

governor vetoed the \$500 million out of the \$2 billion budget.

At the city level, New York City had a surplus of at least \$2 billion, and the mayor of the city of New York did not bother to appropriate a single penny to relieve the overcrowding in schools, to get rid of more coal-burning furnaces, to deal with asbestos problems, not a penny went out of that surplus. Are we going to give more money to the mayors and the governors, are we going to give the Federal money and expect an improvement in the situation when their behavior has indicated that they do not themselves care about their public schools? They are abandoning public schools. The great talk of vouchers and charter schools, et cetera was designed to deflect attention away from the fact that you need to invest heavily in public schools.

I introduced, on May 14, a bill, H.R. 1820, to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to provide grants to improve the infrastructure of elementary and secondary schools. Title XII already exists in present law. This is a very germane approach. There is no need to depend only on the Committee on Ways and Means to provide loans for school districts as a means of dealing with the problem of construction. We have a massive need for more school construction. We might recall that last year, we authorized \$218 billion over a 6-year period for highway construction. I do not know why the Federal Government has to be so involved in highways and roads, but \$218 billion was authorized for highway construction. I was not against that. I think that is a proper use of public dollars. But I am proposing in this bill, H.R. 1820, that over a 5-year period we spend \$110 billion on school construction, \$22 billion a year. The \$110 billion is close to the \$112 billion that the General Accounting Office said in 1995 we needed in order to, at that time, re-vamp, repair and keep our public school inventory at its present level, in proper condition. They did not talk about the expanding enrollments which now require probably, if we were trying to meet the need, about \$200 billion for school construction all across the Nation.

□ 2015

H.R. 1820 is based on the fact that there are certain findings we cannot turn away from. There are 52,700,000 students in 88,223 elementary and secondary schools across the United States. The current expenditure of the Federal Government for education infrastructure is only \$12 million. The present federal expenditure per enrolled student for education infrastructure, any kind of physical facility, is 23 cents per student, and appropriation of \$22 billion a year would result in a federal expenditure for education infrastructure of only \$417 per student per fiscal year, \$417 per student per year compared to the present 23 cents.

That is what I am talking about. Let us not be overwhelmed by the big num-

bers; 22 billion a year sounds so great, but when you look at the number of children involved, we are talking about spending \$417 per year.

My bill, H.R. 1820, proposes to provide, to distribute, the money across the country in accordance with the number of school aged children that each State has. Therefore my use of the statistics of the number of students divided into the amount of money is correct.

I do not propose to try to make judgments on priorities. We just proposed to address the problem. Some schools will spend majority of their money on building new schools, some may spend the funds on repairing existing schools, in some cases schools will choose to use some of the money for improving their schools for technology. Those are the options that they would have at the local level, but we must understand that there is a need to move and not to leave this up to the local and State governments that are obviously not going to deal with the problem.

Overcrowded classrooms have a dire impact on learning. Students in overcrowded schools score lower on both mathematics and region exams than do students in other schools. We must meet the challenge of a cyber civilization by educating all of our children. The Republican approach which proposes to end the federal role in education is the wrong one; we need more help, not less, for our public schools.

The article I referred to is as follows:

[The New York Times, June 23, 1999]

BILL OFFERS STATES LEEWAY ON EDUCATION AID

(By Frank Bruni)

WASHINGTON, June 22.—Republican leaders in Congress today unveiled an education bill that builds significantly on their previous efforts to give state and local governments ever broader discretion over the spending of Federal money.

Under the proposal, a state could opt out of the current Federal financing system, which allocates money for specific purposes, and instead use most of that Federal aid as it wishes, provided that the state first enters into a five-year contract with the Department of Education that holds the state to certain performance goals.

If the state failed to meet those goals, which the Secretary of Education would have to approve, the state would return to the old system of financing.

The plan, which would apply to more than \$10 billion in Federal money nationally, faces an uncertain fate. There is not yet a timetable for its procession to the floor of either the House or the Senate, and Democrats in both chambers denounced it as a reckless experiment.

But the extraordinary fanfare with which it was introduced suggested the extent to which Republicans in Congress, eyeing next year's critical elections, have decided to seize education as an issue and make local control their battle cry.

"Education is No. 1 on the Republican agenda," said Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi, the majority leader, at an early after news conference just outside the Capitol.

Mr. Lott was joined by Speaker J. Dennis Hastert of Illinois. They stood with other lawmakers in front of a yellow school bus

brimming with fresh-faced students. Dozens of other children fanned out around the lawmakers, clapping and cheering their assent to each policy point, no matter how arcane.

Mr. Hastert described the bill, which Republicans have titled the Academic Achievement for All Act and nicknamed Straight A's, as a "historic step."

Democrats said the direction of that movement was backward. Representative George Miller, Democrat of California, said it was unclear from the Republican plan how accountable schools would be. Mr. Miller also said states would be able to shift money from poor districts and children to wealthier ones. "Communities will be pitted against each other to lobby their state capitols for school money," he said. "We know how that fight will turn out."

Education Secretary Richard W. Riley issued a statement denouncing the bill along similar lines.

The bill is a far-reaching extension of the philosophy behind the Education Flexibility Partnership Act, of Ed-Flex, which Congress passed with broad bipartisan support this year and President Clinton signed into law.

The law authorizes states to grant waivers to local school districts that want to spend Federal dollars in ways that differ slightly from the specifically intended purpose. But the districts can deviate only so much; money meant to combat substance abuse can be shuttled from a program specified by the Federal Government to one that is not, but the money cannot be used, for example, to improve reading skills.

The new Republican bill, whose chief sponsors are Representative Bill Goodling of Pennsylvania and Senator Slade Gorton of Washington, would allow precisely that kind of reshuffling. Republicans said the safeguard preventing any particular area of education or school district from neglect would be the performance contract, which would oblige states to prove that achievement was not suffering.

Democrats contended that many students could fall by the wayside before the Federal Government was able to determine that a state had fallen short of its goals.

Like Ed-Flex, the new bill would affect slightly more than \$10 billion in Federal money, largely the same pool of money to which Ed-Flex applies. That represents most of what the Federal Government spends on primary and secondary education.

Over all, the Government provides only about 7 percent of the education budget for the nation's public schools and education experts have said that even striking changes in Federal policy have limited impact.

#### THE REPUBLICAN AGENDA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, tonight I would like to take the opportunity to talk about a number of the items on the Republican agenda, the agenda that I believe provides us with the opportunity to really build on the prosperity that this country has experienced over the last 7 to 8 years, the opportunity to take that prosperity and to reform the programs that we have in here in Washington, to reform our budget priorities and to address some of the systematic problems that we are experiencing.

Let me give my colleagues one example. In the budget resolution that we

passed earlier this year this Congress took a historic step. We stated that for the budget horizon, the next 10 years, that we would lock away every dollar of Social Security surplus, that we would lock it away and allow those funds to be only used to reform and save Social Security and Medicare.

When we take a look at the commitment that we have made of locking away 1.8 trillion dollars, we see that that is a historic change. It provides the framework for shoring up Social Security and Medicare and at the same time ensures that those dollars will not be spent to grow other segments of government.

That is exactly what has happened over the last 30 years. Every American today, they get their paycheck at the end of the week, and they recognize how much they have grossed, and between their gross and their net is this thing called FICA. That is the amount that your employer, actually that you, pay to Washington for Social Security. It is 6.2 percent of your income.

The interesting thing is that your employer also matches that with another 6.2 percent. It means that you are paying or based on the hours and the salary that you have earned, 12.4 percent of your income is going to Washington, and it was going and it is supposed to be coming to Washington to deal with Social Security and to be set aside so that when you reach retirement income those dollars will be there and they will be there for you.

But what has happened over the last 30 years is those dollars have come into Washington. They have been set aside. They have been set aside with IOUs. Government then went in, and took that money, and put in the IOU and spent it on other federal programs. So what we now have in the Social Security Trust Fund is not all of the 30 years of surplus in Social Security, but what we have is a stack of IOUs, and on this hand we have got a bunch of federal programs that we have grown and expanded.

We want to set aside the total Social Security surplus for the next 10 years, \$1.8 trillion. That is a hundred billion dollars more than what the President plans to set aside for Social Security. As a matter of fact, when you take a look at a shorter window rather than 10 years out, you take a look at what this President and this administration is proposing for the next 5 years, they are going to spend \$146 billion of the Social Security surplus. They are not saving every dime of Social Security over the next 5 years and setting it aside to save and reform Social Security and Medicare; they are actually going out and continuing the practices of the past, and they are going out, and they are going to spend it one more time.

What happens when we set aside \$1.8 trillion? What it means is that we can go out and we can reduce the public debt. We will reduce the public debt by \$1.8 trillion over the next 10 years. That is \$450 billion more of debt reduc-

tion than what the President's budget proposes. Under our budget it means that the debt held by the public declines from \$3.6 trillion to \$1.9 trillion by the year 2009.

The other thing that we have in our budget plan is that we maintain the spending discipline of the 1997 balanced budget agreement. As the Chair will remember, in 1997 we passed a historic budget agreement. It laid out a 5-year plan for spending, it laid out a 5-year plan for revenues, and it said by the year 2002 we will be out of surplus budget.

Some positive things have happened. The economy and Federal tax revenues have been stronger than what we anticipated. What it means is that we move closer and we have actually moved to a surplus budget, as it is defined in Washington, this year. There are those now that would say, well, now that we are at surplus, let us forget about the spending restraints that we agreed to in 1997, let us open up the vault, and let us start spending the surplus.

There are many here in the House who believe that that is the wrong thing to do. We believe that this is an opportunity where we can really continue the fiscal discipline and commit to meeting the spending targets that were outlined in 1997 which then enables us to save every dime for Social Security and then also provides us with the opportunity to another step which we think is very positive, which is to provide tax relief to the American people.

When you take a look at taxes and why we need tax relief, think about the two-parent working family today. The second working adult usually earns about 40 percent of the combined income. It is interesting enough to note that the average American today pays 40 percent of their income in one form of tax or another, a State tax, a local tax or a Federal tax. What that means is that in a two-parent or two-working-parent family, the second person is not working to support the family. The second person is working to support Washington, their State government or their local government. They are paying 40 percent of their income.

We have an opportunity to relieve the stress that that places on American families and that places on American workers. Think about it. You go out, and you earn a dollar; you lose 40 cents of it before you ever go home and use it to buy food, to pay for a vacation, to invest in your child's education. The first 40 cents always comes to government.

We think that there is an opportunity to reduce taxes in three different areas. In one way we will propose in our tax relief package something that provides an immediate benefit to the American people. What does that mean? It means that your take-home pay is larger, means that your check at the end of the week for what you have worked that week, means

that you get to keep more of it and Washington gets to take less of it.

We want to provide tax relief in a way that says you can prepare for your long-term future. Because a tax code is being restructured, you can be better prepared to plan your financial future so that you will be more secure and you will have the freedom to get financial security.

How do we do that? For those of you that save, for those of you that invest, we can reduce the capital gains tax. We can encourage you through the Tax Code to invest in individual retirement accounts so that you can prepare for your retirement, or perhaps that you can set aside dollars so that if you want to go out and purchase your first home, you can use those dollars for that, or if you are really talking about long-term security, would it not be great if you can take more of your income and set it aside so that you can prepare to help your child get a better education?

That is what we mean when we talk about enabling you to have more freedom to plan for your future and to get your financial independence.

There is another area that we think we can reduce taxes in, and that is we think you have got the opportunity, and we have got the opportunity, to let Washington know who is in charge. Do you ever have these fees or services that you just think where did they come from? And why are they doing this? Let me give you two examples:

A few years ago we passed a telecommunications reform bill. As part of that we said that we were going to encourage the expansion of the Internet into the schools, a very good goal. We have got a bureaucracy that said: Wow, that gives us the latitude to impose a fee on every American's phone bill.

□ 2030

It is called the Gore tax. It is the Vice President's idea. It was not passed by Congress; it was an interpretation by a bureaucracy and a group of bureaucrats as a way to get money from the American people. This is a wonderful opportunity to say, no. The American people are in charge. We are going to repeal that bureaucratic abuse of power and we are going to eliminate that "fee." It is not a fee. It was a tax that was initiated by bureaucrats who had no right and no authority to do it.

There is another one that is currently going through, and I think it is maybe going to affect only a small number of Americans today, but again, it is an abuse of power, and it is an abuse of power by the Postal Service. For those of us that have a box, a mailbox, but it is not at the Post Office and it is now at a private business, there is a whole new set of rules and regulations that the Postal Service has put on the small businesses and has put this cost on Americans who say, I would really like a Post Office box or a place of business that can receive my mail, because it can do things that the

Postal Service cannot do, meaning that this business will sign and accept a delivery by an overnight delivery company. The Post Office will not do that. But if one now wants to do that, this company that has provided someone with this service is going to have to go through and provide a whole series of documents on that box to the Post Office.

The bottom line: rules, regulations. They do not come free. It is a huge new cost and another way, again for, in this case, not for the government to collect more money, but for someone who is providing a service that may be in direct competition to a government monopoly, to penalize this service and make it more expensive for the American people to use an alternative delivery service or a Post Office box that provides additional services.

This is a wonderful opportunity for us to go back and say, no. We are not going to let the government do that. We are going to repeal that. We are going to pass a bill here that says, you cannot put these kinds of costs on the American people. You cannot put these kinds of costs on small businesses who, because the Postal Service could not deliver the service, found a niche, identified a need, and in the great spirit of the American entrepreneurs, created a business, only now to be penalized by the Postal Service. We need to change that, and this will provide us an opportunity to do that.

Mr. Speaker, underlying our direction on taxes where we want to increase take-home pay, we want to let Americans understand that they are going to have more freedom for planning their financial security in the future and for sending a message back to Washington that says, we are in charge and you are not, we want to overlay two broad themes. It is time to simplify the Tax Code, and it is time to make it fairer. Perhaps the most unfair component of our Tax Code today, although there are probably a number of different items competing for that title, but perhaps the most unfair is that our Tax Code continues to penalize married couples. Think about it. We have a Tax Code in America that penalizes people for being married. That is not fair. Not only that, it is the wrong thing to do. So as we move forward through our agenda this year, as we continue building on the balancing of the budget, as we plan for solidifying Social Security, solidifying Medicare, we are doing the right things, and we are using the prosperity to get our house in order.

I want to spend a little time now moving on to another priority that over the last number of years I have spent a lot of time on, and that is education. I am glad that I came to the House Floor tonight to be able to respond to my colleague's comments about what those Republicans did this week with our Straight As program, where we are going to move more flexibility back to the local level and we

are going to move the dollars down there so that people at the local and at the State level can have the flexibility to deal with the issues and the problems at their local level and not worry about whether their problems match the problems that we here in Washington have identified as national issues.

I have a great quote. My colleague earlier was asking the question, do we really trust people at the local level and at the State level to do what is right for our kids? Do we really trust those people who know the names of the kids in their class and in their school to do the right thing for those kids? And the answer, obviously, from my colleague was, of course we do not. There is a Federal role here because Washington knows best.

As my colleague in the chair remembers, back in 1995 when we began the welfare debate, we began the welfare debate very much on the same tone and tenor, and we really accelerated the debate on welfare reform when I came down to the floor with a number of my colleagues from Wisconsin. And the reason we came to the floor was that Wisconsin had proposed a reform of welfare. It had passed the State legislature in a bipartisan way. The governor had signed it. They sent their application here to Washington, because somebody in Washington in Health and Human Services had to approve what the State of Wisconsin wanted to do to help their people in their State get off of welfare, to go to work, to get training, and to become more productive.

I believe that it was something like 287 days later that we came to the floor, 287 days or something like that after Wisconsin had sent their application to a bureaucracy in Washington, a bureaucracy that probably had some people from Wisconsin working in it, but the reform proposal maybe was not read by anybody that had ever been to Wisconsin. But 280-some days later, Health and Human Services had not acted.

Now, get this. It is the State of Wisconsin, the governor, the State legislature saying, we think we have a better idea. We think we have a model that we would like to try that is better for our people and it is better for the people on welfare than what the national Washington one-size-fits-all model is. And after roughly two-thirds of a year, the people in Washington had not thought it was important enough to go through this, to study the issue, and to answer the people in the State of Wisconsin as to whether this was or was not something that they were going to let them do. And that is the same attitude that our colleagues are expressing when it comes to education.

What finally happened in welfare reform? We pushed for flexibility, we pushed for local accountability, and now that welfare reform has passed the House, that it has been implemented at the State level where we have given this authority to the governors and to

the State legislatures and said, you have a great degree of flexibility, you have a huge opportunity here to take the Washington resources, to break the rules, to break the mold, and use the money to solve the problems in your own State.

A couple of years ago we heard the same types of claims: they will not do the right thing. They will move the money into the wrong places. They do not really care about the people that are on welfare. They are not going to help. They are going to take the money and move it to different places.

What we found in welfare reform is exactly the opposite. It is a wonderful success story. The States have taken the freedom, they have taken the flexibility to reach out and help those that were on welfare get work, to come off of the welfare rolls, and the wonderful thing is that I am not sure what they are doing in Wisconsin. Wisconsin has a model that works for them. Michigan has a model that has worked for us. Michigan is probably learning from Wisconsin and Wisconsin is learning from Michigan, and both programs are moving forward. What they are doing in Hawaii is probably a little bit different or very different from what they are doing in New York, but as we go around the country, it is one success story after another. And, we have 50 models of welfare reform, all working, all learning from each other, and all moving forward. And what a wonderful difference it makes to have 50 States learning from each other and all competing to have the best welfare program, or the best welfare reform program; to have the best statistics about saying we have moved this percentage of people off of welfare into being more productive members of society. What a wonderful way to compete versus where we were before.

Because what has happened now is States are forced to focus on results, not process. Under the old model, Wisconsin had to focus on process. They had to fill out all of the Washington forms. They had to fill out all of the forms and make sure that they dotted the I's and crossed the T's correctly, and they would send it to Washington and Washington would make sure that they had dotted the I's and crossed the T's and if they had filled out something slightly wrong, they would send it back to Wisconsin to fix it or they would send it back to Michigan to fix it and the paper would flow back and forth eating up dollars. But as soon as we reformed welfare, we moved away from a paper work shuffle, we moved away from a bureaucratic red-tape system to a system that is doing exactly what it is supposed to. It is focusing on people. It is focusing on how, with key help, people get off of welfare.

Why am I talking about welfare reform? Because I think it is a beautiful model for what we are proposing to do with education. And we know that the same broken bureaucratic model that we suffered under in welfare reform is

also found in education. That model is Washington Knows Best. We are going to take the 7 percent of the dollars that any school district gets from Washington and we are going to use that 7 percent to, on a significant scale, impact what goes on in the school because we know best and the people at the local level do not. That is the broken model.

How do we know that that is the model that people at the local level believe exists today? We know because we went to over 15 States, had something like 18, 19 different hearings, and learned about what is going on in education. But the thing that we found over and over and over again, really two things. Number one, we saw great schools, we saw great kids, we saw great teachers, great administrators, parents, administrators, and teachers who knew the child's name and had a passion for making sure that that child would have the best opportunities to learn that they could provide.

Now what do we see? Here is what somebody basically found out and what they said about Washington. I think there is an arrogance on the part of the school bureaucracy, that is Washington, that assumes that they know what is best for everybody's children. I assume the opposite. I do not think that anybody can make a better decision for their children than the parent.

□ 2045

The focus of directing a child's education does not need to be here in a bureaucracy in Washington, it needs to be at the local level, starting with a parent or an adult guardian, moving to a teacher, moving to an administrator, and the last person in the food chain is a bureaucrat in Washington. We need to improve education.

Let me just talk about why we believe it is important to reform education and why the current model does not work. We published a report called "America's Education System at a Crossroads," "Education at a crossroads." It is the result of a whole series of hearings around the country, a series of hearings here in Washington meeting with the education experts here in Washington, and other research and analysis that we completed here.

We know that America's education system needs to be reformed. Why? What are some of the statistics? Forty percent of fourth-graders do not read at even a basic level. Half of the students from urban school districts fail to graduate on time, if at all. The average NAEP scores among 17-year-olds are lower than they were in 1984. That is a year after a Nation at Risk was released. We are not necessarily making progress.

U.S. 12th graders only outperformed two of 21 nations in mathematics. What does that mean? Here are the statistics. In the Third Annual International Math and Science Study, called TIMS, 12th grade U.S. lags behind in math and sciences.

Here are the nations with average scores significantly higher than the U.S.: the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Iceland, Norway, France, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Austria, Slovenia, Germany, and Hungary. Nations with average scores not significantly different from the U.S.: Italy, the Russian federation, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, and the U.S. are in this category. The two nations that did score below us, Cyprus and South Africa; not a very impressive showing.

Another startling statistic: American students fall further behind students from other countries the longer they are in school.

One of our first hearings a couple of years ago was in California. We had one on K through 12 and then we had one on higher ed.

The first year, the hearing with people from the colleges, they said, make sure you do not cut our remedial education budgets. You kind of do a double-take and say, excuse me? These are kids who have gotten into college. What are we remediating? They are remediating basic skills. Public institutions of higher education annually spend \$1 billion on remedial education. It is a huge problem.

The other thing that I can tell the Members, even though those are the national statistics, as we went around the country we saw success story after success story of people at the local level achieving some wonderful things. That is where the reform is taking place. It is where parents and people at the local level have control over their local schools.

What other stuff did we find out as we took a look at Washington's answer to education, one of which says we are going to take the 7 percent of the Washington dollars and we are going to come up with a solution for almost every problem? We wonder, how does 7 percent really drive so much of a local curriculum?

Think about it. In Washington we have a program that will pay and contribute for a child's breakfast and a child's lunch. I am not saying these programs are not needed, but they come along with bureaucracy and red tape.

There are people in Washington who want to build the schools, they want to pay for putting in technology, they want to buy the technology, they want to pay for the technology classes. We already pay for drug education. We pay for sex education. We pay for arts in the schools. They want to hire our teachers. They want to test our kids. They want to develop curriculum. They want to develop after-school programs.

So when we take a look at it, they want to feed our kids breakfast, build our schools, pay for the technology, teach them about sex, teach them about drugs, teach them art, get involved with curriculum. They want to test our kids, hire our teachers, feed them lunch, do after-school programs,

maybe midnight basketball. But other than that, it is our local school.

That is how 7 percent of Washington's Federal education dollars drive into a local school district to drive administrators from, rather than focusing on the child, rather than focusing on the education, to recognize that they have become just like welfare. They have become process-driven.

I want administrators, I want teachers focused on helping our children learn, not pushing paper. How do we know that they push paper? We surveyed the Federal government, and these are not all K through 12, but when we asked the question, how many Federal education programs are there, there are 760. Like I said, they are not all K through 12, but there are lots of programs.

We say, wow, that is why we have a Department of Education, to take these programs and centralize them in one department? Wrong. These 760 programs are spread over 39 different agencies that spend over \$100 billion a year. It has gotten to be so complex that there is a cottage industry, again, the wonderful entrepreneurial spirit in America.

There is a company called the Education Funding Research Council. What do they do? They will sell a book for \$400. What is it? It is the guide to Federal Funding for Education. We have a business out here that has decided that they can make a living by telling the rest of America where the dollars are in education, and help them go through the process of getting Federal education dollars.

There is another one that says, they talk about 500 education programs. There is another one that is called "The Aid for Education Report." Here is what they say: "Huge sums are available. In the Federal government alone there are nearly 800 different education programs that receive authorization totalling almost \$100 billion a year."

What do 760, 800 programs, what do they lead to? Even accounting for recent reductions, the U.S. Department of Education still requires over 48.6 million hours of paperwork per year, 48.6 million hours. This is for the paperwork. This is the focus on process rather than on results.

The President talks about hiring maybe 100,000 teachers. We do know that when you require 48.6 million hours of paperwork, that is about the equivalent of 25,000 people working full-time, 25,000 people working to meet the paperwork requirements of the Department of education and other Federal agencies.

The Department of Education talks about, well, there are only 4,637. We are one of the smallest agencies in Washington. They have been smart. They have moved the paperwork and the requirements down to the State level. At the State level there are another 13,400 full-time employees funded with Federal dollars to administer these programs.

The end result is that when we send a dollar to Washington, there is a good chance that only 65 to 70 cents actually reaches the classroom. If we are really concerned about educating our children, let us take a look at the welfare model, the welfare reform model that has been so successful, and let us focus on results rather than paperwork and process. Let us focus on educating our children, rather than administering 760 programs with mountains of paperwork that are run by a shadow education department that consume 30 to 40 cents of every dollar before it gets back to the child.

How does this work? Vice President GORE's National Performance Review discovered that the Department of Education's discretionary grant process, now think about this, in a world today where a new product in a high-tech business can be developed in India and can be in the room next door in a matter of seconds, if we want to get money from the Department of Education to help educate a child, the process is 26 weeks long and goes for 487 steps.

I have good news, the Department of Education has streamlined the process. They are now in the Information Age. But they define their Information Age and their streamlining as resulting in a process that now only takes 20 weeks and only has to go through 216 steps of review.

Think about this. This is the model that we have for 7 percent of our education funding: 760 programs, mountains of paperwork, three employees in the States for every Federal employee here in Washington chewing up every dollar in education so there is only about 65 to 70 cents left for the classroom, a process that goes through 216 steps and takes 20 weeks.

Where does this money go? It is kind of like, well, at least we have 65 to 70 cents of every dollar going to help educate our children in the basics. Wrong. Let me just give one good example: The Department of Education's Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services.

The objective of this program is supposedly to promote the general welfare of the deaf and hard of hearing, a very appropriate goal. How is that mandate and objective interpreted in Washington? It means that in Washington our taxpayer dollars, when we have this kind of performance that I mentioned earlier in education, what we are doing is in Washington educational meaningful programs include paying for the closed captioning of Baywatch, Ricki Lake, the Montel Williams Show, and Jerry Springer. And they have a special program dedicated to closed captioning for major sports programs. That is defined as a high priority program in Washington.

Other education programs, and remember, this is in context with where we were earlier for how our kids are performing internationally. Our education department believes that, here,

they print a cartoon book. The title is "The Ninjas, the X-men, and the Ladies, Playing with Power and Identity in the Urban Primary School."

□ 2100

They have got one for the bakery industry. Lesson plans prepared for grocery employees. The lessons focused on topics from the workplace in the following areas: bakery, cake orders, courtesy clerk, and sushi bard. It is 96 pages long. Fifth grade pipe fitters. Building workplace vocabulary for pipe fitters, 27 pages.

I am not sure that those are the right priorities. My colleague said that is why we need more money in Washington and we need more focus in Washington, because we cannot trust people at the local level.

There is a better way to address education. What do we want to do? Let me talk a little bit about the values that are the foundation for our Academic Achievement For All Act, Straight A's, because there is a different approach. It builds on the welfare approach.

What it says simply is, we are going to take these Federal programs, and we are going to provide States with the opportunity, this is not a mandated program, this is a choice for the States, we are going to provide them with the opportunity to go through the categorical programs, the model that my colleague thinks is the most appropriate; and my colleague should be pleased to know that that program is going to stay in place.

But we also then provide the States with the opportunity of coming to Washington and presenting a plan and saying, we have got some special need and some special focus and some special priorities that we have in Wisconsin or that we have in Michigan that we really think we need to focus on.

So they reach an agreement with the Department of Education on a charter. So they get a 5-year waiver from the rules and the regulations. And, yes, they do get flexibility. They get flexibility to move their dollars around to their areas of focus and their areas of need.

In exchange for that increase to flexibility and in exchange for eliminating the paperwork, they reach an accountability agreement that says, for that flexibility for the dollars and that freedom from the red tape, we are going to focus on results, and we are going to agree on these accountability standards for all of our students, to make sure that we deal with all of our students and do not forget about any of our students. The State then gets that flexibility.

If, after 5 years, the States have not met their accountability guidelines, the Federal Government can come back and say they did not do what they said they were going to do. They did not get the results that they were going to get. They have got to go back into the categorical programs.

Flexibility, elimination of red tape, and a freedom to focus on results. It is the welfare model. What do we believe that this will lead to, and what are the values that drive this kind of a strategy? We believe that education needs to be student centered. Successful schools are not forced to rely and focus on Federal paperwork. They have the opportunity and the freedom to focus on each and every child. They are results oriented, not process oriented.

We believe in equality. Each and every child in America must be given the opportunity to succeed in his or her school.

Another value we have is that parental involvement and local control. Schools thrive, and we have seen this wherever we went, schools thrive when parents are integrated into the learning process, when parents and adults are viewed as equal partners in decision making and direction setting, and when decisions are made at the local level by individuals who know the names and understand the needs of each child in their school.

Freedom. We believe that families and students deserve the opportunity to choose the school that they will attend.

Safety. Successful schools are free from violence. Children and parents need schools which can provide a secure learning environment.

Basic academics. It is another core value much the schools and the successful schools that we have seen focus on basic academics. Reading, writing, and math are taught as the foundation of lifelong learning and a sound future. The methods used to teach these subjects and others should be based on sound science and reliable and reputable research.

Discipline. Successful schools maintain disciplined environments where all are respected.

Flexibility. Schools need the ability to shape programs and policies that fit their particular needs. One size does not fit all. It did not work in welfare. It does not work in education. No two school districts or States are the same, and a one-size-fits-all Federal education system just will not work. One size fits all cannot replace the knowledge or the concern. To imply that people at the local level and that parents and teachers and administrators do not care about their children at the local level sells them short. It does not sell them short, it is just a total lack of understanding of what is going on in local America today.

Results. Successful schools implement accountability mechanisms which measure whether or not a child is learning.

Finally, another value is we believe that dollars need to be spent in the classroom and not on bureaucracy. Successful schools spend less time and resources on paperwork and more time on classroom resources.

We all want a better education system. We want common sense principles

that drive our education strategy. For us, that means parental involvement. It means basic academic. It means flexibility. It means dollars to the classroom, and it means eliminating red tape.

For the other side, it means creating a Federal school board and running one's local school in a much more direct way from Washington than at the local level. That is just not going to work. It is not the right way to go.

We have a wonderful opportunity in today's prosperity to reform and to rethink the education model. We did part of it earlier this year when we did the Education Flexibility Act, providing a certain degree of latitude and flexibility in States to deal with the paperwork that has been imposed upon them.

We can build off that now by giving States and local schools the flexibility in how they spend their dollars and focusing on meeting the needs of their children's learning.

We can provide parents with the opportunity and the flexibility to secure their child's education by providing tax relief in the form of education savings accounts.

We can get more resources focused into the classroom by saying, when it comes to Federal education spending, Washington comes last. It does not mean we cut our Washington spending. It says that, for every dollar we spend in Washington, instead of getting 60 or 65 to 70 cents back to a local classroom, which is where the leverage point is, which is where we can have an impact on learning, we are saying we are going to get 95 cents of every Federal dollar back.

So without even expending more money in Washington, we can increase the amount of Federal dollars that get to the classroom, the local classroom, by 50 percent. That is an effective way to improve education.

We have made a lot of progress. We are going to continue working on this issue.

As I wrap up, I take a look at what we have accomplished and what we want to accomplish this year. We are going to have a balanced budget. We are going to begin the process of setting aside \$1.8 trillion for Social Security and Medicare. We are going to provide tax relief to the American people. We are going to strengthen our national security so that we can be secure at home and abroad.

We are going to focus on education. We are going to allow parents and local schools to focus on meeting the needs of their children. We are going to provide States the flexibility. We are going to take the model that worked in welfare, and we are going to take that same kind of criteria, which is a trust in the local level, a trust in the State level, and saying the top-down structure does not work. We have got a model that works. We have seen it work. People have experienced it. People are benefiting from it. We need to take that same model and apply it to education.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. GILCHREST (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for today and the balance of the week on account of illness.

Mr. SANFORD (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for after 5 p.m. today and the balance of the week on account of official business.

Mr. PACKARD (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for after 4 p.m. today and the balance of the week on account of personal reasons.

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

- Ms. NORTON, for 5 minutes, today.
- Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes, today.
- Mr. HINCHEY, for 5 minutes, today.
- Mr. CUMMINGS, for 5 minutes, today.
- Ms. WOOLSEY, for 5 minutes, today.

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

- Mr. DUNCAN, for 5 minutes, today.
- Mr. MICA, for 5 minutes, today.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 10 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, June 25, 1999, at 9 a.m.

EXPENDITURE REPORTS CONCERNING OFFICIAL FOREIGN TRAVEL

Reports and amended reports concerning the foreign currencies and U.S. dollars utilized for official foreign travel during the fourth quarter of 1998 and the first quarter of 1999 by Committees of the House of Representatives, as well as a consolidated report of foreign currencies and U.S. dollars utilized for speaker-authorized official travel during the first quarter of 1999, pursuant to Public Law 95-384 are as follows:

AMENDED REPORT OF EXPENDITURES FOR OFFICIAL FOREIGN TRAVEL, COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, EXPENDED BETWEEN OCT. 31 AND DEC. 31, 1998

Name of Member or employee	Date		Country	Per diem <sup>1</sup>		Transportation		Other purposes		Total	
	Arrival	Departure		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency <sup>2</sup>	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency <sup>2</sup>	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency <sup>2</sup>	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency <sup>2</sup>
Hon. Bill Archer:											
Hotel cancellation fees, 11/7/98			Chile						2,508.00		2,508.00
Committee total											2,508.00

<sup>1</sup> Per diem constitutes lodging and meals.

<sup>2</sup> If foreign currency is used, enter U.S. dollar equivalent; if U.S. currency is used, enter amount expended.

BILL ARCHER, Chairman, May 12, 1999.

REPORT OF EXPENDITURES FOR OFFICIAL FOREIGN TRAVEL, COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, EXPENDED BETWEEN JAN. 1, AND MAR. 31, 1999

Name of Member or employee	Date		Country	Per diem <sup>1</sup>		Transportation		Other purposes		Total	
	Arrival	Departure		Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency <sup>2</sup>	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency <sup>2</sup>	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency <sup>2</sup>	Foreign currency	U.S. dollar equivalent or U.S. currency <sup>2</sup>
Hon. Stephen Horn	1/10	1/12	Finland		568.00						
	1/12	1/14	Germany		508.00						
	1/14	1/16	France		502.00						
	1/16	1/18	Austria		480.00						
Hon. John Mica	1/10	1/12	Finland		568.00						
	1/12	1/14	Germany		508.00						
	1/14	1/16	France		502.00						
	1/16	1/18	Austria		480.00						
	2/13	2/14	Panama		217.00		92.00		54.55		