

lead to a lifting of some if not all of the sanctions.

I think the question needs to be asked as to how long we can sustain our insistence on the maintenance of sanctions if support for sanctions continues to erode within the Security Council. If it is indeed true that support is eroding—and there are great indicators that, given the current lack of confrontation, it is true—then the question remains, How will our original policy be affected or in fact is our original policy still in place?

In April, Secretary Albright stated that, "It took a threat of force to persuade Saddam Hussein to let the U.N. inspectors back in. We must maintain that threat if the inspectors are to do their jobs."

That was the policy in April. Whether the administration is still prepared to use force to compel Iraqi compliance is now an enormous question. The Secretary says it is, but the recent revelations raise questions about that.

In addition, it seems to me that there are clear questions about whether or not the international community at this point in time is as committed as it was previously to the question of keeping Iraq from developing that capacity to rob its neighbors of tranquility through its unilateral development of a secret weapon program.

In May, India and Pakistan, despite all of our exhortations, conducted nuclear tests. In August, U.S. intelligence reports indicated that North Korea is building a secret underground nuclear facility, and last month North Korea tested a new 1,250-mile-range ballistic missile which landed in the Sea of Japan. Each and every one of these events raises the ante on international proliferation efforts and should cause the Senate and the Congress as a whole and the administration, in my judgment, to place far greater emphasis and energy on this subject.

If the United States and the United Nations retreat in any way on Iraq, if we are prepared to accept something less than their full compliance with the international inspection requirement that has been in place now for 7 years, it will be difficult to understand how we will have advanced the cause of proliferation in any of those other areas that I just mentioned.

Mr. President, over the years, a consensus has developed within the international community that the production and use of weapons of mass destruction has to be halted. We and others worked hard to develop arms control regimes toward that end, but obviously Saddam Hussein's goal is to do otherwise. Iraq and North Korea and others have made it clear that they are still trying, secretly and otherwise, to develop those weapons.

The international consensus on the need to curb the production and use of weapons of mass destruction is widespread, but it is far from unanimous, and, as the divisions within the Security Council over Iraq indicate, some of

our key allies simply don't place the same priority on proliferation as we do.

The proliferation of weapons, be they conventional or of mass destruction, remains one of the most significant issues on the international agenda. Obviously, solutions won't come easily. But I am convinced that in the case of Iraq, our failure would set the international community's nonproliferation efforts back enormously.

Our allies need to understand that the ramifications of letting Saddam Hussein out of the box that we put him in with respect to inspections would be serious and far-reaching. So I believe we need to keep the pressure on them to stand firm, to stand firm with us, and unless we reassert our leadership and insist that Iraq allow those inspectors to do their job, we will have destroyed a number of years of our effort in ways, Mr. President, that we will regret in our policy for the long haul.

I would point out also that there are experts on Iraq, those in the inspections team, those at the U.N. and elsewhere in our international community, who are very clear that Saddam Hussein's first objective is not to lift the sanctions. His first objective is to keep Iraq's weapons of mass destruction program—that will come ahead of all else.

The situation is really far more serious than the United Nations, the Congress or the administration have made clear to the American people or demonstrated through the level of diplomacy and focus that is currently being placed on this issue. It is not simply about eliminating Saddam Hussein's capacity to threaten his neighbors. It is about eliminating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction—chemical, biological, and nuclear. Failure to achieve this goal will have a profound impact, I believe, on our efforts with respect to our other nonproliferation efforts including completion of our talks with Russia and the ultimate ratification of the START II treaty by the Duma.

In recent conversations that I had with Chairman Butler, he confirmed that Saddam Hussein has only this one goal—keeping his weapons of mass destruction capability—and he further stated with clarity that Iraq is well out of compliance with U.N. resolutions requiring it to eliminate those weapons and submit to inspections and out of compliance with the agreement that he signed up to in February with Kofi Annan.

Mr. President, I believe there are a number of things we could do, a number of things both in covert as well as overt fashion. There is more policy energy that ought to be placed on this effort, and I believe that, as I have set forth in my comments, it is critical for us to engage in that effort, to hold him accountable.

In February, when we had an armada positioned in the gulf, President Clinton said that "one way or the other, we are determined to deny Iraq the capacity to develop weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them. That is our bottom line."

The fact is, Mr. President, over these last months there has been precious little to prevent Saddam Hussein from developing that capacity without the inspectors there and without the unwavering determination of the United Nations to hold him accountable. So the question still stands, What is our policy and what are we prepared to do about it?

Mr. President, I had asked to speak also on another topic for a moment. I see my colleague from New Mexico is here. Let me ask him what his intentions might be now and maybe we can work out an agreement.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I am on the list for 20 minutes, and I have a 2:30 beginning on the budget process working with the White House on some offsets. How much longer did the Senator need?

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, under those circumstances, I know that the chairman needs to get to those talks. I was going to speak for a longer period of time. What I will do is just proceed for another 5 minutes, to summarize my thoughts, if it is agreeable.

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

#### THE EDUCATION CRISIS

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, we appear to be, obviously, stuck on the issue of education in the Senate as in the country. We have been talking about the crisis for a long time now. The fact is that there isn't a community in the country that isn't struggling with its public school system. Vouchers gain in popularity notwithstanding the fact that they are only going to solve the problem for a few of our kids. And the truth is that too many of our schools have a diminished tax base and an inability through the property tax to be able to do what they need to do.

We also know that too many of our students are graduating from high school and given a degree by a principal even though principals in this country know that too many of those kids can't even read or write properly. Of 2.6 million kids who graduated from high school a year and a half ago, fewer than a third graduated with a proficient reading level. One-third were below basic reading, one third were at basic reading level, and only 100,000 of them had a world-class reading level. Thirty percent of our kids need remedial reading, writing, and arithmetic in the first days when they go to college. The truth is, we also have a crisis of teachers and their availability in our school system. We need some 2 million new teachers in the course of the next 10 years. We will need to hire 60 percent of them in the course of the next 5 years. This year alone, 61,000 new teachers went into our school systems. But the fact is, we are not able to draw from the best universities, the best colleges, and the best students because we barely pay enough for subsistence as

starting salary and because too many kids come out of college today with loan payments due and with other opportunities that draw them away from the prospect of teaching.

We really do have a major set of choices in front of us about our education system. There is a great struggle here in Washington. A lot of people argue the Federal Government has no role whatsoever, there is nothing the Federal Government can do with respect to this. After all, only 7 percent of the budget comes from the Federal Government, and as we all know, it is a cherished notion in America that schools are run locally. And that is the way we want it. I agree with that. There is nothing in what I propose that would suggest the Federal Government ought to increase its relationship. In fact, it can decrease it. But we have to acknowledge the reality that there are too many communities that simply cannot do it on their own. There is a whole new set of relationships that need to be created in our education system between teachers and the principals, the school boards and the layers of bureaucracy that have been created for all of these years.

So I suggest we ought to undo the bureaucracy, think differently, think out of the box and not be locked into a traditional debate between Democrats and Republicans, conservatives and liberals. We ought to look at a way that we can take the best practices, what works best in a parochial school, in a private school—or in a wonderful public school. The truth is, there are some incredible public schools in this country where teaching is going on and kids are going on to the best colleges in the country. When you go to those schools, you will invariably find a principal, above all, who is energized, respected, creative, visionary; who has the respect of the community, who is able to move the school into new curricula, into a new relationship with the school board, into a new relationship with the students and with the teachers and they have worked out their own hybrid relationships with the teachers' unions and with the layers of bureaucracy. They have liberated themselves in many ways from what stifles creativity in too many of our schools. In essence, they have become a charter school within the public school system.

I believe what we ought to strive to do is to allow every school within the public school system to effectively become a charter school within the public school system, allow those schools to be able to have principals who run the school on a local basis, hiring teachers from any walk of life, being responsible for the quality of that teaching. It does not make sense in America that someone who can teach at a college might not be allowed to teach in a high school or in a secondary or elementary school simply because they have not gone through the structure of the education system that is now licensed to provide teachers in most of our communities.

How is it that you can have a professor in a college who would not be able, on a long-term basis—yes, maybe on a provisional basis—but on a long-term basis to teach in the public school system? We need to provide choice and competition within the public school system. We need to have accountability in those systems in ways that parents and children and the community as a whole will be more involved in the life and breadth of that school.

I am going to be introducing legislation together with some Republican colleagues later in the year. I will be putting it in now as an outline, for purposes of the Record. I look forward, I hope in the next Congress, to our opportunity to engage in a stronger and more lively debate about real solutions to the crisis of education in America.

I yield the floor and ask unanimous consent the outline be printed in the RECORD.

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

A PLAN TO EDUCATE AMERICA'S CHILDREN

(By Senator John F. Kerry)

TITLE I—VOLUNTARY STATE REFORM INCENTIVE GRANTS

If education reform is to succeed in America's public schools, we must demand nothing less than comprehensive reform effort. The best public school districts are simultaneously embracing a host of approaches to educating our children: high standards and accountability, sufficient resources, small class sizes, quality teachers, motivated students, effective principals, and engaged parents and community leaders. We must not be half-hearted in our efforts to make reform feasible for every school in this country. We cannot address only one challenge in education and ignore the rest. We must make available the tools for real comprehensive reform so that every aspect of public education functions better and every element of our system is stronger.

So let us now turn to a bold answer: Let's make every public school in this country essentially a charter school within the public school system. Let's give every school the chance to quickly and easily put in place the best of what works in any other school—private, parochial or public—with decentralized control, site-based management, parental engagement, and real accountability.

Several schools across the country have devised ways to accomplish this by raising standards to improve student achievement, lowering class size, improving on-going education for teachers, and reducing unnecessary middle-level bureaucracy. Numerous high-performance school designs have also been created such as the Modern Red Schoolhouse program, the Success for All program, and the New American Schools program. The results of extensive evaluations of these programs have shown that these designs are successful in raising student achievement. Studies show that these many of these successful programs cost less than the national median of basic education revenues per pupil for K-12 school districts. If we brought all schools up to the spending level of the national median, all schools could finance these high-performance school designs. Therefore, we should raise spending to the state or the national median, whichever is higher, thereby allowing every school district to finance and implement comprehensive reform based on proven high-perform-

ance models and teach students to the highest standards (58 percent of school districts are below either the national or their state median). Although money alone will not solve the problems in poor school districts, it is impossible to solve without adequate resources. Rather than piecemeal, fragmented approaches to reform, the Comprehensive School Reform program is intended to foster coherent schoolwide improvements that cover virtually all aspects of a school's operations.

To ensure that the vast majority of school districts could engage in comprehensive school reform, Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) should also be fully funded. Title I is the primary federal help for local districts to provide assistance to poor students in basic math and reading skills. Title I currently provides help to local school districts for additional staff and resources for reading and math, curriculum improvements, smaller classes, and training poor students' parents to help their children learn to read and do math. However, Title I only reaches two-thirds of poor students because of inadequate funding. Since 90 percent of school districts receive at least some Title I funds, fully funding Title I and allowing school districts to use these additional funds for comprehensive reforms would give schools the ability to implement comprehensive reforms so that all students reach the highest academic standards.

Most poor school districts lack the resources to meet the vital educational needs of all of their students. A well-crafted program with the federal and state governments working in close cooperation with one another could make major strides in closing these gaps and improving student performance.

Comprehensive school reform will help raise student achievement by assisting public schools across the country to implement effective, comprehensive school reforms that are based on proven, research-based models. No new federal bureaucracy would be established—the program would be implemented at the state level. Furthermore, no funds could be used to increase the school bureaucracy. School districts would implement a comprehensive school reform program and evaluate and measure results achieved. Schools would also provide high-quality and continuous teacher and staff professional development and training, have measurable goals for student performance and benchmarks for meeting those goals, provide for meaningful involvement of parents and the local community in planning and implementing school improvement, and identify how other available federal, state, local, or private resources will be utilized to coordinate services to support and sustain the school reform effort.

The funding for the program would move towards the goal of providing every school district in the country enough funds to implement a high quality, performance-based model of comprehensive school reform at a cost of \$4.270. This would mean providing enough funds to bring every district up to the state or the national median, whichever is higher (it is estimated that \$30 billion annually would be needed to bring the per-pupil expenditure of every school district up to the national or state average). To move towards this goal, the federal government would provide funds and states would match this money (states would provide 10 to 20 percent with poorer states providing a smaller match). To receive these funds, states would have to provide a minimum spending effort based on state and local school spending relative to the state's per capita income. Funding would be \$250 million in FY99, \$500 million in FY2000, \$750 million in FY2001, \$1 billion in FY2002, and \$4 billion in FY2002.

Fully fund Title I so almost all school districts would receive some funds to implement comprehensive school reform (90 percent of all local school districts receive Title I funds). Funding would be \$200 million in FY99, \$400 million in FY2000, \$600 million in FY2001, \$1 billion in FY2002, and \$4 billion in FY2002.

TITLE II—ENSURE THAT CHILDREN BEGIN SCHOOL READY TO LEARN

Recent scientific evidence conclusively demonstrates that enhancing children's physical, social, emotional, and intellectual development will result in tremendous benefits. Many local communities across the country have developed successful early childhood efforts and with additional resources could expand and enhance opportunities for young children. We must enhance private, local, and state early successful support programs for young children by providing resources to expand and/or initiate successful efforts for at-risk children from birth to age six.

Provide funds to States to make grants to local early childhood development collaboratives. States would fund parent education and home visiting classes and have great flexibility to decide whether to also support quality child care, helping schools stay open later for early childhood development activities, or health services for young children. Communities would be required to document their unmet needs and how they would use the funds to improve outcomes for young children so they begin school ready to learn. Funding would be \$100 million in FY99, \$200 million in FY2000, \$300 million in FY2001, \$400 million in FY2002, and \$1 billion in FY2002.

TITLE III—EXCELLENT PRINCIPALS CHALLENGE GRANT

Principals face long hours, high stress, and too little pay. To overcome these obstacles, principals in successful schools must have effective leadership skills. However, too few principals get the training they need in management skills to ensure their school provides an excellent education for every child. Attracting, training, and retaining excellent principals is essential to helping every local school district become world class.

Establish a grant program to states to provide funds to local school districts to attract and to provide professional development for elementary and secondary school principals. Activities would include developing management and business skills, knowledge of effective instructional skills and practices, learning about educational technology, etc. Funding would be \$20 million per year. States and local school districts would contribute 25 percent of the total although poor school districts would be exempt from the match.

TITLE IV—ESTABLISH "SECONCE CHANCE" SCHOOLS FOR TROUBLED STUDENTS

Parents, students, and educators know that serious school reform cannot succeed without an orderly and safe learning environment. The few students who are unwilling or unable to comply with discipline codes and make learning impossible for the other students need behavior management programs and high quality alternative placements. Suspending or expelling chronically disruptive or violent students is not effective in the long run since these students will fall behind in school and may cause additional trouble since they are frequently completely unsupervised; these students need alternative placements that provide supervision, remediation of behavior and maintenance of academic progress. Although some may resist this program for fear that it will be used to isolate disabled students, the purpose is to provide additional interventions

for troubled students, not to change disciplinary actions against disabled students.

Add a new title to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) to establish a competitive state grant program for school districts to establish "Second Chance" programs. To receive the funds school districts must enact district-wide discipline codes which use clear language with specific examples of behaviors that will result in disciplinary action and have every student and parent sign the code. Additionally, schools may use the funds to promote effective classroom management; provide training for school staff and administrators in enforcement of the code; implement programs to modify student behavior including hiring school counselors; and establish high quality alternative placements for chronically disruptive and violent students that include a continuum of alternatives from meeting with behavior management specialists, to short-term in-school crisis centers, to medium duration in-school suspension rooms, to off-campus alternatives. Funding would be \$100 million per year and distributed to states through the Title I formula.

TITLE V—TEACHER RECRUITMENT AND ON-GOING EDUCATION INCENTIVE GRANT

Approximately 61,000 first-time teachers begin in our nation's public schools each year. Since the average starting salary for teachers is a little more than \$21,000 per year, we need to raise their compensation to attract a larger group of qualified people into the teaching profession. Since the average student loan debt of students graduating college who borrowed money for college is \$9,068, the most effective way to provide federal assistance to states to raise teachers' salaries is to provide loan forgiveness. In addition, scholarships ought to be available to the most talented high school students in every state in return for a commitment to teach in our public schools (North Carolina has successfully recruited future teachers from within public high schools with the lure of college scholarships).

States would be given funds to provide poor school districts the ability to raise teacher salaries to attract and retain the best teachers. Funding would be provided through the Title I "targeted grant" formula (the minimum threshold would be 20% poor children or 20,000 poor children). Funding would be \$500 million for FY 99, \$500 million in FY 2000, \$1 billion in FY 2001, \$1 billion in FY 2002, and \$2 billion in FY 2003. Additionally, full-time state certified public school teachers who teach in low-income areas or who teach in areas with teacher shortages such as math, science, and special needs would have 20 percent of their student loans forgiven after two years of teaching, an additional 20 percent after three years, an additional 30 percent after four years, and the remaining 30 percent after five years. The program would be funded at \$50 million each year. Finally, an additional \$10 million would be provided as grants to states that wish to provide signing bonuses for first-time teachers who teach in low-income areas or areas with teacher shortages.

Provide \$10 million in grants for states to establish a program to provide college scholarships to the top 20 percent of SAT achievers or grade point average in each state's high school graduating class in return for a commitment to become a state certified teacher for five years. States would contribute 20 percent of the funds for the scholarships. Five percent of the total funds could be used by local school districts to hire staff to recruit at the top liberal arts, education, and technical colleges (districts would be encouraged to establish a central regional recruiting office to pool their resources). One

percent of the total funds would be used by the Secretary of Education to create a national hotline for potential teachers to receive information on a career in teaching.

TITLE VI—TEACHER QUALITY ENHANCEMENT GRANTS

We need to provide on-going education in teaching skills and academic content knowledge, establish or expand alternative routes to state certification, and establish or expand mentoring programs for prospective teachers by veteran teachers (according to the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, beginning teachers who have had the continuous support of a skilled mentor are more likely to stay in the profession).

Establish Teacher Quality Enhancement Grants, a competitive grant awarded to states to improve teaching. The grants would have a matching requirement and must be used to institute state-level reforms to ensure that current and future teachers possess the necessary teaching skills and academic content knowledge in the subject areas they are assigned to teach. In addition, establish Teacher Training Partnership Grants, designed to encourage reform at the local level to improve teacher training. One of the uses of these funds would be for states to establish, expand, or improve alternative routes to state certification for highly qualified individuals from other occupations such as business executives and recent college graduates with records of academic distinction. Another use would be to mentor prospective teachers by veteran teachers. Provide \$100 million per year for these new teachers training programs so that states can improve teacher quality, establish or expand alternative routes to state certification for new teachers, and mentor new teachers by veteran teachers.

TITLE VII—INVEST IN COMMUNITY-BASED SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

As many as five million children are home alone after school each week. Most juvenile involvement in crime—either committing crime or becoming victims themselves—occurs between 3 p.m. and 8 p.m. Children who attend quality after-school programs, however, tend to do better in school, get along better with their peers, and are less likely to engage in delinquent behavior. Expansion of both school-based and community-based after school programs will provide safe developmentally appropriate environments for children and help communities reduce the incidents of juvenile delinquency and crime. In addition, many states and localities such as Maryland and the Chicago public school system require high school students to perform community service to receive a high school diploma. The real world experience helps prepare students for work and instills a sense of civic duty.

Expand the 21st Century Learning Centers Act by providing \$400 million each fiscal year to help communities provide after-school care. Grantees will be required to offer expanded learning opportunities for children and youth in the community. Funds could be used by school districts to provide: literacy programs; integrated education, health, social service, recreational or cultural programs; summer and weekend school programs; nutrition and health programs; expanded library services, telecommunications and technology education programs; services for individuals with disabilities, job skills assistance; mentoring; academic assistance; and drug, alcohol, and gang prevention activities.

Provide \$10 million in grants to states that have established or chose to establish a state-wide or a district-wide program that requires high school students to perform

community service to receive a high school diploma. States would determine what constitutes community service, the number of hours required, and whether to exempt some low-income students who hold full-time jobs while attending school full-time. The grants would be matched dollar for dollar with half of the match coming from the state and local education agencies and half coming from the private sector.

**TITLE VIII—EXPAND THE NATIONAL BOARD CERTIFICATION PROGRAM FOR TEACHERS**

The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, which is headed by Gov. Jim Hunt, established rigorous standards and assessments for certifying accomplished teaching. To pass the exam and be certified, teachers must demonstrate their knowledge and skills through a series of performance-based assessments which include teaching portfolios, student work samples, videotapes and rigorous analyses of their classroom teaching and student learning. Additionally, teachers must take written tests of their subject-matter knowledge and their understanding of how to teach those subjects to their students. The National Board certification is offered to teachers on a voluntary basis and complements but does not replace state licensing. The National Commission on Teaching for America's Future called for a goal of 105,000 board certified teachers by the year 2006 (since the exam began recently, only about 2,000 teachers are currently board certified). Since the exam costs \$2,000, many teachers are currently unable to afford it.

Provide \$189 million over five years so that states have enough money to provide a 90% subsidy for the National Board certification of 105,000 teachers across the country.

**TITLE IX—HELP COMMUNITIES TO MODERNIZE AMERICA'S SCHOOLS**

More than 14 million children in America attend schools in need of extensive repair or replacement. According to a comprehensive survey by the General Accounting Office (GAO) requested by Senator Moseley-Braun, Senator Kerry and others, the repair backlog totals \$112 billion. Researchers at Georgetown University found that the performance of students assigned to schools in poor condition fall by 10.9 percentage points below those in buildings in excellent condition.

To help rebuild, modernize, and build over 5,000 public schools, provide federal tax credits to school districts to pay interest on nearly \$22 billion in bonds at a cost of \$5 billion over five years.

**TITLE X—ENCOURAGE PUBLIC SCHOOL CHOICE**

Many public schools have implemented public school choice programs where students may enroll at any public school in the public school system. In contrast to vouchers for private schools, public school choice increases options for students but does not use public funds to finance private schools which remain entirely unaccountable to taxpayers.

Provide \$20 million annually in grants to states that choose to implement public school choice programs. School districts could spend the funds on transportation and other services to implement a successful public school choice program. Up to 10 percent of the funds may be spent by a school district to improve low performing school districts that lose students due to the public school choice program.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** (Mr. ENZI). Under the previous order, the Chair recognizes the Senator from New Mexico for up to 20 minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I thank Senator SESSIONS from Alabama. He was here ahead of me and, frankly,

had a more legitimate right to speak now than I, and I appreciate his permitting me to proceed.

**SENATOR DALE BUMPERS**

Mr. DOMENICI. First let me talk for a moment, since he is present on the floor, of Senator BUMPERS, the senior Senator from Arkansas. Let me use a couple of minutes of my time to say a few words about him before I proceed to talk about the budget and a few other matters.

First, I want to say to Senator BUMPERS, I don't think he needs me to repeat again what I have said in committee. He is going to be missed. He has been a real credit to this place called the U.S. Senate. I have never known him to behave, act, or in any way conduct himself as to demean this place. He has held it in respect, and that makes it a better place when we do that.

But I also want to remind the Senate, since it has not been stated here on the floor as I know of, that in the energy and water appropriations bill it was my privilege, at the behest of some of Dale BUMPERS' good friends here in the Senate, with the help of his staff and others, to include a resolution honoring him for his diligent and hard work on behalf of the public domain in the United States—the forest lands, the wilderness, the parks. In that bill, the resolution says we want him to be known for as long as there is an Arkansas. Thus, we took eight wilderness areas that are in his State that he had a lot to do with, and for name purposes we made all of them part of one wilderness called the Dale Bumpers Wilderness Area.

That is now 91,000 acres in total that will bear your name. I know many other things could be done to indicate our esteem for you, but many of us thought that this might just be one that would strike you as quite appropriate. And we hope so. It is now the law of the land. The President signed it about 22 hours ago. Thus, I am here saying it in your presence.

I thank you personally on behalf of our side of the aisle for everything you have done.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield just a moment for me to say: I want that to be my legacy, Senator. You couldn't have done anything that would please me more. I have had a few accolades in my 24 years in the Senate. I have had several things named after me. But I can tell you that what you did in that Energy and Water Committee gives me unbelievable satisfaction. The reason I sponsored that legislation and fought so hard for it several years ago is because I wanted my children and my grandchildren to know what my values were. I was trying to save something for them.

I thank you very much.

Mr. DOMENICI. Then, might I say to Senator BUMPERS, that aisle, from your

podium on down here to the first step into the well, is going to get a deserved rest when you leave. That aisle and the carpet there is going to take a new breath and say there is nobody walking up and down on top of us, because Dale BUMPERS is not walking, walking the floor there as he delivers his eloquent speeches on the Senate floor. I only say that by way of the great respect we have for the way you talk to us, and talk to the American people. I am very pleased that you used that little 30 feet of carpet and hall as your place to talk.

Mr. BUMPERS. Thank you, Senator.

**ADDRESSING PRESIDENT CLINTON**

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I want to talk about three or four things. I am going to try my very, very best to be factual. I am concerned that here, in these waning days, considering the situation that exists on Pennsylvania Avenue, that the President finds himself in a very supercharged political environment. I don't think I had to say that. I think everybody knows that. But I want to suggest that yesterday afternoon, or whatever time of day it was that the President had a quickly called press conference to talk about the Congress of the United States and what we have and haven't done, and particularly to say that we aren't taking care of his education programs, and unless we do, he is going to keep us here.

Normally, when I say "Mr. President," I am addressing the Chair, because that is what we are supposed to do. If we care to address anyone here, we do it through "Mr. President."

Permit me to address the Mr. President on Pennsylvania Avenue, President Bill Clinton.

President Clinton, you have been known to have a fantastic memory. As a matter of fact, I think you acknowledged that at one point recently, although, as with many of us who grow older, you did indicate that with the passage of time and the pressure of many things to do, that that great memory fails every now and then.

Now, Mr. President—Bill Clinton—I am suggesting that maybe your memory failed you when you gave that speech yesterday. So let me tell you what I remember about your education programs that you claim we have not funded.

I want everybody to know that on many things regarding budgets and programs, you can look to the budget that the President sends up here to see what it asks for and what we are giving him. This is the budget for the year we are now appropriating, which started technically on October 1. Here it is.

I had occasion, shortly after it was issued, to have the education parts of this reviewed. I remember coming to the floor of the U.S. Senate to say to the President, which OMB agreed to, "Mr. President, the official scorekeeper and official evaluator of budgets for the U.S. Congress says that