

they have all these other risk factors that are markedly reduced. In regard to alcohol, 20 percent of the kids who are not sexually active use alcohol. Of the kids that are sexually active, almost 65 percent do. And these are males. We can go down the line. Dropping out of school, threefold increase. Use of other drugs, 4½ to 5 times increase if they are sexually active. They are five times more likely to use an illicit drug than if they are not sexually active.

What is the number one connection here? It is how well are they connected to their parents or parent, and we know that. We see similar patterns just with this on females. We see the same pattern if our youngsters are abstinent, that the risk factors for other risks that will markedly impact their life goes way down. So it is an indicator of what they are going to be exposed to and what other risks are going to be put on them in their life.

What we saw from this adolescent study from 1993 is that when the relationship was good with mom, and mom was opposed to premarital sex, and when discussions of birth control, of how to not get pregnant, are decreased, not increased, they were 12 times more likely to have a youngster that would not be sexually active than ones whose parents talked about, "Here is how you protect yourself and it is okay to be sexually active."

So what we have done is set a trap for our kids. If we are accepting of a behavior that puts them at risk and we talk about how to minimally protect them, what we are doing is dooming them to failure and to a sexually transmitted disease.

So what are the other factors that we found? Parent connectedness, parent disapproval of sexual activity, parent disapproval of sexual adolescent contraceptive use.

School is real important. The school connectedness is related to parent connectedness, attending a parochial school or school with high average daily attendance.

What are the individual factors? We have seen through programs like "True Love Waits" and "Best Friends," that a commitment to remain sexually pure works wonderfully. Our children respond to it. High grade point average. A religion. Jewish, Muslim, Protestant, Catholic. The fact that the faith is impacting their life.

So, what is the answer? We have 12 million new sexually transmitted diseases a year. We have a million people with AIDS, with HIV. We have had nearly a half million die from it. We have 4 million people that are going to die from hepatitis C or they are going to get a liver transplant. What is the answer? What is the answer for our children?

Mr. Speaker, it is time for a new sexual revolution. It is time for the revolution of the 1960s and the 1970s to die. Why? Because it is morally wrong. But there are consequences to morally

wrong behavior. And the morally wrong behavior is that we have an epidemic that is out of control in our Nation.

Abstinence until entering into a committed, lifelong, mutually faithful, monogamous relationship. That is called marriage. Marriage is a wonderful institution. It does us well as a society. We should do everything we can to support that institution, because that oftentimes protects us.

Abstinence until marriage and faithfulness in marriage that is supported by our society. That is supported. That is condoned by our society. Where our society stands up and says, Stay together. Do not violate the principle.

Who benefits from character-based abstinence education? The answer is all of us. It is them and it is us. It is our Nation. It is our budget. It is the life, health, and well-being of our children.

Mr. Speaker, I say: America, wake up. Twelve million new infections every year and none of them have to be. Let us ask for the truth. Let us ask the CDC to do its job. Let us make sure we teach our children what the risk factors are. Let us make sure we talk about that there are consequences to sexual activity outside of marriage, and many of them are very, very grave.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

EXPUNGING OF REMARKS FROM CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Mr. MINGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that any portion of my remarks that referred to the President be expunged from the special order that was delivered this evening.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SNOWBARGER). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

DOLLARS TO THE CLASSROOM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, tonight we want to begin a dialogue that we hope sets the framework for tomorrow. Tomorrow, there is going to be limited debate on a bill that is coming to the floor. It is called "Dollars to the Classroom."

This piece of legislation, which was authored by a colleague of mine from Pennsylvania, builds on a previous resolution that this House has passed. What that resolution said was that when we send a dollar to Washington for education, instead of getting 60 to 70 cents of that dollar back to the classroom, back to the local level, we are going to strive to get that up to 90 to 95 cents of every education dollar getting back to a local classroom.

Before I do that, and before I begin that discussion on education, I want to

set the framework. A while back, we did a proposal out of my office, or we did kind of an analysis, and we started addressing an issue which I think is very important. The question was: Why is it that everyone has so much faith in Washington?

□ 2200

Why is it that people believe that if they send their money to Washington, Washington is better at building their roads, Washington is better at educating their children, Washington is better at creating jobs than if we left that money at the State or local level or if we left that money in the pockets of the American citizens?

We identified a phenomenon which we call "the myth of the magical bureaucracy." What we said is, we really should ask some questions. Do we really believe that a bureaucrat in Washington can raise our children? Do we really believe that this magical bureaucracy here in Washington can build and strengthen our communities, that it can create economic growth, that it can create economic opportunity and that it can prepare America for the information age?

It is kind of interesting, my colleague from Colorado and I today had the opportunity to ask that question, not can the magical bureaucracy here in Washington prepare America for the information age, but the question that we asked today is whether the magical bureaucracy, not whether it can lead us into the information age but whether this magical bureaucracy here in Washington, in the two departments we had testify today, the Education and Labor Departments, whether they are even prepared to move into the information age and whether they are prepared to deal with the year 2000 issue. And the answers that we got were fairly frightening.

The Education Department, this is a group that sends out money to our schools; it does Pell grants. It does the direct student loan program. In reality, the Education Department is perhaps one of the largest banks in the country. Its loan portfolio or the loans that it manages are close to \$150 billion. It has roughly 93 million customers, 93 million people who have loans with the Education Department.

In a recent scoring or a grading, which I think is very appropriate for the Education Department, one of my colleagues from another committee in the House of Representatives said that they, the Education Department, deserved an F. They are not ready for the year 2000. It means that we are not quite sure what happens to the \$150 billion of loans that are outstanding. We are not quite sure what will happen to our students who in 1999 begin applying for loans or start going to school and believe they are approved for loans and start actually looking for the money and do not receive their checks.

It is kind of scary what is going to happen potentially with the Education

Department. It was heartening to see that on a bipartisan basis my colleague from Hawaii, who is the ranking member, indicated her serious concerns about where the Education Department was and what they could do.

It is not about whether they can lead us into the information age. I am not sure if the gentleman from Colorado would have anything to say about his observations on the hearings today, but when we talk about the myth of the magical bureaucracy, we really saw a myth today, the myth that this organization that we think is educating our kids cannot even deal with the information age.

I yield to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. BOB SCHAFFER).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the subject of our special order tonight.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SNOWBARGER). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

You are precisely right. We got a distinct impression in the Education Committee today that the United States Department of Education is woefully unprepared for the technology problems that they will be confronting with the Y2K or the year 2000 computer problem that is likely to exist in the year 2000.

We went through a program-by-program analysis of where the Department of Education thinks it is today. As you properly pointed out and mentioned, the U.S. Department of Education is part education agency, part legislative bureaucracy that implements various regulations and legislation, and it is part financial institution. In fact, the amount of finances that that agency controls with respect to college loans, not just the direct student loan program or the program where the government is the banker that loans directly to students around the country, but the private student loan programs that are also managed under the department, both of those programs and several others are placing the future of education opportunity for millions and millions of Americans at great risk as a result of their failure to properly and effectively apply modern technology today and be able to take us into the next century.

I asked the specific question, what if you are not ready to go in the year 2000. First of all, what makes us think that we are today? They were unable to answer that question with any certainty that they will be prepared for the Y2K computer problem. I asked specifically, what would happen if there is a 3-month delay, there are barriers to the communication and the

interrelationship between other financial institutions and financial institutions that are central to the college lending program. And there was no answer, really. The answer was, well, we will work on it when we get there. We will try to fix it then.

The second question I asked, what if there are some kinds of barriers to the interrelationship with the telecommunications industry, our ability to communicate with schools, institutions and other associated agencies that work with the Department of Education. Again, the answer was rather startling. They really had not thought through to that point yet. We will work on it, they said, when we get to that point into the future, and we will fix it as swiftly as we can.

Well, I realize these are difficult times that every Federal agency is going through, every private agency, anyone who relies on technology for computer and data storage. But with respect to the Department of Education, they have placed the interests of the American people at a financial level and an accounting level and at an administrative level and at a regulatory level so completely into the hands of technological attempts at the Department of Education at which they are incapable of properly and effectively managing.

These individuals, citizens, taxpayers and anybody who proposes at some point in time to achieve a higher education or to participate in any way with the Department of Education really is at great risk and great jeopardy as a result of what I consider to be a lax level of commitment and approach to managing the technology of education today.

The real answer is not to look to Washington any longer or any further for additional leadership and guidance in the management of colleges and universities or local school districts, for that matter, or any education institution. We are finding, through the example that was exposed today in your committee, that the real academic and educational salvation for the country is in a decentralized approach to schooling, public schooling and private schooling, and moving authority back to the States, back to local communities, back to the homes and back to the neighborhoods where education, once again, is held in the hands of those who truly care most about the children that are relying on the availability of a strong and viable education system. Those people, of course, who care the most are, of course, parents, not bureaucrats. That is the message I think we need to convey not only tonight, but that is the message I think we conveyed in committee and consistently try to convey.

It really is at the basis of most of the Republican reforms and proposals that we have put forward here in this Congress to try to restore the greatness of the American education system.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, just to set this in a

context again, there is a difference between the bureaucratic mentality that we see in a lot of institutions here in Washington and the free market actions and energy that we see. Actually, just for my colleagues, on a monthly basis my office publishes what we call a "Tale of Two Visions." What a tale of two visions does is it really portrays the two different visions for America, one of which is the vision of bureaucracy. The IRS admits to taxpayer abuse. That is a vision of bureaucracy. No kids at a 2.4 million day care center. Government creates private company windfall. Start time will improve education, legislators claim. Another strange IRS determination, but that is a vision of bureaucracy.

We contrast that to what we think is a vision of opportunity, where we do what my colleague from Colorado said, we move authority and responsibility either back into the free market system or we move it back to local and State government, the levels of government that are available to the people. We do this on a monthly basis.

Other tales of two visions. A vision of bureaucracy. Remember the \$600 toilet seats? Now they are \$75 screws. A vision of bureaucracy. Billions missing Federal audit, another expensive Federal building project.

Contrast that with the vision of opportunity. A parent goes the extra mile to help children read. Volunteers help the poor save on tax bills. Private group offers educational opportunities for low income kids. Program provides alternatives to gangs.

What we do is we highlight those each and every month, the difference between the bureaucratic vision, which is, when they ask this question, they say, can this bureaucracy substitute for a loving home? The bureaucratic vision says yes. We say no.

Does spending money in this building and a building in Washington equal positive results for America? Bureaucrats and the bureaucratic vision says us spending money in Washington is a positive thing. The opportunity vision says, spending at the local level through parents and the free market works better.

The bureaucratic vision says, can a one-size-fits-all program run out of this building solve every problem? The bureaucratic vision says yes. It says that we can develop a program that works in my district in West Michigan and we expect to it work in Colorado. And as much as I liked Colorado when I went out to visit your district and we had a great hearing out there, the needs and the opportunities in your district are very different than mine.

I just wanted to let my colleagues know that if they are interested, we have this tale of two visions as well as journal of ideas, talking about how from an opportunity vision standpoint we can change the arts, we can change education, we can change regulatory and tax reform and campaign finance reform, there are alternative visions to

the bureaucratic vision in America. And the journal of ideas and the tale of two visions, these are all available on my web page. For my colleagues, if they are interested, they can just go to WWW.HOUSE.GOV/HOEKSTRA/WEL-COME.HTML, and they can have access to a tale of two visions and they can have access to the journal of ideas and other information that really contrasts a bureaucratic vision of America, which I think is the myth, and the real strength of America, which is the private sector.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will continue to yield, if anyone doubts the sincerity of the current administration and the bureaucrats over in the White House and the Department of Education to construct a bureaucratic model of centralized control and authority with respect to public education in America, I would suggest that they peruse this letter that I am about to reference and will submit.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, this letter that you showed me tonight as we were preparing is unbelievable. It clearly points out the difference between a bureaucratic vision of America, where control is moved to Washington, where we believe that this little bureaucrat in this building here in Washington does all kinds of good things, and the more power we can move to this bureaucrat and to this building in Washington, the better off we will be.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. We can trace the origin of this particular mentality directly to November 11, 1992. What is remarkable about that date is that November 11, 1992 was, of course, the day after the 1992 presidential election, the day when President Clinton became the nominee or became the President-elect of the United States of America.

What I hold here in my hands is a copy of a letter from a gentleman named Mark S. Tucker, who is the President of the National Center on Education and the Economy. As I say, I will, under the unanimous consent request that I had asked for and was granted just a few minutes ago, I will submit this in its entirety for the record tomorrow or request that it be submitted.

□ 2215

But I want to tell my colleague that this letter was written not to the President but to the President's spouse, Hillary Clinton, at the Governor's mansion in Little Rock, Arkansas. And it is a blueprint, effectively, for a consolidation of education authority right here in Washington, D.C. Not just kindergarten through 12th grade education throughout the country, but higher education, and even beyond to work force training.

Let me tell my colleague just a couple of provisions in here that I will go ahead and read right now.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Reclaiming my time for a minute, and I will let the

gentleman get back to that, but I want to set the context for this, because some of the things the gentleman is going to talk about have not come out in concrete proposals that have come from the White House.

What I want to do is lay out for the gentleman a litany of what the administration has proposed. And this goes to what the gentleman has in his hands, but goes a little further.

Washington has been involved in training teachers, we have been involved in providing breakfast, we have been involved in teaching our kids about sex, we have been involved in teaching our kids about the arts, providing lunch, teaching them about violence, providing after-school snacks, and providing after-school activities.

These are all things that the Federal Government has gotten involved in education. But let me just point out the specific types of programs that this administration has already proposed and the types of things that they want to move from the local level and the State level. They say, no, it is the responsibility of a building in Washington and a bureaucrat in Washington; that they can make these decisions better than what can be done at a local level.

What have they proposed? They have proposed building our schools, they have proposed hiring teachers, they have proposed developing curriculum, they have proposed installing technology, they have proposed developing Federal tests and Federal standards for our kids.

Remember the debate and the fight that we had last year so that we would not have national testing? They want to test our children. They want to make midnight basketball available. All from Washington.

It does not mean these things are not important. They are all very important. But the myth of the magical bureaucrat says we think those decisions should be made by a bureaucrat in Washington rather than at the State and, most importantly, at the local level.

The bottom line is, what do they want to do? Here is the litany when we put it all together:

They want to build our schools, hire our teachers, train our teachers, develop the curriculum, install technology, develop Federal tests and standards, test our children, provide breakfast, teach them about sex teach them about the arts, provide them lunch, teach them about drugs, teach them about violence, provide an after-school snack, provide after-school activities, and make midnight basketball available.

Other than that, it is the local school. These are Washington responsibilities, but other than that they really believe in local education.

I yield back and the gentleman can talk about the other things that they have had on their mind and where they

would be going next if they got this whole agenda.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Once again I want to encourage all Members and any other observer to look for this letter that I am about to go through. I just want to mention a couple of paragraphs. The gentleman will get the idea without my having to actually read quite a lot of this. But this will be submitted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I will seek the approval of the body to allow that to occur and people will be able to see that in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in the days following.

This really is a blueprint. It is a letter, again, from Mark Tucker to Hillary Clinton dated November 11, 1992, just shortly after, very, very shortly after the President took over. It was evident that the President became the victor on election night in 1992.

And it starts out, "Dear Hillary, I still cannot believe you won, but utter delight that you did pervades all the circles in which I move. I met last Wednesday in David Rockefeller's office with him," and others, and it goes through the names here. It talks about the subject that they were discussing at this little roundtable was, "... what you and Bill should do now about education, training and labor market policy."

I will stop there to point out that this is not just a blueprint that affects only K through 12 education. It involves education, training and labor market policy. Really, a consolidation of a broad approach utilizing the U.S. Department of Education, the Department of Labor, and also, potentially, the Small Business Administration and others.

I want to jump right to a paragraph that just alarmed me when I first read it. It is about the levy grant system, as it is called. "We propose that Bill," meaning the President, "take a leaf out of the German book", it says. "One of the most important reasons that large German employers offer apprenticeship slots to German youngsters is that they fear, with good reason, that if they don't volunteer to do so, the law will require it."

He says here, now listen to this, and listen to this very carefully, "Bill should gather a group of leading executives and business organization leaders and tell them straight out that he will hold back on submitting legislation to require a training levy provided that they commit themselves to a drive to get employers to get their average expenditures on front-line employee training up to 2 percent of front-line employee salaries and wages within 2 years."

Let me restate that in different words and tell my colleagues what this says specifically. It talks previously in the letter about a new tax called a levy on employers for training.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Reclaiming my time for just a second. It is interesting that, once again, they will not use the

word of what it really is. They come up with another word.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. It is a tax.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. It is a tax, and they call it a levy.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. A training levy, which would be 2 percent of the front-line employee salaries and wages within 2 years, is what they said. Now, here it says, "If they have not done so within that time, then he will expect," he being the President, "expect their support when he submits legislation requiring the training levy."

So envision the conversation. The President sits down with a group of business executives, leading business executives and organization leaders, and says, "You know, fellas, I have had in the back of my mind the idea of imposing a 2 percent training levy on all employers across the country. But I will hold back on that if you will voluntarily increase your investment in front-line employee training, at a level that would approximate 2 percent of salaries and wages, and if you get to that point within 2 years."

Now, this, in any other circle, is called blackmail. Or bribery, perhaps. It goes on here. It says, and I will pick up with a quote here, "If they have not done so within that time, then he will expect their support when he submits this legislation requiring the training levy." So he is going to get their support one way or another, according to the plan. "He could do the same thing with respect to slots for structured on-the-job training."

It goes on a little further and talks next about college loan and public service programs. Listen to this. This is an effort described here to try to get students across the country to become part of a federally-managed credentialing program for general education. And those students who get credentialed under the general education credential, the Federal standard, this Federal credential, will be entitled to a free year of higher education. And that would be accomplished through a combination of Federal and State funds, and that will have a decided impact on the calculations of costs for college loan public service programs.

So what we really have here is a blueprint for a German model of education that would be forced upon the people of America, and employers in this case, either through force, or the threat of force, and done so in a way to redistribute the public wealth, the strength of the Federal budget, to those students who voluntarily submit themselves to the new Federal credentialing standard for K through 12 education.

Now, again, I point this out, and I will submit it for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, but the reason I used this example, and there are plenty more horrendous examples in the letter that I will spare the body for the moment, is that this really is a document that de-

scribes the mentality of the White House the day after the 1992 presidential election. And it shows how this country made a dramatic departure away from the tradition that the gentleman and I would like to get back to: That tradition that suggests local control, local authority, treating teachers like professionals and administrators at the local level like professional administrators.

This blueprint departs from that model and, instead, moves the country toward a government-managed, government-owned centralized education system from kindergarten past college, actually, into the job training stage. And it really is the conflict in visions that defines the differences between Republicans and Democrats typically.

This is an accurate description of precisely what is at stake and what was at stake not only in the 1992 election but in the 1996 election, and the election coming up within 7 weeks, the 1998 election. This huge difference of opinion about whether education authority ought to be consolidated, as the President would believe, in Washington, D.C., or our vision, as a Republican majority, that says we should trust parents, we should trust teachers, we should trust local administrators, local school districts, local school boards and, above all, State legislators in all 50 States.

That is the difference and that is the distinction. And I believe that our answer offers greater hope and greater promise for the children of the future. Greater hope and greater promise in allowing for a whole menu of education alternatives, education approaches, education philosophies throughout the country based on local values, based on local priorities, based on the local needs of children to match local job markets, whether it is agriculture, or maybe it is an urban setting in a large city over on the East Coast.

But to take into account these different settings and objectives and values and priorities and local communities, that is the real answer, in my mind, to education success that will restore America's greatness as the pre-eminent country throughout the world for educating youngsters and turning them into future leaders, not only in the political realm but in the religious realm and also in the area of business and commerce.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Reclaiming my time, the gentleman has opened himself up to perhaps some criticism; to someone saying, look, we have never seen those proposals. What is outlined in that memo has never come to the House. That is not what was going on at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. But then we take a look and say, no, the gentleman is right. The gentleman has clearly outlined the vision, because steps moving us in that direction have come from the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. We can track this blueprint and the pro-

grams that the gentleman has outlined that have been implemented by the current administration. The school to Work Program would be one, Goals 2000 would be another. It just goes on and on and on, right on down to midnight basketball, which is consistent with the blueprint outlined in this letter from a group called the National Center on Education and the Economy.

These are friends of the Clintons. And I am sure they were pretty excited and thrilled when there was a change-over in the White House, because it finally meant that a liberal perspective on centralizing and managing education around the country was finally possible. And that is the direction that they have moved this country.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Reclaiming my time, I think the clearest example of that is the debate that we had last year, and the fight on the floor of this House and the fight that we had with the administration about testing our children, recognizing that if we develop national tests we open the door to Federal tests and Federal standards. And if all of our kids are to be tested on a national basis, it really moves into developing curriculum, which means we want to train our teachers.

And so we saw the first steps of that. And I think we have been effective in stopping that and moving towards our vision, which says let us not consolidate more power here in Washington, in these buildings here with these bureaucrats, who are very knowledgeable and very talented people, but they do not know Colorado and they do not know the State of Michigan.

Let us go back, and we will go through a little bit of what we did with Education at a Crossroads, but before that, and I know some will say, oh, there they go again, they want to get rid of the Department of Education. That is not the debate. The debate is how do we take a Department of Education and make it more effective; and, also, what is working in America in education today.

I have some quotes here about what people said about the Department of Education when it was created in 1979, and we can benchmark what people expected in 1979 when they voted for a Department of Education and what we now have almost 20 years later. Twenty years later do we have what we thought we were going to get?

This is a benchmark; this is what we need to measure against. Mr. Brooks said, September 27, 1979, "It creates a cabinet level Department of Education to provide more efficient administration of the wide variety of education program now scattered throughout the Federal Government."

I yield to the gentleman from Colorado if he can tell me how many Federal agencies today administer education programs? Have we seen consolidation?

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. We have seen a huge growth and an explosion in Federal agencies that have their hands in our local schools.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Reclaiming my time. Maybe you remember the numbers. It is 39 different agencies with over 760 programs. In 1979 they recognized that they had a problem. We have too many programs and we have too many agencies dealing with education. We need to consolidate it in a Department of Education so that we really get a focus on education.

I have another quote here. Secretary Rubin testified before the Committee on the Budget on March 11, 1997. At that hearing, I asked him who the point person is for education strategy in the administration.

Mr. Rubin replied, "I would say the President, who is enormously knowledgeable."

So the President is the point person on education. He must be the point person on defense, foreign policy, welfare reform. The benchmark was consolidation and streamlining in 1979 and efficiency.

In reality, we have continued to create more programs. We have continued to create and allow more agencies to deal with education and we have never consolidated the strategy at the Department of Education level.

The creation of this new department will reduce the size of the bureaucracy. In reality, the Washington bureaucracy here, the Education Department is one of the smaller bureaucracies. It has somewhere in the neighborhood of 4,000 to 5,000 employees, which I think is still a pretty good size bureaucracy. It has three times that many people who are on State payrolls enforcing Federal regulations. So we did not streamline the bureaucracies.

Mr. Bayh said, "The individual appointed to the position of Secretary of Education will coordinate all educational activities for the Federal Government."

Mr. Rubin has already said that has not happened.

Mr. Levin said, "I believe that the creation of the department can have a streamlining effect on the multitude of Federal education programs currently spread out through various departments within the Federal Government." It has not happened.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. If I could interject for a moment, the extent of the bureaucracy in the U.S. Department of Education and the corresponding inefficiency, red tape and regulation that goes along with that cannot be measured exclusively on the number of Federal employees that are on the Federal payroll and assigned to the U.S. Department of Education, because with the rules and regulations and reporting requirements created by those roughly 4,000 to 5,000 employees comes implementation requirements that get passed on to the State level and to the local level.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Let us do a little process here. Let me represent the bureaucrat and the bureaucracy in Washington and the gentleman will represent the school district. Let us go through this process of what happens.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Sure.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I collect the taxes so the taxpayer who is over there has sent the dollars to Washington and I now work with the Congress or I am instructed by the Congress and I have created these 760 programs. So I need to communicate this to the local school district and say, all right, I have 760 programs. I need to communicate to you and tell you what they are. What do you need to do at that point?

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. At a local level, how do I receive the 760 programs?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. You then need to go through a process, and do what, and find which programs that you might qualify and then what does the gentleman have to do?

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. First of all, on behalf of my constituents at the local level, I would want to know as fully and completely as possible what kinds of programs my school district is eligible for. So I would do a survey of all of those 760 programs and determine which ones I ought to be applying for to receive funding so I can bring the greatest value back home to the constituents that I represent.

First of all, it takes a huge effort just to have somebody in my organization at the local level begin to look at all of those programs and hold them up to the particular characteristics of my school district.

The next thing I need to do is then begin to apply for them and apply for them usually on an annual basis. That means having more staff and more individuals who sit down and fill out the forms, send them back, perhaps have them rejected, make the fine-tuning details that need to be done so I can re-apply and maybe receive the funds, and then if I am successful at receiving the funds.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Reclaiming my time, the gentleman has now applied to Washington, to me.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. That is right.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. The gentleman has presented a proposal. So your people have done the screening, they have had the dialogue with the department in the different agencies and we tell you you might qualify. So you send your application to Washington, and I am looking at it and saying, I have got about \$30 billion but you are not the only one that has applied. I have all of the rest of the country that has now applied for this.

So I now need to hire people to go through the screening process, because I have gotten more requests for dollars than what I have funds for. So I now need to go through and say, you qualify, you qualify, you qualify, you do not, you do not; I am sorry. So the people that do not qualify have put in all of this work, they have done all the surveying, they have put in the work and writing the grant application and they do not get any money. You now

get some programs so I now notify you that you have won the award, you get the money and you are getting a check.

What do you do next?

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Well, in order to continue receiving these funds, I have to behave in a way, as a school district, that satisfies the red tape and rules that come with those dollars from the Federal Government. I have to answer to bureaucrats maybe in the region that my State would be in, or I have to answer directly to people in Washington, D.C. to prove to them that I am using those dollars efficiently and effectively, meeting the expectations of somebody in the far off city of Washington, D.C. and achieving all of the objectives that these bureaucrats want to see.

If I get the idea that I might not be achieving those objectives, I might ask to the bureaucrat in Washington, well, what is it exactly that you want to see on the report?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. That is correct.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. I will then go to work manipulating the numbers and the statistics and the variables and the reports from my school district to make it appear as though I am meeting the objectives of the Federal Government perfectly and as fully as I possibly can, doing all of these accounting gymnastics and stretching the actual definitions of the law, simply to make sure that we continue to receive this wonderful cash from Washington, D.C.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Reclaiming my time, what the gentleman has said is you have received the dollars and you implement the program and I know that you are not going to spend the money the way that I told you to.

So you have to send me a bunch of reports saying, I did what you told me to do.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. That is right.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Here is the evidence. Here are the reports.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Endless accountability. The reason is because there is going to be politicians back here in Washington, D.C. who are demanding of these bureaucrats, you said the money was going to be spent to accomplish X, Y and Z goals. Now what proof do you have that you met them?

The bureaucrat will say, well, I have all of these reports, because we require them from all of these districts all across the country, and you have reports and reports and reports that should assure you, Mr. Congressman, that the money is being spent well and you can go home and sleep well at night and maybe you will even get re-elected.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I go through all of these reports in Washington, all the reports that go into this building, and people read them, they do not really know where your district is in Colorado, they do not know why my district is in Michigan, but they read my

reports, is that the end of the saga? I do not think so, because I kind of believe that maybe some of the people that have gotten some of this \$30 billion have not quite spent it the way that I wanted them to. So I have another department here in Washington. They are called auditors.

So I send them around the country and send them to you and say, I know you sent me the report but prove it. I want to see your paperwork that says that you spent the money exactly the way that I told you to. So I send the auditor to you and you go through another process.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Not only will I go through that process, I will go pick the auditors up at the airport, I will go pick them up at the airport and drive them to my school and the doors will be open for them. I will offer them maybe a cup of coffee and give them a room all to themselves so they can sit down and go through my carefully prepared reports and documents and let them see just how fully compliant we are. They can have free reign in the school. They can open up all the school rooms they want. They can sit in. They can interview the kids, parents, the principal. They can do an audit of the school.

We will also, in order to continue receiving this Federal cash, we will stop everything else we were doing that we thought was important until today, like teaching children and supervising the children. We will make sure that the secretaries and the accountants and the bookkeepers stop what they are doing and help you make sure that we are fully complying with this little grant that we have.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Just a couple of points, because as we have gone through education with the Crossroads Project, our subcommittee, we have gone to 15 States, we have had 22 different hearings and we have heard this over and over and over from I think over 220 witnesses in 15 states and the message is consistent, because they outlined this process for us; they said this is exactly what we go through.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Absolutely.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. It is not just in Colorado, it is not in Michigan, it is in New York, it is in Cleveland, it is in Milwaukee, it is in Georgia, it is in L.A., it is in San Jose. We have been there. We have been in Iowa. You know we have been around the country and the story is always the same. The message comes back and says, it is bureaucratic.

You notice that almost this whole dialogue was between the school administrator and Washington. The dialogue that is most important which is between the school administrator and the parent, who is paying for the taxes, gets lost in the process.

We have also identified that when we go through this process of taking that tax dollar and then you and I going through this exchange of, I got the money, you get it, you send it to me, I verify, you send in reports, I audit, that when you go through that whole process, we lose about 30 to 40 cents of every educational dollar that came from that taxpayer, we lose 30 to 40 cents in the work that you do in your local school district, and the work that bureaucrats need to do here in Washington. So we lose 30 to 40 percent of the money.

The other thing that we have found, one of the key findings and that we are going to be working on tomorrow, on dollars to the classroom, is that the leverage point for education spending, as much as I would like to say this bureaucrat and this bureaucracy are adding a lot of value to the education of our kids, what did we find? We found that the leverage point for educational spending is getting the resources to a teacher, to a principal, to a classroom. When we are losing 35 to 40 cents of every dollar, we are hurting our kids. We are not helping them learn.

Tomorrow we are setting up the objective that for 31 programs, that is roughly \$3 billion of spending, instead of getting 65 to 70 cents of every dollar to the classroom, we want to get 90 to 95 cents of every Federal education dollar into the classroom out of those 31 programs, which I believe will give every classroom something like, what, \$400 and \$425 more.

That is leverage. That is not spending more on education. That is not asking the taxpayer to send us more money. That is just saying, with the money that you are sending us, we are going to spend a little less time talking to each other, or, you know the school administrators in Washington are going to spend a little less time talking to each other, a lot fewer rules and regulations, a lot less paperwork and we are going to open it up because we are going to say, if these four programs are the most important to you for what your kids need, spend the money on those four programs. Do not worry about the other 27, because the 4 programs that you maybe need to do in Colorado are very different than probably what he saw in the Bronx and what the kids in the Bronx need, and it is very different from what we saw in Louisville, Kentucky or what we saw in West Michigan, because the needs are different. We need to empower the local administrators and the parents and the teachers to spend that money. We need to get more money in their hands and we really believe that as much as we like these bureaucrats in Washington, they cannot substitute for a loving home; they cannot substitute for a parent and they cannot substitute for a teacher or a principal at a local level who knows what their kids need.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. This is all about putting children first, putting children ahead of the bureau-

crats, putting the needs and interests of children and educating them for the future ahead of the comfort of bureaucrats who are interested in usually only one thing, and that is preserving the status quo and preserving the positions of authority that they have secured for themselves here in Washington, D.C. and in other government centers throughout the country.

□ 2245

Mr. HOEKSTRA. What this really does and what we are going to try to do tomorrow is we are going to try to implement the vision for the Education Department that a lot of these people in 1979 said the Education Department should be; that we should streamline the bureaucracy, we should get dollars into the classroom, and we should consolidate Federal education programs.

So the vision was right in 1979. The implementation was terrible. So the Education Department in and of itself was not a bad thing because it was addressing, it was supposed to address the right kinds of problems; but what you and I have found as we have gone around the country is that rather than implementing a Department of Education that empowered parents, empowered the local level, streamlined the process and got dollars to the local level, this bureaucracy took on a life of its own and created more programs and more rules and more regulations.

One of the things that we found was that the first time that you sent me, the first time that you sent an application to this bureaucracy to process a grant request, it had to go through 487 different steps that took 26 weeks to complete. Think of how many people that request touched, how long it was in every in-box and then in every out-box, and how many different offices it would go through in this building before you ever found out back at a local level whether you were going to get a dollar or not.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. The bigger travesty is to consider all of the children who are robbed of an education opportunity, who are robbed of precious resources that could have gone toward furthering their academic progress by a bureaucracy that cares more about its paperwork and red tape and strings than the future of children throughout the country.

That is what we are trying to turn around, put the interests of children ahead of bureaucrats. But you know, I would like to try to anticipate tomorrow's debate a little bit because this seems so simple. This seems like for those who are considering the whole path of a dollar that is earned by a local wage earner in some far-off community, and confiscated by the Internal Revenue Service, sent to Washington, D.C., divvied up by politicians, spent by bureaucrats under the rules that they have written for themselves, and finally in the end sometimes less than 60 percent of it actually ends up helping anyone.

This seems like a problem that we could all agree on, a problem that we could agree needs to be resolved, it needs to be fixed and fixed quickly. It seems to be a solution that we are proposing tomorrow in the Dollars to the Classrooms bill that is very, very simple, very, very commonsense-oriented, yet we are going to have a fight on our hands.

Putting children first, as the Republicans will propose tomorrow, is not an easy thing to do in this Chamber because there are many other forces that come to play.

And let me just suggest where I believe some of this opposition will come from. You see, all of these bureaucrats, they like their jobs, they want to keep them, and so they form associations, they form interest groups to preserve and protect their little empire. And then you have all kinds of administrators at the State and local level who actually enjoy the details of working through the red tape. It empowers some of these folks, and so they form groups and associations, and they hire lobbyists, and they collect dues, and they get involved in political campaigns and contribute to campaign coffers, usually on the other side of the aisle, and they remind people of that when it comes to these fights on the floor.

And so you will have all of these groups and associations who want to keep the system confusing. They want to keep the bureaucracy receiving, in a position where it receives 40 to 50 percent of the off-the-top value of every dollar that is spent on education. They like the system as it is.

And we are going to have a real fight on our hands. It is hard to believe with the millions and millions of children around the United States of America, whose education future is at stake with tomorrow's debate, it is hard to believe that those millions of children will take a back seat to the arguments that we will hear from some on the other side of the aisle, the Democrat side of the aisle, tomorrow, who will suggest that spending more dollars at the classroom level is somehow harmful to the country and for the education process.

Confirm for me, if you will, do you expect this kind of fight tomorrow?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Reclaiming my time, absolutely. It will be a spirited debate, and there are, you know there will be spirited communications from these interest groups because what we are going to try to do tomorrow is take 31 programs and put them into a single educational opportunity grant to local school districts. Well, for each one of these 31 programs right now, there is a constituency where people have applied for and, you know, where this 35 to 40 cents of every education dollar just does not vanish into thin air. There are people who are taking that money and who are benefiting from it, and they are not going to want to give that up for the sake of efficiency and streamlining.

But you know it is going to be a very spirited debate, and we will be accused of hurting kids. We are accused of that with the food lunch program when we said we want to streamline it. You are going to hurt kids. And it is kind of like, no. There are going to be people who are not going to benefit from this, but they are in these buildings, and the bureaucrats I met are talented and they are good people, but they are located at the wrong place to be making these kinds of decisions. It is going to be the people in these buildings, and it is going to be these bureaucrats, and it is going to be those people that believe in the vision that was highlighted in that memo that said Washington bureaucrats and Washington politicians know more about educating our children in Colorado and Michigan than what parents and teachers and school administrators do at the local level.

That is the debate.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Before our colleagues walk on this floor tomorrow and engage in this debate, I would urge them to do a couple things that they still have doubts about the importance and significance of this bill tomorrow, the Dollars to the Classroom bill. I would urge them to make a phone call back home in the morning before they come to the floor. Call your local school principal at the local elementary school or junior high school. Then ask the question: Do you think you can spend the money on a program designed to help the children you are responsible for better or worse than a Federal bureaucrat here in Washington, D.C.?

Call your child's teacher tomorrow. Call the teacher and ask them: If you had more money in your classroom, do you think you could make the decisions that would result in a better education for the children in your charge than somebody in Washington, D.C. designing the rules and regulations and all the accountability measures with those dollars? Who can make the better decision?

I will guarantee you that every Member of Congress placing those kinds of phone calls, asking those very simple questions, will hear the exact same response that you and I heard as we traveled around the country with the Education at a Crossroads project when we asked that question. When we asked that question of teachers and of superintendents and of school board members and of principals, those education professionals told us almost to the last one of them, cut the red tape, get the Federal Government out of my hair, give me the resources to do the job that I am trained to do and that I know to do, and get these people out of my way, Washington, D.C. They do not understand my neighborhood, they do not understand the children I am responsible for, they do not understand the issues that we have to deal with at our school, and they do not know how to spend the money in a way that is actually going to work. Get this bureauc-

racy out of my way and sit back and watch us improve dramatically the way we educate children in America.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Reclaiming my time, I believe the other thing that we learned and why you and I are so confident of this alternative vision, a vision that returns power back to the local level that focuses on parents, that focuses basically on academics, that focuses on getting dollars back into the classroom is the wonderful success stories that we saw wherever we went whether we were in L.A. and we saw Yvonne Chan in her charter school, whether we were in San Jose and saw the technology school, whether we were at the school that we saw in Colorado or the one in Nillageville, there are tremendous success stories and there are tremendous people involved in education at the local level who are doing phenomenal things with our kids each and every day, and what they are asking for is they are asking for a little bit more freedom from Washington so that they can do what they know they want to do for their kids versus what Washington is telling them they have to do, and they are saying:

I will do what you tell me to do, but, boy, if I had the freedom, there are some other things that I really would like to do in my school, and when you take a look at the success stories and what the commitment of the teachers and the administrators and the parents at the local level, it is: let them go, give them the freedom, they are accountable. Teachers and administrators at the local level, they are not accountable to bureaucrats in Washington, they do not even know their name. They are accountable to the parents, and the kids and the school. Let us make that accountability, the one that we are really focusing on, and that is what this will start in enabling us to do.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. You know freedom is the operative word here, and you hit the nail right on the head, the freedom to teach and the liberty to learn.

Let me tell you what freedom means with respect to the Dollars to the Classroom bill. It means that without appropriating a single additional dollar out of the education budget we will free up \$2.7 billion that can then be spent on classrooms.

Let me state that again. It does not mean that we are going to spend more money in Washington, D.C., in the education budget, but it does mean that through efficiency mechanisms that you will find in the Dollars to the Classroom bill \$2.7 billion will be freed up to help children instead of being wasted on bureaucrats. That is what we are going to vote on tomorrow, \$2.7 billion that will be liberated, freed from this bureaucratic nightmare in Washington and released upon the States in a way that those teachers, those administrators, those principals at the local level can utilize to do what they do best, and that is to help children.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I thank the gentleman, and I think it is about time to wrap up this debate, although we have not had much of a debate. But we ought to also remember and say, you know, why did we do this discussion tonight?

We did this discussion tonight, number one, to prepare our colleagues for the debate that we are going to have tomorrow and also because we know it is going to be a vigorous debate because talking to the chairman of the full committee, Mr. GOODLING, and asking him, you know, do we have time to talk about all of the points that we want to talk about on Dollars to the Classroom tomorrow, and he said, boy. He said I already got 30 to 40 people who are asking to speak on this bill tomorrow, and you know there may not be enough time to get all of the points in, and so we have had an opportunity, I think tonight, to prepare our colleagues for this debate and to lay the framework about the alternative visions for education, the bureaucratic vision which says move accountability to Washington, move standards and testing to Washington, you know move dollars to Washington, move almost everything to Washington. And that is the debate. Or are we going to be in the debate on opportunity and freedom?

So we have had the opportunity tonight to lay the groundwork for that debate, to get that information on to the record and to prepare our colleagues for this debate which is going to be so critical tomorrow on a very important issue, a very important issue.

I will yield.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. The interest groups that will be represented by some of our Democrat colleagues on the other side of the aisle is the National Teachers Union, the administrators associations. Those are the groups that will have real champions that they will find on the Democrat side of the aisle fighting very strenuously to prevent us from turning \$2.7 billion back to the States and back to the children.

The children have no lobbyists, they have no children's association, they do not pay dues to an organization that hires professional lobbyists to represent them here on the House floor. Those children are counting on you and I and others like us who will come to this floor tomorrow and will fight as passionately as we possibly can to make sure that that \$2.7 billion is pried from this quagmire of bureaucratic red tape here in Washington and is redirected to those children who are counting on us back home. That is what real freedom to teach entails, that is what real liberty to learn is all about, that is what Dollars to the Classroom bill is, what it represents, and that the real opportunity, the real opportunity that we have tomorrow, to place out for the American people real hope, real education reform and a program that is really going to make a difference for

the children of America and allow them an opportunity to thrive academically and professionally eventually.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Reclaiming my time, we will be able to start moving towards the vision that many of their colleagues in 1979 had for the Department of Education. It is a vision Mr. Dodd had, it is a vision that Mr. Bayh had, it is the vision that Mr. Levin had.

This is an opportunity to focus on kids, not on bureaucracy and to get dollars to our children and to their classroom.

I thank the gentleman from Colorado for not only participating in this special order this evening but for the help that you have been in the last 18 months as we have gone around the country and as we have studied this issue, as we have had the 22 or 23 different hearings, and being there to go through a learning process with us to find out what is working and what is not working in education in America today.

□ 2258

It has been a tremendous process. There has been tremendous learning, some great things and some frustrations, but we are making progress, and I think we can move this education bureaucracy in the right direction to really help kids.

I thank the gentleman for being here tonight.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. UNDERWOOD (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today and the balance of the week on account of official business.

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 Mr. BERRY) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. LANTOS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BERRY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FALCOMA, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MINGE, for 5 minutes, today.

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

Mr. COBURN, for 5 minutes, on September 18,

Mr. METCALF, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. REGULA, for 5 minutes, on September 18.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania, for 5 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BERRY) and to include extraneous material:)

Mr. KIND.

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts.

Mr. VENTO.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas.

Ms. DELAURO.

Mr. HAMILTON.

Mr. HOYER.

Ms. RIVERS.

Mr. NADLER.

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD.

Mr. KUCINICH.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas.

Mr. MILLER of California.

Mr. ANDREWS.

Mr. RAHALL.

Mr. SERRANO.

Mr. BARCIA.

Mr. MENENDEZ.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. COBURN) and to include extraneous material:)

Mr. RADANOVICH.

Mr. LEWIS of California.

Mr. NEY.

Mr. GANSKE.

Mr. CRANE.

Mr. DOOLITTLE.

Mr. MCKEON.

Mr. CRAPO.

Mr. GILMAN.

Mr. ROGAN.

Mr. PACKARD.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 11 o'clock p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, September 18, 1998, at 9 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

10988. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Propyzamide; Pesticide Tolerances for Emergency Exemptions [OPP-300699; FRL-6022-5] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received September 11, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

10989. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Myclobutanol; Pesticide Tolerances for Emergency Exemptions [OPP-300705; FRL-6025-1] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received September 11, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

10990. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Desmedipham; Extension of Tolerances for Emergency Exemption [OPP-300707; FRL-6026-4] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received September 11, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.