''for me at least, it was a victory of innocence over a world of oppression.''

Several chapters later, while reminiscing about an aborted affair he had with a high-school student while teaching at a boarding school, Monette sounds another theme that once would have been guaranteed to shock: that of the predatory, empowered adolescent. ''Behind the gritted teeth of passion,'' writes the author of his first sexual encounter with a particular boy, ''I heard the ripple of laughter, so one of us must have been having fun. Must've been Greg, for I was too busy feeding on sin and death to play.''

''It was Greg who always chose the time,'' he continues, adding dramatically, ''I stood ready to drop whatever I was doing. . . . I lived in thrall to Greg's unpredictable needs.''

That is not to say that Paul Monette, at the time, felt himself relieved of responsibility for the affair—far from it. ''If I am particular about the fact of being seduced—putting it all on him, the will and the dare and then the control—it doesn't mean I didn't feel the guilt. . . . I had become the thing the heteros secretly believe about everyone gay—a predator, a recruiter, an indoctrinator of boys into acts of darkness.'' But this self-recrimination, he goes on to reveal, was simply false consciousness. For finally, ''I don't think that now. Twenty years of listening to gay men recount their own adolescent seductions of older guys has put it all in a different light.''

Have all these trial balloons just passed without comment over the public head? One of the few critics to have taken notice is Bruce Bawer, who in his 1993 book, A Place at the Table castigates Edmund White in particular for his advocacy of man-boy sex. Such radicalism, Bawer argues, is part of the twisted legacy of the closet—a legacy that has forced ''subculture'' writers like White to evermore in-your-face positions on account of their oppression by the rest of society.

But writers have from time immemorial endured oppression—including jail time and execution—without leaping to the defense of pedophilia. And what kind of ''oppression'' is it, exactly, that confers fame, fortune, critical raves, national awards, and—in the case of Edmund White—a Guggenheim fellowship and anointment as a Chevalier de l'Ordre des Arts et Lettres?

PEDOPHILE SCIENCE

Actually, even the likes of White were being more derivative than they would ever like to believe. Hands down, if you'll pardon the expression, the real big daddy of pedophilia chic could only be the long-dead Alfred C. Kinsey. As Judith A. Reisman and Edward W. Eichel point out in their 1990 exposé Kinsey, Sex and Fraud, ''It is Kinsey's work which established the notion of 'normal' childhood sexual desire''—a notion that, as their book documents, was field-tested on the bodies of hundreds of children, most of them boys, in ways that might today be considered imprisonable offenses.

How did Kinsey and his team get away with it? ''As we can see now,'' wrote Tom Bethell in his excellent review of the Kinsey facts for the May 1996 American Spectator, ''science had vast prestige at the time and Kinsey exploited it. Any perversion could be concealed beneath the scientist's smock and the posture of detached observation.''

Yet if Kinsey is now suffering a public disrobing, his intellectual heirs display their researches still. For a final model of pedophilia chic—this one tricked out with all requisite charts, tables, models, and talk of methodology—consider a volume published in 1993 by Prometheus Books. As its name seems to suggest, Prometheus is a publishing house of cutting-edge aspiration, whose backlist reveals its focus on issues like paranormal psychology, freethinking, and humanism. And, oh yes, a trans-Atlantic exploration of the virtues of pederasty called Children's Sexual Encounters with Adults: A Scientific Study, by a trio identified as C.K. Li (''a clinical psychologist in Paisley, Scotland''), D.J. West (''Emeritus Professor of Clinical Criminology at Cambridge University''), and T.P. Woodhouse (''a criminological research worker in Ealing, England'').

Like our other pioneering looks at sex with kiddies, Children's Sexual Encounters with Adults is sexually biased, concentrating as it does on the ''startling contrast'' between boys and girls when it comes to sex with grownups. (''Surveys,'' as the authors explain at some length, ''find that on the whole boys are less likely than girls to experience bad effects attributable to sexual incidents with adults.'') It is not sexual contacts per se that pose problems for children, the authors argue, but rather the cultural prejudices by which most members of society judge such acts. ''The damaging effects on children of intimate but non-penetrative contacts with adults,'' note the authors in a section on ''cultural relativity,'' ''are clearly psychological rather than physical and to a considerable extent dependent upon how such situations are viewed in the society in which the child has been brought up.''

Again, and as Hanna Rosin and NAMBLA fans everywhere will appreciate, the study also emphasize the positive side of man-boy love for the boy in question. As one typical paragraph has it:

''There is a considerable amount of evidence that some boys are quite happy in relationships with adult homosexual men so long as the affair does not come to light and cause scandal or police action. . . . The great majority [of boys in a 1987 study] came from apparently normal homes, but were pleased to have additional attention and patronage from a devoted adult and willingly went along with his sexual requirements.''

Parents everywhere will be relieved to learn that pedophiles themselves are not the predators of popular imaginings, but congenial well-wishers much like Edmund White's alluring Petrouchka. ''Men who approach boys,'' the social scientists write in conclusion, ''are generally looking for what amounts to a love relationship.'' Thus, ''they employ gradual and gentle persuasion. The average pederast is no more seeking a rape-style confrontation than is the average heterosexual when looking for a congenial adult partner . . .''

At a time when almost every kind of advocacy comes equipped with statistical batteries, it should come as no surprise that pedophiles and their allies, too, have acquired their own pseudo-scientific apparatus. Only the unsophisticated would be surprised to find such a numerological polemic put forward by a reputable publishing house and advertised in the Barnes and Noble book catalog. But then, only the unsophisticated stand in need of the reeducation its pages offer. And there, to return to the figure of Larry Don McQuay, is where the matter of pedophilia chic would seem to stand. In one corner, enraged parents from across the country screaming for help in protecting their children; in the other, desiccated salonistes who have taken to wondering languidly whether a taste for children's flesh is really so indefensible after all. And they wonder why there's a culture war.

## EDUCATION IN AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. NORWOOD] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. NORWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I come before the House today to speak on the future of our Nation—and that future is our children, and whether they will have the same opportunity to live the American dream that all the members of this House have enjoyed in our lifetimes.

Since the 104th Congress was sworn into office a year and a half ago, we have debated the issue of how best to provide for our children's education. That is good. We need discourse and hotly contested ideas from both side of the aisle if we are to forge a bipartisan, hopefully even a nonpartisan plan for ensuring that every American has the education necessary to not just survive, but to succeed in a global economy.

But, Mr. Speaker, we cannot have that needed discourse while the debate is fraught with distortions and political rhetoric, and that is where we find ourselves today. So I would like to begin by reviewing exactly what educational reforms have been passed by this House over the last 18 months.

Under the Balanced Budget Act, total student loan volume was scheduled to grow from last year's $24 to $36 billion in 2002. That's a 50-percent growth in spending. The school lunch program was approved for a 36-percent increase over the same period, with the States allowed to run their lunchrooms without Federal interference for the first time in decades.

The maximum annual Pell grant amount for low-income college students was raised to the highest level in history at $2,400 per student.

The House approved sweeping, and long-needed reforms in the way interest is calculated on some of the loans. Under the proposed changes, no student would have paid any interest on their loans while they were still in school. But graduate students would have been required to pay back the interest that accrued on their loans while they were getting their graduate degrees, after they graduated and got jobs.

At present, working-class Americans are forced to subsidize that accrued interest for doctors, lawyers, and Ph.D. recipients. It is just not right for someone earning minimum wage to be paying the loan cost for someone earning six-figures. The budget we passed last

year would have put an end to the practice, and saved our children $10 billion they would not have had to pay back with interest. The demagogs in Congress call this cutting.

As to the Direct Loan Program, the budget would have brought that to a halt. Since the very inception of Federal student aid, loans have successfully been processed through private lenders. It is amazing that while the Federal Government is doing everything possible to downsize and privatize, and the President himself tells us that the era of big Government is over in his State of the Union Address, the Clinton administration continues to launch new big government programs, seeking to federalize what is now in the private sector.

The education plan that passed this House last year would have made the same student loans available from the same sources as they have been for the past 30 years.

For those who love to cry out against mean-spirited Republican cuts, I'm proud to say that although there was absolutely not one nickle of cuts in overall spending, there were, indeed cuts in areas that badly needed cutting. The Head Start Program was slated for a true 4-percent reduction in funding, which is well warranted, according to Head Start Founder Edward Zeigler, who I quote:

> If 30 percent of the programs closed down, there would be no great loss * * * Until the program has reached a certain level of quality, they shouldn't put one more kid in it.

Indeed, over the last 6 years, Head Start enrollment has grown by 39 percent, while spending has increased 186 percent. That kind of out-of-control spending has to stop, and the plan we passed would have brought it to a screeching halt.

There were also real cuts in spending for the U.S. Department of Education, which would have taken an 11 percent reduction in funding. Since it was created in 1979, the Department of Education has spent $342 billion without any evidence the money has improved education in any way. Even the liberal Washington Post wrote in a December editorial: ''America's schools are not noticeably better because a Department of Education was created.''

Why hasn't the Department of Education helped improve our children's education? Because of simple economics—you cannot take money from taxpayers across the country, send it to Washington, DC, then send it back to the States, and not lose most of the original money in the process. According to the Congressional Research Service, of every dollar we send to the Department of Education here in Washington, only 23 cents ever finds it's way back to our local schools. That's not efficient, and that's not how to compete in a global economy.

Now, there is one program that is eliminated entirely under the balanced budget plan—Goals 2000. That program has skyrocketed in cost from $87 to $372 million in just 1 year. It duplicates other Federal efforts, creates a multitude of new bureaucracies, but has no real impact on day-to-day learning. And the attempts of the program to revise American history to reflect the new politically correct themes of the far-left have been so inflammatory they were voted down in the Senate by a 99-to-1 vote. So the new plan contained not one penny for Goals 2000.

The defenders of the failed status-quo in education have tried to convince the American people that Republicans would undermine education by holding down the massive spending increases that the Clinton administration had planned. But maybe they should instead answer the question of why we should spend more taxpayer money when our Federal dollars have failed to achieve positive results, year after year after year.

This plan to bring our educational efforts into line with our ability to fund them, and with the level of achievement of our programs, now sits in limbo, vetoed by the President.

But the educational reforms in the Balanced Budget Act are not the only efforts undertaken by this Congress to improve the way our children learn.

A major battle in the effort took place just this spring here in Washington, and most of the Nation missed it. It was the latest round in the fight over who has the ultimate authority over a child's education and future—the parent or the Federal Government.

This House provided funds for Washington's public schools to offer a small pilot school choice program, that would allow about 2 percent of all Washington, DC, school children to attend better schools, and then only if local school board members choose to use the plan.

For those students locked into attendance at the worst public schools in the District, vouchers would be provided to pay for transportation to alternate public schools, or for transportation and tuition at private schools.

The program, similar to one in Milwaukee and nearly two dozen other communities, was designed to give poor parents the same power and freedom of education that rich parents have. It would have improved public schools by making them compete for students, and most importantly, by giving students the opportunity for a better quality education.

Unfortunately, there are those here inside-the-beltway who are adamantly opposed to fairness and equality of opportunity. After stalling the D.C. budget for months over this single issue, liberal Senate Democrats under pressure from President Bill Clinton voted to filibuster the bill, which prevented it from even coming to the floor for a vote. The White House announced it would have vetoed the entire bill over this tiny pilot project, even though the District's local political leaders begged for passage. The White House, liberal Senate Democrats, and the NEA won, and Washington's schoolchildren lost.

Why the extraordinary fight over a program that could at most impact only 2 percent of students in a single school district? Because the National Education Association decided to make this a litmus test. Their chief lobbyist told the Washington Post on February 28 that ''It is much bigger than D.C.'' And when Washington's NEA office says ''jump,'' the Washington bureaucracy says ''how high?''

The reason, as U.S. News and World Report recently explained, is that—and I quote:

> The NEA has wedded itself to the Democratic Party . . . teacher unions have used their resources to fight reform—and their resources are vast. The union's palatial Washington, D.C. headquarters, renovated in 1991 at a cost of $52 million, is a testament to its power in national politics. The union handed out $8.9 million to congressional candidates between 1989 and 1995, only a fraction of it to Republicans. And the Clinton White House is banking on the NEA playing a big role in this year's presidential campaign.

According to the Education Policy Institute, NEA and its related educational PAC's spend $40 million a year on the national level lobbying for their agenda, 98 percent of which goes to Democrats. And with a total budget of $1.2 billion a year, the amount of overall political impact this special interest exerts on our children's education is beyond measure.

What these objections are really over is not the education of children. It is over the billions spent every year on Federal allocations for education programs at dozens of Federal agencies. And billions ultimately find their way, directly and indirectly, into the coffers of the NEA and their members. The greatest fear of the NEA is that granting freedom to families to choose where their child is educated will cut off the flow of those funds, and their ability to control the educational agenda of the Nation.

As long as the liberal trend towards federalization of our local schools continue, the NEA's feast on largesse at the Federal trough will continue. Any increase in parental or local control of those funds stands diametrically opposed to their goal of dominating the educational industry.

However, a clarification of how this debate is currently framed is badly needed. Those on both sides of the issue of school choice often make the same mistake. It is not an issue of public versus private education. It is a question of how to provide the best education possible for every child in this country.

As we face the educational challenges facing us in an era of global competition, we can no longer afford the illusion that we have competing school systems. We have one educational system in America, and it includes public, private, and home schooling, and we have to maintain the openmindedness to rethink our approach on a child-by-child level.

For most of our Nation's children, public education provides a quality

learning experience with a multitude of resources often not found in smaller private schools or a home schooling environment. Those children will likely, and should, continue in their current schools even if vouchers are available.

But for many disadvantaged youth trapped in inner-city schools overrun with drugs and violence, the ability to have a choice would, with absolute certainty, greatly improve their ability to learn.

And for children with special needs or talents, the ability to choose both public and private alternate schools, or home schooling, would allow them to progress far beyond the level of our ''one-size-fits-all'' current policy.

All this is representative of just how distorted the debate over education has become. Instead of focusing on improving our children's learning levels, success is measured by programs and dollars spent, and by squashing reforms that threaten the monopoly held by powerful special interest groups. It's a debate that I hope changes this year.

Mr. Speaker, we need to shift the focus of Federal education policy back to parents, communities, and States—in that order. We need to encourage reform efforts like school choice. And most importantly, we hope that when our efforts are done, children will begin to learn again in even the poorest and most disadvantaged school districts.

Meanwhile, both the President and the Vice President continue to send their children to private schools instead of the District of Columbia public school system, in spite of denying that same choice for thousands of poor children in the same city.

But Mr. Speaker, we need to be willing to look beyond the issue of just school choice, and into what our States and communities can accomplish if we return real educational freedom to this land. For the last 30 years, we have seen our educational system decline, to a point that many Americans are losing hope that their children will have a future. But if we are just willing to cast aside the political blinders, we will find that we have an unlimited opportunity to bring real improvement to our Nation's schools.

For the last year the House Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee has been trying to determine just how much, and where, the Federal government has been spending on education. What we have discovered is beyond belief.

Last year, 39 separate agencies of the Federal Government were allocated over $120 billion for at least 763 education programs. And the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service told us they believe there are probably several hundred more programs that they have yet to find.

And what are some of the things that we are spending this educational money on today?

$3 million for the Intergovernmental Climate Program.

$1 billion for the Labor Department's Job Corps Training Programs.

$204 million for Clinton's Americorps volunteer program that is costing us nearly $30,000 a year per volunteer.

Another $42 million for Volunteers in Service in America.

$71 million for the Foster Grandparent Program.

$10 million for the Inexpensive Book Distribution Program—which is an oxymoron if one ever existed.

$48 million for the National Center of Education Statistics.

$8 million for the National Education Dissemination System.

$311 million for bilingual and immigrant education.

$86 million for Educational Research and Development.

$1 million for the Institute of International Public Policy.

$16 million for National AIDS Education and Training Centers.

$180 million for Family Planning Services.

$18 million for overseas schools and colleges.

And this is just the tip of the iceberg. Now, to be sure, there are some very worthwhile expenditures included in the totals, such as funding for our Nation's military academies, along with research grants to colleges and universities from which we derive direct benefits in many areas of our lives.

But imagine what we could do to improve our children's education if we returned this fortune to our local schools.

If my home State of Georgia's share is calculated on the same percentage as the formula agreed on for Medicaid funding by the Nation's 50 governors, including Georgia's Democratic Governor Zell Miller for my friends on the other side of the aisle, this comes to an astounding $3.16 billion a year in education money for Georgia. And I believe my colleagues from both parties will find the following amazing scenario would ring true for their States as well as Georgia.

Bill Alred, statistical analyst for the Georgia Department of Education in Atlanta, says Georgia school systems spend a grand total of $5.3 billion on grades Pre-K through 12 in fiscal year 1994, the last year for which full statistics are available. If we kept the money at home instead of sending it to Washington, we could cover nearly 60 percent of the total cost of elementary and secondary education in Georgia.

Even more astounding is the impact the Federal spending could have on our Georgia colleges and universities. Roger Mosshard, assistant vice chancellor of budgets with the Georgia State Board of Regents, says Georgia's university system took in around $2.5 billion last year from all sources, including tuition fees; payments for room and books; Federal, State, and private grants; and direct funding.

If we kept the Federal spending at home, Georgia could fund its entire university system with over $500 million to spare, and I think that many of you would find the same true in your State.

That would mean free college for every child who can pass the courses, not just as undergraduates, but through the doctoral level including medical and law school. And not just tuition, but dormitories and meals, rooms, books, lab fees, research, field trips, everything. And this absolutely revolutionary, quantum leap forward, could be funded with what we are already spending.

Now take a long hard look at that list of where that money goes now. Comparing the options, which do you think will help our children best prepare for a global, high technology economy in the 21st century?

I implore my friends on both sides of the aisle to stand up against the special interests, face the future with courage and an open mind instead of fear, and join the fight to bring our schools out of the failed ways of the past, and into a future that is limited only by our ability to see it.

Mr. Speaker, it's time to make education be about our children again—instead of just about supporting bureaucracy.

## LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today, on account of official business.

Mr. HALL of Ohio (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today, on account of a death in the family.

Mr. ENSIGN (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for today, on account of personal reasons.

Mr. FLANAGAN (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for today, on account of attending funerals.

## SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Ms. DELAURO, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. WISE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ROHRABACHER) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. WOLF, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BURTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. ROHRABACHER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HOKE, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. RIGGS, for 5 minutes, today.