

The vast popularity and support Congressman QUILLEN enjoys in his district has resulted in numerous accolades and awards, a variety of honorary doctorates and establishment of the Quillen Historic Tree Museum. He was named Tennessee Statesman of the Year in 1986. In 1996 Tennessee Governor Don Sundquist declared January 11th "James H. Quillen Day" in Tennessee to celebrate the Congressman's 80th birthday, a fitting tribute to a man who has devoted over half his life to serving both the State of Tennessee and this Nation.

Congressman QUILLEN has dedicated substantial time, effort, and money to further the course of medicine in Tennessee, even donating \$800,000 of his re-election fund to Tennessee hospitals and colleges. His most significant achievement in this area was the securing of a medical school for Upper East Tennessee, now named the James H. Quillen College of Medicine in recognition of his tireless efforts.

Congressman QUILLEN's dedication to his district is well illustrated by his "Open Door" sessions, which he has held every nonelection year since his election in 1962. These sessions were triggered when, on his election night, supporters took the door off the hinges at his campaign office in Kingsport to illustrate Quillen's election pledge to always be accessible to his constituents. This spontaneous symbolic demonstration of his campaign promise led the Congressman to initiate the practice of taking his entire district office to each of his congressional counties to endeavor to meet face to face with all those constituents who needed his assistance. This practice has proved a great success with constituents and has played a central role in developing the popularity and support that Congressman QUILLEN enjoys within his district.

In addition to his tireless efforts on behalf of his constituents Mr. QUILLEN is also well known for his anecdotes and unique sense of humor, with which he is known for enlivening house and committee sessions. A member of my staff who is a former teacher from the Congressman's district informed me of the time he brought his class group from Washington College Academy to meet with Mr. QUILLEN in the Capitol Buildings. When the children noticed his neon red tie emblazoned with ghost, cartoons, he replied that it was "to scare the girls away!"

When campaigning during his first race for the House in 1962, Congressman QUILLEN was fond of telling the "Redbird Story," a tale that soon became his classic trademark. He told of a very bright boy who took great pride in his ability to think intelligently. One day he found a small redbird and decided to test the wisdom of a local hermit who was the region's recognized Guru. The youngster completely enclosed the small bird in his hand and asked the hermit if the bird was alive or dead. If the hermit said the bird was alive, the boy would kill it. If the hermit said that the bird was dead, the boy would release it unhurt. When he asked the Great One the alive or dead question, the hermit simply replied: "Its life is in your hands". For Quillen the story had great significance, and after telling the story at campaign stops, he would add that "My political future is in your hands." This is an observation that has never been forgotten and is constantly reflected by Mr. QUILLEN's overwhelming commitment to his district.

Congressman QUILLEN has enjoyed the support of a highly committed and loyal staff—many of whom are constituents of mine. I would like to commend Dee Kefalas, Brenda Otterson, Ellen Phillips, Ben Rose, Sue Ellen Stickley, Richard Vaughan, and long time chief of staff Francis Light Currie for their years of support.

Mr. QUILLEN's professionalism, dedication, and humor will be greatly missed both by his constituents and this Congress. May I take this opportunity to wish Congressman QUILLEN and his wife Cecile the very best for a long and happy retirement.

Mr. TANNER. Madam Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to the Honorable JIMMY QUILLEN, the distinguished dean of the Tennessee Congressional Delegation, who will be retiring at the end of this historic 104th Congress. Mr. QUILLEN's attributes and accomplishments are well known. We should all be proud of his outstanding length of service to the people of the First District, the State of Tennessee, and the Nation. He holds the record for having the longest continuous service by any Tennessee Member of the U.S. House of Representatives since Tennessee statehood in 1796. This is truly a record that will probably never be matched.

When you travel in Mr. QUILLEN's district, as I do when I drive back to west Tennessee, one cannot help but notice the beautiful mountainous region that he represents that was home to former U.S. President James K. Polk. In addition, one cannot help but notice the many wonderful tributes that have been bestowed upon Congressman QUILLEN and his family throughout east Tennessee. You literally cannot drive through east Tennessee without passing by a facility, or traveling on a road, that has been named in honor of Mr. QUILLEN and his family. He has served his constituency for 33 years and the institutions in Tennessee that bear his name are a testament that he serves with honor and dignity. Voters trust Mr. QUILLEN to be fair and to adequately represent their views in Congress. His famous "open door" policy that he began on election night in November of 1962 was not only one that he practiced with his constituents, but also was extended to every member of the Tennessee Delegation, regardless of party affiliation.

I have had the honor of serving with Mr. QUILLEN, and his wonderful staff, since 1989. Mr. Speaker, I know that you join with me, my staff, and the great people of Tennessee and the Nation in saying thank you to Congressman JIMMY QUILLEN for a job well done. I wish him and Mrs. Quillen Godspeed during his retirement. We all will certainly miss him.

EDUCATION CUTS IN THE 104TH CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from New York [Mr. OWENS] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. OWENS. Madam Speaker, we are moving toward adjournment. There is a rumor that we may be adjourning the 27th or the 28th of September. And there are some very important unfinished business items that relate to education which I would like to discuss to-

night. The session is coming to an end, and it is kind of hard to get information. We seem to be treading water, and I suppose behind the scenes there are some fruitful negotiations taking place.

This is the end of the 104th Congress, the Congress that came in like lightning in January 1995. We came in and we had sessions at one point every day of the week and for 6 months a nonstop agenda. Now as we draw to the end of the session, the close of the session, there is a great calm that has settled over us. I hope it is not the calm before the storm. But the last few months, things have been sort of slowing down.

I want to congratulate the American people for having made that happen. Things have slowed down. The rapidity of the movement, the extremism that characterized the first few months of this session, we can all do without. It is just as well that we do not have it anymore. It is the public; it is the people out there with the common sense that should take the credit.

Everybody in Congress, everybody who is in politics knows how to measure public opinion. They listen to public opinion, and what happened in this case is that the extreme agenda was not a subtle agenda. It was quite open and honest. I congratulate the leaders of the 104th Congress, the majority Republicans, they were honest with their agenda. They laid it out there and people knew just what was going on.

They knew that drastic cuts were going to be made in education, drastic cuts would be made in jobs programs, drastic cuts would be made in housing programs. They knew that Medicare, Medicaid would be cut. They knew the agenda and, with the help of some spokespersons from the Democratic side to get them to understand it, slowly public opinion began to manifest itself and the people who listened to it on both sides, including the Republican majority, have come to the conclusion, I think, that in certain areas they are not going to hold, they are not going to continue the kinds of contempt for public opinion that was manifested in the first half of the 104th Congress.

Public opinion had been out there all the time making certain things clear. It is not that this is some new development. The public has always made it clear that they prefer education to be a priority of the government at every level. The polls have shown that for the last 5 years. Education has always been one of the top five priorities. It moved to the top, last 2 years one of the top three priorities. So for the leadership of the 104th Congress to insist that drastic cuts were going to be made in education was to sort of hold the public opinion process in contempt and to turn their back on the common sense of the American people.

Finally they have heard. Finally, as we move toward the resolution of the first budget, the budget for fiscal year 1996, after the two shutdowns and a lot of drama, one of the things that happened was that the cuts in education

were rescinded. They were given up they gave up on the cuts in education.

Yes, there were humongous cuts in other areas, extreme cuts in other areas. I think the most extreme cuts probably took place in housing. But there were cuts in job programs, job programs. There were a number of cuts, 22 billion dollars' worth of cuts still took place, despite the retreat on education, \$4.5 billion for education and labor, and they retreated on most of those related to education. Head Start was not cut. The title I program was not cut.

So we had an acknowledgment by the Republican majority that the common sense of the American people, which said over and over again education should not be cut, education is priority, they bowed to that.

□ 2045

They bowed to that, and I hope they continue to bow to it. We do not know for certain, because in the appropriations bill that passed the House of Representatives before we went out for recess, there was an appropriations bill for the health and human services, education, health and human services, and in that bill there were still some drastic cuts for education programs.

No, they did not cut Head Start any more, and they did not cut title I any more. Those are too highly visible. They did cut Goals 2000. They did a number of other cuts, and you still had a kind of war with the common sense of the American people in respect to education being made a priority.

That situation still exists today. The appropriations bill passed by the House of Representatives is there waiting for action by the Senate, and we have heard that there is good news. Rumors are that the Senate may agree with the Democratic amendment that proposes to restore the cuts made by the House of Representatives in the House of Representatives budget, and not only to restore them, but to increase them. It means that the leadership of the Senate, the Republican leadership of the Senate, is listening, above the heads of the Democrats in the Senate, to the vast majority of the American people out there.

Madam Speaker, public opinion, common sense is registering. They have heard, and it looks as if we may come out of the 104th Congress with all the cuts restored and, perhaps, an increase. There is a rumor that the amount of money for education may be increased above what the House bill passed, substantially above that amount. It is very good news, and it is a victory for the common sense of the American people. The American people are to be congratulated for consistently insisting that education is a priority.

We came into this 104th Congress with the Republican majority proposing that the Department of Education be eradicated. It was that extreme; in 1995 we had a proposal on the table that the Department of Education be eradicated.

The superpower of the world was going to do without a Department of Education at the Federal level. It will be the only government of any of the industrialized nations that has no central agency at all relating to education. It would have been a very barbaric and primitive kind of action to take, but it was proposed. It was proposed seriously.

I serve on the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities. That is the name that it has now, but for the other 12 years that I have been here it was called the Education and Labor Committee; and before our committee earlier in the session, in 1995, we had two men who should have known better come before the committee and testify that they wanted to abolish, eradicate, the Department of Education.

We had Lamar Alexander, the ex-Secretary of Education. He was the Secretary of Education under George Bush in his last 2 years. Mr. Alexander was proposing that we abolish, eradicate, the Department of Education. We had Mr. Bennett, who had been the Drug Czar, and he had once also been head of the Department of Education before also proposing that this civilized Nation, the leader of the industrialized free world, should not have a Department of Education.

So we are a long way from that kind of extremism; you know, the kind of extremism which followed that proposal with a proposal that we cut school lunches to the bone and that we take title I, one-seventh of the funding for title I, \$1.1 billion; that we cut Head Start, which has never been cut in the history of its existence. That kind of extremism was rampant in the first half of the 104th Congress.

As we come to a halt, as we near the end, I am pleased to observe that we are going out not with a bang, but with a whimper. We appreciate the whimper. We have had enough extremism. Extremism is not good, and the Founding Fathers understood the need to have a check on any kind of rapid movement, any kind of blitzkrieg of ideas, a blitzkrieg of programs when they created the two Houses. They knew that one House would have sort of a calming effect on the other. Certainly the Senate, a more deliberative body with a longer term, was to be kind of a brake on extremism, and I think we should applaud the Founding Fathers again. It has worked; the other body has been a brake on the extremism in this House.

And now the other body has come to the rescue of the education appropriations. We are probably, according to rumors, going to get from the other body an increase in the education budget paid for by some very innovative program that I had mentioned 6 months ago, the possibility of using the income from the spectrum to help with our revenue problems, and I see that that is coming to pass. It is a concrete proposal in the Senate that the income from the spectrum should be

used to fund this additional amount of money for education.

So we hope this key bill will really move forward in accordance with the rumors, that the positive kinds of things that are being talked about in the rumors will become reality and that the next few days, before we leave, we will see an appropriations bill emerge from the floor of the Senate, which will then go to conference, and we will have—we hope that the Members of the House will still be listening to the voice of the people, the common sense of the American people, and that they will be reasonable about returning education to a status of being nonpartisan activity.

Probably more important than foreign policy, education should be a bipartisan and nonpartisan activity.

You know, we used to have a sort of unwritten rule that was understood that foreign policy was bipartisan, you know, or even nonpartisan. That rule has been broken quite a bit by this present Congress, but maybe it applies, or should apply more so, to education. And we return to a situation that did exist when I first came to Congress where on the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities there would be intense arguments about how to do something, about which way we wanted to proceed to improve education, but there was no argument about the fact that we needed an education department.

We needed a Department of Education, and we needed to have an investment in education. How we would do it was a great bone of contention, but nobody ever proposed that we have drastic reductions in the role of the Federal Government in education.

Congress must keep its eye on this prize. Education ranks high in the minds of the people because they understand, they have a wisdom that endures, and they understand what is important and what is not important.

This has now been translated into the platforms of both parties. I think both parties have some strong statements about commitment to education. I do not think you still have in the Republican Party platform anything about eradicating the Department of Education. I think you have very strong statements in the Democratic platform, and you have very strong statements that are being made every day by the President about the commitment we need to make further to advance this Nation on its education agenda.

It is understood that national security, a great part of national security, is what we do in education. It is understood that the H.G. Wells statement that history is a race between education and catastrophe is truer than ever before, that we will have catastrophe if we do not rise to the occasion and make certain that this leader of the free world, this leader of the industrialized world, has the best possible education. An educated populace is our

most valuable asset. An educated populace is our first line of security.

We should not have what has occurred in this 104th Congress; that is, a Congress proposing a \$13 billion increase in the defense budget while it proposes a \$4 billion cut in education programs. That is exactly the opposite of what we should be doing. Our defense, our security, is very much tied up with education.

And I want to note, you know, that there are many people who understand this. Because there are so many different groups in America who understand this and have become more and more vocal, they have heard the call for help, they have heard the call to protect. We needed to protect ourselves from the extremism, and more and more the widespread and diverse support for education has manifested itself, and that is good. You know, let all flowers bloom; you know, let everybody who is interested in education come forward and participate in the process of getting a clear sense of direction as to where we should go with education.

It is not enough just to support it, it is not enough just to applaud the restoration of the funding at the Federal level. We must have a clear sense of direction as to where it is going to go. We must have a clear sense of how we are going to behave in our localities, the municipal governments, and a clear sense of how we are going to behave with our State governments and just what kind of commitment we are going to make for education as we go toward the 21st century.

The President has a good vision, but the Federal Government is only a small player in the whole education drama. The Federal Government, at most, has spent about 8 percent of the total education budget. At the height of Federal spending for education it did not get beyond 8 percent. The rest of the money is provided by local governments and State governments.

What is most important for the Federal Government is that it be the role model, that it be the drum major, that it set the tone; and that has been a positive development over the years that came to a halt with the advent of the 104th Congress. The tone was just the opposite. That the tone here in Washington was that the Federal Government should back away from the commitment, and, as a result, you have had commitments, retreat from commitments, in a number of States and a number of localities.

Certainly in the locality that I represent in New York City there has been a great retreat, a movement away from the commitment to education of the kind needed. We have in New York right now a good example for all of America to take a hard look at as to what happens when you have a retreat from a commitment to an investment in education.

There were 91,000 young people who reported for school on the opening

school day who had no place to sit in New York City. This is hard to describe to most people throughout the country because 91,000 people, 91,000 students, is greater than the number of most school districts. Most school districts, you know, are in the 10,000 to 20,000 range, and many are much smaller than that, school districts. But here we have the New York City school district which has more than a million pupils. You know, at the height of the New York City enrollment, it once reached 1.2 million.

So we are not at a point now where there are more children than the city has ever had. We once had 1.2 million in the enrollment of the New York City schools. But the city is not prepared right now to take care of 1.6 million pupils. It is not because they have never had the situation before; it is because we have leadership that has no vision, a leadership that chose to not listen to the voices of common sense, to not listen to the constituency of the city, to the parents.

We had a chancellor of the schools who laid out the problem very well 2 years ago. He laid out the problem, he proposed a solution; he proposed a program to make the kind of repairs that were necessary so schools could be repaired, he proposed to build schools where they were needed, and it was all there.

So it was not that the vision had not been laid out by someone, an educator who understood what was going to happen. His name was Ray Cortines. He spent some time in Washington. He was a superintendent on the west coast at one point. He was well respected as an educator.

Well, he was kicked out of the city hierarchy. He was hounded to the point where he had to resign because he insisted that you have to prepare for the problems that you are going to face with respect to schools that are too old and crumbling, not safe, and we need to replace those, and we have a situation where, in certain areas of the city, the population is growing at a rapid rate.

□ 2100

So we were not prepared. Came the opening of school, and 91,000 young people had no place to sit, because the vision was not there.

If, in a highly visible situation like this, if there are no places to sit, if space, if the capacity to seat the children is not there, then you know that many other elements of the educational system also are in disarray. You cannot see the quality of teaching, you cannot easily see the quality of equipment and supplies, but if the basic space capacity is not there, then everything else is suspect.

There is a collapse in the education system in New York because of bad leadership, because leadership was extreme in another direction. The mayor was intent upon making tax cuts. The mayor was intent on sending a message that we would not spend as much for

education as we have been spending in the past. It was a new mayor, a Republican mayor. He had some extremist views on certain items, and he put blinders on. Now the reality is there, the children had nowhere to sit.

In the midst of the reality, what has happened? We have had a refusal to recognize the reality. There is a great debate that the mayor has started about placing 1,000 of the 91,000 youngsters in parochial schools. There is a great debate about the fact that the parochial schools, the Catholic schools, have specifically said, we will take 1,000 youngsters, not just for this year but we will take them and we will take your worst youngsters, your most difficult in learning, et cetera, and we will keep them through our whole 6 years or a whole 8 years of schooling. You have to pay for them, though. You pay us what you spend per child.

That is another form of choice. In this case a religious school is involved, and there are questions of the constitutionality of it arising. All of that was pushed to the side because private industry said, we will pay for them. We will raise the money. You do not have to use public funds.

The mayor is busy applauding himself and going on to take care of 1,000 youngsters, and I want to congratulate him publicly for getting the private sector to put up money to educate 1,000 young people. I hope the private sector is going to provide \$2 million per year, not just for this year but to keep the kids in the Catholic schools.

We are interested in children being educated. I do not think anybody should stand on ceremony and say this is not the right solution, it sets a precedent.

One thousand of the 91,000, good luck. We congratulate the mayor for saving 1,000. But what about the other 90,000? What are we going to do about them?

So I come back to my original concern here; that is, that if the Federal Government is going to drift back on track, if the public common sense is going to penetrate the beltway, if the public common sense is going to penetrate the House of Representatives' leadership, if we are going to come back to the reality that the people want education to be made a priority, that the people want an investment in education by every level of government, starting with the Federal Government, that the Federal Government is going to begin to set an example and become a role model again, then my concern is that we understand that this is not enough.

We applaud the President and his long platform related to education. We applaud the proposal that something be done about construction. It is a proposal that comes kind of late, but let us hope we can get it off the ground next year, with a small amount of money the Federal Government proposes to stimulate investment and construction for schools.

Senator CAROL MOSELEY-BRAUN and I, 3 years ago, authored a provision in

the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which called for \$600 million to be spent for construction and repairs, especially in situations where you had asbestos and you have lead in the water and you have unsafe conditions in the schools.

The \$600 million that was authorized was cut down immediately in the appropriation process to \$100 million. That was in the 103rd Congress. When the 104th Congress came in, one of the things they zeroed out right away was the \$100 million for emergency repairs and construction. So there is nothing existing in Federal law right now which will give any aid to localities that need help with buildings, with space, with asbestos problems, with lead poisoning problems, with fire violations.

The city of Washington, DC, had several schools closed down on the opening day of school because they had fire code violations.

The mayor of New York says that, really, we do not have a problem with 91,000 youngsters; that really there are places for them to sit on the floor. There are just not desks for all of them; or that maybe there are places for them in other schools. New York is a big city. It has 8 million people. If you bus kids around to places where they have a few empty classrooms or empty seats, if you get it all together, you can find seats for half of the students.

Madam Speaker, I applaud that. If you can get it together, Mr. Mayor, please do, because you have 1,000 that you have taken to parochial schools; there are 90,000 left. If you can take half, move them around in buses, however expensive that may be, or however disadvantageous that may be for young children, if you can do that, then you have 45,000 taken care of. But what about the other 45,000?

And when you get through placing them, you acknowledge, the mayor acknowledges, the school board acknowledges, that many of them are in gyms. And they consider that normal now, because they have been in gyms holding classes for several years now. Many of them are in closets. Many of them are part-time in the cafeteria. Many of them are in small auditoriums. There are various innovations that have been accepted as normal.

So what if you began to meet the fire code violations, the fire code, and end some of the violations which must exist if you have youngsters packed into some of these spaces? Or health code violations, ventilation problems, where you do not have youngsters in a room with the proper ventilation? If you ended all those, our 45,000 of student problems would increase back up to 60,000 easily.

We have a major problem. We have a major problem. No matter what happens here in Washington, no matter how positive the appropriations bill is when it comes finally to the floor, and we will be finished with the appropriations

process for this year, it will not help that situation very much, because we do not have anything in the appropriations bill for construction, for repairs. So there is a need to call upon the Federal Government in the future, yes, but there is a need right now at the local level, at the State level, to deal with an emergency.

We have got a generation of children, we have 90,000 young people, who, if we do not solve the problem this year, we partially solve it and it impacts them next year and the next year, what kind of education are you providing for those 90,000 young people? They cannot wait.

The Mayor has said this situation is going to be with us for quite some time. Let us understand, we cannot solve it overnight.

Whose children are involved? If your child was involved, would you be as calm as the mayor is, and say you cannot solve the problem overnight? Or would you be angry? Because we had a chance with Abe Cortines who predicted 2 years ago that we have a problem, and he was driven out of town by the harassment of this same mayor.

One of the items that I have on my agenda tonight is a discussion of National Education Funding Support Day, and that has a lot to do with Washington, of course, but it has more to do with the local level.

What I am trying to do, and this is a project that was conceived of by the National Commission for African American Education, the project was designed to try to engage local communities in the fight for getting more funding for education, to wake up people to the fact that education is something that is very essential, but we cannot take it for granted.

You cannot take for granted that the local officials are going to do what they have to do to plan to avoid having 90,000 kids in New York City not have seats. You cannot take for granted. There must be an involvement at all times by citizens, not just the parents but all of the citizens.

So National Education Funding Day, Funding Support Day, is designed to try to allow an opportunity for the businesses, for the labor unions, for the churches, sororities, all of them to get involved. We encourage them to do something for education. It is kind of a plagiarism on the National Night Out Against Crime.

The National Night Out Against Crime started, and it leaves it up to the locality to be innovative. You decide what you want to do to show that you are not afraid of criminals. You decide what you want to do to protect the fact that maybe the government is not doing enough about crime.

So we saw that phenomenon take place across the country and it caught on. People came out and they are very much active in the National Night Out Against Crime. I think it is on a Tuesday night in August.

So we are calling for a National Morning Out for Education. The date is

October 23 this year. It was earlier than last year, which was November 14. National Morning Out for Education is what we are calling for National Funding Support Day.

Let any organization take part. Hopefully they will relate to an education institution, not just schools, but day care centers, Head Start centers, colleges, from kindergarten to graduate school. Let us do some things as laymen which show that everybody is concerned about education, we understand the importance of education.

By doing that as laymen, we send a message to the decision-makers. The elected officials, the people who are supposed to make decisions, will maybe begin to understand that what we have read in the polls is real. They have ignored the polls. The polls say that people at every level set education as one of the high priorities for government investment. They keep saying that. But for some reason the decision-makers are blind, or refuse to recognize that fact.

I do recall with great joy that we had a problem with libraries in New York City for years, getting enough funding. Public libraries were not being funded properly. I am very close to the situation because I am a librarian. I worked for the Brooklyn Public Library for 8 years before I went into city government.

We organized and we showed the elected officials for the first time that the best bang for the buck that you get in public life is through public libraries. You get more out of what you spend for public libraries than you do for any other activity, certainly any other educational activity. More people participate, use the books, use the facilities. The ratio of the dollars you spend to the good you achieve to the kind of help you give people is fantastic.

We finally made a breakthrough, and in the last mayoral election both candidates were vying with each other to see who could do the most for the libraries. That is the kind of breakthrough that I am optimistic about for education in general.

I think we are facing a golden age, that we have seen the worst. The early days of the 104th Congress were the worst days for education. Nobody in the future will ever propose that we eradicate the Department of Education again. I do not believe that is going to happen again.

I think we are on the verge of a new education-industrial alliance, that business understands that it is not going to be able to just offer rhetoric about the need to have improvements in education. It is going to have to be consistently more involved, that business is going to have to be involved in terms of supporting the kind of government investment in education that is necessary, which if that means more taxes, maybe they will follow the example of the Senate and come up with more creative ways to get taxes, like using the sale of the spectrum.

Why not? The spectrum belongs to all of us. Why have we allowed it to be used for free all these years? The big broadcast industries have used the spectrum up there. It belongs to all of us. They have made billions of dollars. Why did it have to be given away to them for free?

Yes, we did, in the early days of the Nation, we had land grants. We had various ways that we gave land to people, so I guess giving the spectrum away was sort of following that.

The only problem with giving the spectrum away to the broadcasters is that there were only about four major broadcasters. Land grants went to thousands and thousands of people, and the grants of the spectrum, which were not seen as grants, they were given away to four major big broadcasting networks.

So we ought to come back to using that kind of revenue, capturing that revenue to put it into productive activities like education. People like Felix Rohatyn, I like to cite him because he is no wild-eyed liberal, he is a businessman, a multimillionaire, maybe a billionaire, and when he makes proposals people listen, because he has demonstrated in their milieu, the hard-nosed milieu of finance and business, that he knows what he is doing.

So the latest proposal of Felix Rohatyn, who was considered at one point for the Federal Reserve Board, but the name was dropped because of opposition it was felt it would meet from the Republican-controlled Senate, but Felix Rohatyn's ideas have been talked about for quite a while in a number of circles, conservative and liberal. He has come up with a simple proposal that ought to strike home here.

□ 2115

Viewing the chaos in New York in respect to schools and space and knowing that we have an extreme situation in New York, but it is not so different in Chicago, in Philadelphia, in Los Angeles, all of our big cities are in trouble in terms of aging infrastructures for schools. Big cities happen to be where most of Americans live. Most people want to dismiss cities as being lost causes. If you dismiss cities as being lost causes in America, what you are doing is dismissing the majority of the American population as being a lost cause, because the majority of the American population, overwhelmingly they live in cities.

Cities drive our cultures and cities have a lot to do across the world and throughout history with progress and advancement and the cities' role, you cannot substitute any other entity for the kind of role that cities play. If cities decline and cities decay and cities are no longer functional, then nations will no longer be functional. I hope that some day that gets through to our political decisionmakers.

Rohatyn understands this. Rohatyn has been involved when New York City

was in fiscal trouble, he became the head of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, which is something like the Washington Financial Control Board that we have in this city now, and after his term there, he was still interested in the city and he proposed some concrete proposals that were not listened to. One of them related to schools.

I am going to read from an article that Rohatyn wrote for the Wednesday, September 11 issue of the New York Times, an op-ed piece by Felix Rohatyn. I will just read some sections of it. Rohatyn says that a decade ago, and, remember, he is responding now to the fact that 91,000 young people did not have a place to sit in New York City schools when they went to school.

A decade ago, in response to the abysmal state of New York City's public school buildings, the Municipal Assistance Corporation, with the support of Mayor Edward I. Koch and Gov. Mario Cuomo, committed \$400 million of its surplus funds to creating a new School Construction Authority. This became the cornerstone of a five-year, \$4.5 billion construction program aimed at providing decent schools and allowing for increasing enrollments over the next few years.

Yet today the system is more overcrowded than ever. The buildings are often decrepit and, in many cases, dangerous for the children and the teachers. In part, this is the result of poor management * * *

In 1994, Ramon Cortines, then the Schools Chancellor, and the city's Commission on School Facilities and Maintenance Reform, led by Harold O. Levy, submitted a \$7.5 billion, 5-year capital request. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, struggling with the city's budget gap, gradually reduced this request to \$2.9 billion, and later to \$1.4 billion, and even the \$1.4 billion is now no longer guaranteed.

Such problems are not limited to New York City or to schools. Practically, every large city and state face deteriorating schools, roads, bridges, mass transit systems, sewers, and pollution-control plants. Few have the money to make repairs or build anew, and many have legal restrictions on their debt capacity. They need Federal assistance—specifically a program that would return an existing source of Federal revenue over to state and local governments.

During the Presidential campaign, the 4.3 cent-a-gallon increase in the gas tax that was included in President Clinton's 1993 budget package has come under attack. Repealing it would be bad energy policy and bad economic policy. But it is worth considering a better use for the gas tax than Federal deficit reduction: making it available to state and local governments for public investment.

Localities could spend the money directly on construction and renovation, or leverage the funds with secured borrowing. State and city governments have been cutting back on public investment because of budgetary problems and legal limits on their abilities to issue bonds.

The income from a 4.3 cent Federal gasoline tax has the benefit of being highly predictable. It would provide about \$5 billion to States every year, making it ideal for very long-term bonds issued for public investment.

Nationwide, this could comfortably support from \$75 billion to \$100 billion in new programs by state and local governments over 5 years, assuming that they would pay an additional 20 percent to 25 percent of the cost beyond their take on the gasoline tax.

With its share, New York State could generate \$5 billion to \$7 billion over the period.

Each state would decide how best to use the money, but a significant portion would be committed to new schools and education technology.

Such a program could result in more than buildings. It could create at least 2 million new jobs, public and private. Most would likely be well-paying jobs related to construction. Others would be less specialized jobs that could be opportunities for young people who need a chance to break the cycle of welfare.

Under the new Federal law, finding work for welfare dependents is a hidden time bomb for state governments.

Yes, the money will be lost to the Federal treasury. But replacing \$5 billion each year in a \$1.5 trillion Federal budget is a small challenge compared with the benefits of \$100 billion of additional investment in cities over 5 years. The program would undoubtedly receive strong support from mayors and governors, Republicans and Democrats, business and labor.

A program that would give city and state governments \$75 billion to \$100 billion would provide only a fraction of the more than \$2 trillion needed nationwide for public improvements. But, if successful, the program could be extended and increased over time.

President Clinton has recognized the need for Federal assistance to state and local governments by signing the bill sponsored by Senator Carol Moseley-Braun, Democrat of Illinois, providing interest rate subsidies for local school construction. This was a good beginning, but it is not nearly enough.

Mr. Clinton has long called for public investment, yet neither party has put forth a program to meet the challenges facing urban America.

Turning the revenue from the gas tax into schools and other badly needed public buildings would be a large part of Bill Clinton's bridge to the 21st century.

End of the article by Felix Rohatyn in the September 11th New York Times.

I said before Mr. Rohatyn is a businessman. He is a millionaire, he has to pay lots of taxes. He understands very well what he is proposing. The gas tax exists already. We have had a lot of controversy about repealing it. He says leave it in place, distribute it to the States and local governments, and he thinks the State governors and the mayors of municipalities will be quite happy to have this kind of innovative action by the Federal Government which will stimulate them to match them it to a certain degree and move for some improvements, including improvements on much needed educational facilities.

I have not even talked about the deterioration of the infrastructure of our colleges. We have a municipal college system, city college, City University of New York has 200,000 students. They have a problem with buildings, too. I have not talked about that.

My point is that I hope that we can look forward to some good news in the appropriations bill that comes from the conference of the Senate and the House. I hope that that will be a signal that we are ending the era of the attacks on the Federal role in education. I hope it will be signal that we are back on track, that education will again be a bipartisan activity. If nothing else comes out of this election year

except that one positive feature, it will have a lasting impact on where the country is going.

We are talking about a revolutionary time where education is really as important as the rhetoric says it is. We have had rhetoric about how important education is for decades, for centuries, but it has never been more important than it is now.

I was fortunate enough to visit Russia, the former Soviet Union, this past summer, a seminar in Leningrad. Among the many things that I noted, one is of course the entrepreneurial spirit that has blossomed so quickly among Russians. Human beings are natural entrepreneurs and decades and decades of communism does not wipe out that spirit. So you are very impressed with how quickly it comes alive.

The other thing that is most impressive is the tremendous degree to which the population is educated. It is a tremendously educated population. I do not just mean literacy. This is an industrial nation. This is a nation with a population that has an industrial education, a technological, scientific education.

Yes, they had the worst political scientists in the world, but do not take that to mean that they do not have good scientists otherwise. The problem was political scientists are never given much credit, they are not celebrated like the other scientists, but the Soviet Union existed and plodded along and finally collapsed the way it did because they had the worst political scientists in the world. But they had scientists who put the space station up there that we are now rendezvousing, our astronauts are now going to their space station, and we should not forget that, that the kind of education, higher order education, theoretical, physics, chemistry, metallurgy, whatever you want to name, in a modern, industrialized, scientific society, it exists in Russia.

They understand computers very well. They are far behind us because their political scientists did not want to have an Internet. They did not want to allow a mass production of computers. They did not want to have decent telephones because they did not want people to communicate with each other. The political scientists wrecked the economy and almost wrecked the society once and for all, but it did not wreck it to the point where the education, especially the scientific and technological education, is not there. So you have Russia, you have other eastern European countries, you have Germany, you have numerous stations where education is far superior for the masses, far superior to the education that we provide here.

We talk about global competition, we talk about a small world, we talk about being able to hold our own in very loose terms, but it is very real. An educated population is our only guarantee that our society will be able to

hold its own in terms of maintaining its market share, maintaining its standard of living. It can be drastically undercut. If you can have mass production of computer scientists in some other country, not just the Soviet Union, Russia, or Germany and the industrialized nations but in a nation which is a developing nation like India.

India has computer scientists on a par with computer scientists anywhere in the English-speaking world. So you have many computer companies who need computer programmers hiring people from India to work for wages of one year which is equal to one month's salary for American computer programmers. In fact, they call Bangalore, India the capital—and I have mentioned this before—Bangalore, India, is called one of the capitals of computer programming because if they do not bring the Indians from there to our companies here, if they have a problem getting them past immigration and getting enough into the country to do the things they want to do, they take the work to Bangalore.

Large numbers of American corporations are taking their computer programming work to Bangalore, India. They speak English, they understand science, computer science and so forth, and they are major competitors to people in the computer programming world in America. There will be more of these kinds of developments.

So education in terms of market share, in terms of staying ahead of the curve scientifically, et cetera, it becomes of utmost importance. Of course last night at the Committee for Education Funding dinner where 5 retiring Members of Congress were honored, PAT WILLIAMS spoke about education to prevent civic decay. That is not a small thing. In our country, which is a democracy, if we do not educate the populace, the very democracy itself will become an enemy if we do not have people who understand how this democracy works. So nothing is more important. We have activities that are going forward to try to get this across at many levels. Within the beltway and among people who know what the education agenda is, there are certain kinds of activities at work.

The Committee for Education Funding has a National Education Call-In Day which is tomorrow, September 18, 1996. They are giving everybody the capital switchboard, 202/225-3121, asking them to call the Members of Congress—Members of the House and Members of the Senate—and talk about the fact that we need help from the Federal Government to meet the challenges of growing enrollments, more students with special needs, new educational technology and a changing economy. That will work for certain groups of people as it has in the past and we hope that folks will call in and alert their Congressman to the fact that the appropriations bill for this year has not been passed.

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Fiscal year 1997 begins on October 1st, and the education programs are not funded. We hope that either through a continuing resolution or an agreement on the appropriations bill we are going to reach the point where this is resolved, but it will not come automatically. So call in. Call in and remember that the Committee for Education Funding has some very hard facts that you ought to bear in mind.

Madam Speaker, I am going to read a few of those facts that the Committee for Education Funding put forward. Committee for Education Funding has about 80 different organizations in the country, national organizations, which have united under one umbrella to fight for more investment in education. So, they speak with great authority. School boards are represented, teacher unions, all kinds of organizations concerned with education. At high education level, at the preschool level, they are all there.

The fact sheet of the Committee for Education Funding reads as follows: It wants to remind us that over the last 2 years, education suffered cuts of more than \$1.1 billion. Despite the fact that we stopped many cuts, it still suffered cuts of more than \$1.1 billion over the last 2 years.

The fiscal year 1997 budget resolution, which is the one I am talking about now, passed by Congress this year, cuts education and—I am sorry, the budget resolution; in the budget resolution, which guides the appropriations process, we cut education and training by 17 percent in real terms over the next 6 years according to the Senate Committee on the Budget.

While calling for some program consolidation reductions, President Clinton's fiscal year 1997 budget request does propose to increase the investment of education back to \$2.8 billion in fiscal year 1997 and maintains that level of investment over the next 6 years.

Madam Speaker, I will not go on and on with these facts. I just wanted to say that the call-in sponsored by the Committee for Education Funding is a very good idea. It is one way to have people demonstrate that the public opinions are real, the public opinion polls are real; that there are real human beings out there behind those public opinion polls. Every politician is concerned about public opinion polls and focus groups and really being in sync with public opinion. So it is kind of a contradiction, a paradox, that they will not listen to the public when it comes to education.

We have to end that paradox. We have to hit the politicians, the decision-makers, and elected officials, the candidates, hit them with a sledgehammer and make them understand we mean business when we say education is a priority, ought to be a priority. One way you hit them with the sledgehammer is to keep banging away in every way possible.

Make the telephone calls on October 23rd when we have the National Education Funding Support Day. Organize some kind of group and demonstrate your concern by going to a school and linking up with a school. Some people have gone to schools and provided books, gifts. Other people have helped programs in schools. There is one group of parking agents who have said they will provide a week of safe conduct to certain schools in certain parts of the cities that have had trouble with kids not being able to get to school safely.

Whatever your particular organization can do, do it. We are urging that churches adopt a school and link up with what we call net day. There is a net day project that most of you have heard about. Net day means that that is a day when a locale or a State pledges to wire all of its schools, to provide the wiring necessary for the schools to have appropriate computers and for the schools to link up with the Internet.

A minimum net day effort is to wire the library of the school and five classrooms. So let us have some net days on October 23. If you cannot do it by October 23, then for the period between October 23 and the middle of November, in the middle of November we have National Education Week, from October 23 to the middle of November. Try to mobilize and get together the necessary ingredients and elements to wire your school, to wire the library and wire four classrooms. That is what net day is all about.

At the same time, you might consider the fact that there is a campaign on called the campaign to get the E rate. The E rate means a rate for the wired schools, for their being able to utilize the services, whether they are online services or whatever to come in the future at a reduced rate.

All schools and libraries, according to the law passed by the Congress, we passed the law which says the FCC must work out a way for all schools and libraries to get a reduced rate, to be accommodated. It does not spell out how the FCC should do that, so the Secretary of Labor has proposed that they do it for free to all schools and libraries. It will be easier to administer that way, and what the companies will be doing is developing future customers.

Madam Speaker, we have massive numbers of customers that, if they make it easy for them to get the necessary wiring and the cost of using the Internet and the various services is zero for the schools, then the kinds of people they will develop in the schools will be customers in the future forever. People spend 12 years in school, but they live two or three times that long. If they learn how to use these various facilities, they will be creating a market for themselves.

So we say the E rate should not just be a discount rate, but for schools and libraries why not have it completely

free? And that is one proposal I would like to see us support. Secretary Riley has a proposal. If we do not get that, then there are various discounts that are being proposed that we will also fight for.

The FCC will make this decision sometime within the next 2 months, so it is important, as we participate in National Education Funding Support Day, to understand how important that is. That is a once in a generation time activity. Once you get that kind of benefit, it goes on and on, and it has implications for many years and many generations to come.

We talk a lot about how costly these new educational technology items are, computers, et cetera. And it is true they cost so much more than a desk and chair and book. In New York City we are struggling with the problem of just providing a desk and a chair. But we cannot get locked into a situation where we do not discuss educational technology, computers, online Internet, because we have not solved the problem of the desk and the chair. If every city in America had decided it would not build an airport until it fixed all the roads and all the sidewalks, then very few cities in America would have airports. They would be in very bad shape if they did not have airports.

So you have to look to the future and get involved in the new technology and what it can do for the imaginations of the youngsters who are in our schools and make certain that the schools in the inner city communities, like New York City, like my district in Brooklyn, one of the poorest districts, is not left behind because they do not have the computers and they do not have the access to the Internet.

Madam Speaker, all of it has to go together. We have to fight for the desk and fight for the chair, fight for the space in a building, fight for the safety in the building, the end of the violations related to asbestos or lead poisoning, ventilation. We have to fight for it all at one time.

It costs money. It will cost money, but it is not half as costly as some of the modern expenditures that we are accustomed to. We are ready to appropriate \$13 billion more to the Department of Defense. In fact, that is what the majority, Republican majority has done. They have added \$13 billion to the President's request for defense. A new attack submarine costs \$775 million. A B-2 bomber, we can give 7 million more children an opportunity to become productive citizens for the cost of three B-2 bombers. We could double the safe and drug-free schools program for the cost of the *Seawolf* submarine program. America could hire an additional 267,000 elementary and secondary schoolteachers for a billion dollars. For a billion dollars we could spend an extra \$23 on every elementary and secondary school child in the country. We could purchase 398,000 multimedia computers for a billion dollars.

You say a billion dollars is a lot of money. A billion dollars is what—the CIA had \$2 billion in its slush fund that they could not account for. It had gotten lost. To let you know, \$2 billion for the CIA was not very much, but \$2 billion would go a long way in terms of spending for our school children.

Modern costs are high, but we should not get overwhelmed. We should understand that, if education is a number one national security item, if the people of the country, in their common-sense wisdom, have decided education ought to be the highest priority, then let us not hesitate to make the investment in education, to take us across that bridge to the 21st century. Our children deserve it, our great Nation needs it. I think we can do not less than what our capacity allows us to do.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Lundregan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a concurrent resolution of the House of the following title:

H. Con. Res. 211. Concurrent Resolution directing the Clerk of the House of Representatives to make a technical correction in the enrollment of H.R. 3060.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees, to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 3816) "An Act making appropriations for energy and water development for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1997, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a concurrent resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. Con. Res. 67. Concurrent resolution to authorize printing of the report of the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy.

ROCKFORD RESCUE MISSION: BRINGING THE COMMUNITY TOGETHER TO SOLVE COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANZULLO] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. MANZULLO. Madam Speaker, I come to the floor of the House today to praise the efforts of the Rockford Rescue Mission in their winning fight against homelessness, addiction, and poverty. For more than 30 years, the Rockford Rescue Mission has provided food, shelter, job training, and drug and alcohol rehabilitation to the most needy in the Rockford community.

In 1964, Mr. Stewart, a recovering alcoholic, recognized that there were a number of men in downtown Rockford who were either alcoholic, unemployed,