

States representative at the U.N. to hold talks with both Pakistani and Indian diplomats at the U.N.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that third-party mediation with regard to Kashmir would be counterproductive. The conflict in Kashmir is 50 years old. It has plagued the 2 countries long before they developed their nuclear programs. Interference by the United Nations, the United States or any other country would not help. In fact, the 2 countries agreed to bilateral resolution of Kashmir, among other issues, through the similar accords that they signed in 1972.

The State Department has a long-standing policy that India and Pakistan must resolve the Kashmir issue directly, and I do not want this to change.

I was happy to read that the Indian Government earlier this week said that it would pursue efforts for a broad-based and sustained dialogue with Pakistan, and I would say that positive steps such as the resumption of talks between India and Pakistan can only help resolve this volatile issue. But as I have said previously, the nuclear tests were not a product of Kashmir. Instead, I would argue that the growing military and nuclear relationship between Pakistan and China pushed India to conduct these tests. Just one week after Pakistan conducted its nuclear tests, U.S. intelligence agencies boarded a Chinese ship carrying weapons materials and electronics destined for Pakistan. This ship was carrying arms materials that included special metals and electronics for the production of Chinese-designed anti-tank missiles made by Pakistan's A.Q. Khan Research Laboratories.

Mr. Speaker, China's ballistic missile relationship with Pakistan has prompted more international concern than China's missile trade with any other country. The director of the CIA stated that "The Chinese provided a tremendous variety of assistance to both Iran's and Pakistan's ballistic missile programs."

It has been reported that China has been working with Pakistan in the sales of M-11 missiles and related technology and equipment since the late 1980s. Earlier this year, Pakistan successfully tested the Ghauri missile. This missile has a range of 1,500 kilometers, and it is believed that the Chinese may have had a role in its development. The Ghauri missile can be fitted with a nuclear device.

Last week, President Clinton stated that China must play an important role in resolving tensions between India and Pakistan. He stated that China must help "forge a common strategy for moving India and Pakistan back from the nuclear arms race."

Now, I have to say that I applaud the President and the Clinton administration and my colleagues' desire to reduce tensions and bring peace to South Asia in response to the nuclear tests. However, and I stress, that asking

China to play a major role as mediator in general makes no sense, given their role in Pakistan's nuclear development. I would suggest instead that the United States needs to continue a bilateral dialogue with the Indian Government and encourage the Indian Government to move away from nuclear proliferation. We, that is the United States, we are in the best position to work with the Indian Government ourselves to achieve this goal.

ILLNESSES AFFECTING GULF WAR VETERANS AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

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

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to address the Chamber, and I, for the benefit of those who follow, I suspect that I will be about 20 minutes. I will not be using my full hour.

I would like to talk about 2 issues. I would like to talk about the problem that our Gulf War veterans faced when they returned home, and I would also like to touch as well on the whole issue of reform, campaign finance reform, and other reforms that this chamber has sought to deal with.

Mr. Speaker, I have the incredible opportunity of chairing the Subcommittee on Human Resources which oversees the Departments of HHS, Labor, Education, Veterans Affairs, and Housing and Urban Development, HUD. In my capacity as chairman, we have looked at the issue of Gulf War illnesses and have had 13 hearings in the last 3½ years. We have called in the Department of Veterans Affairs, we have called in the Department of Defense, we have called in the CIA, to try to get a handle on the problems that our Gulf War veterans have faced when they returned home. Out of the 700,000 that have returned, almost 100,000 have had some types of physical problems to deal with and have sought to have their illnesses be dealt with by the Department of Veterans Affairs.

The bottom line to our investigation is that we want our troops properly diagnosed, effectively treated, and fairly compensated, and to this point, we do not feel that this has happened.

Our investigation found that a combination of exposures were most likely the cause of illnesses, and these exposures are chemical and biological warfare agents, experimental drugs and vaccines, pesticides, leaded diesel fuel, depleted uranium, oil well fires, contaminated water, and parasites as well. Sadly, our Federal Government has not listened to our veterans. Our Federal Government has had a tin ear, a very cold heart, and an extremely closed mind.

When we completed the 11 of our 13 hearings, we issued a major report and had a number of findings, 18 in total.

We determined that the VA and the Pentagon did not properly listen to sick Gulf War veterans in terms of the possible causes of their illness. We believe exposure to toxic agents in the Gulf War contributed to veterans' illnesses.

We believe there is no credible evidence that stress or Post Traumatic Stress Disorder caused the illnesses reported by many Gulf War veterans. Among the 18 recommendations in our report was that Congress should enact legislation establishing the presumption that veterans were exposed to hazardous materials known to have been present in the Gulf War theater.

□ 1845

That the FDA should not grant a waiver of informed consent requirements allowing the Pentagon to use experimental or investigational drugs unless the President signs off and approves. These were just a few of our recommendations.

Believe it or not, Mr. Speaker, our troops were ordered to take an experimental drug referred to as PB. This was a drug that was intended to ward off the degeneration of the nervous system and our troops were being required to take this drug as a prophylactic to protect them from any possible chemical or biological agents. It was used, in other words, as an experimental drug to do something it was not designed to do. Our troops did not have the option to decide whether or not to do this. They were under order. If they did not live by their order, they would be prosecuted by the military.

We have come forward now with three bills to deal with not just the use of experimental drugs but also to deal with the potential of chemical and biological warfare agent exposure, to deal with pesticides, to deal with leaded diesel fuel, to deal with depleted uranium.

Depleted uranium is the material that is used to protect our military equipment, our tanks and our armored vehicles. It is a very hard substance. It is in fact depleted uranium. It is also used as the shell, as the projectile to penetrate armored vehicles. When there is penetration of an armored vehicle, the projectile disintegrates into powder and this is depleted uranium.

Mr. Speaker, we had our soldiers who were not told about the dangers of depleted uranium. Some of them went in actual tanks that had been destroyed to witness the carnage firsthand and to take souvenirs. In fact, they exposed themselves to depleted uranium.

Their exposure to oil well fires is well documented. Contaminated water, parasites and pesticides. But they were also exposed to defensive use of chemicals.

When we had our hearing and had the Department of Defense and the VA come before us, we were told that our troops were not exposed to any offensive use of chemicals. The word "offensive" is important because at the time that the DOD and the CIA told us this,

they knew that our troops were exposed to defensive use of chemicals and potential biological agents. They knew this because they knew of Khamisiyah which was a Iraqi depot that our troops blew up not by bombs from planes and rockets from planes, but by actually coming and destroying these facilities by setting charges.

We had set a hearing on a Tuesday. The Tuesday hearing was going to expose the fact that our troops were exposed in Khamisiyah. So our Department of Defense announced that they would hold a press conference on Friday at 4 o'clock in which they announced that our troops may have been exposed to the defensive use of chemicals in Khamisiyah. This was a press conference called at 12 o'clock for 4 o'clock on a Friday to frankly disclose this information before it would be disclosed at a hearing that we had on Tuesday. The reason why it was disclosed is that we actually had pictures of the chemicals before they were blown up.

At first, the Department of Defense said that possibly 500 of our soldiers were exposed. They jumped that to 1,000, then they jumped it to 5,000, and then jumped that to 10,000 and then 20,000 because the plumes went well beyond the original range that they had discussed when they originally disclosed that our troops were exposed.

So we had our troops exposed to defensive chemical warfare agents. They were ordered, all 700,000, to take an experimental drug and vaccines as well. They were exposed to pesticides, leaded diesel fuel, depleted uranium, well-oil fires, contaminated water, parasites. And when our soldiers came to talk about their maladies, they were told it was all in their mind.

Well, Mr. Speaker, I think we are beyond that point. We are at the point now in which I would like to talk about three bills. One bill introduced by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) reflects the recommendation of our committee that an agency other than the Department of Defense or VA should control Gulf War research agenda.

One of our recommendations was the DOD and the VA had been part of the problem and they should not control the research agenda, because basically they had put no faith in any of the potential sources of Gulf War illnesses and had been very reluctant, for instance, to have any research done on chemical exposure until just recently.

Their premise was that if our troops did not basically drop dead on the spot, they were not exposed to chemicals. They did not accept the fact that low-level exposure to chemicals could ultimately lead to sickness and death. So our committee supports the proposal by the gentleman from Massachusetts to take the research from the Department of Defense and the VA.

Last week our subcommittee introduced two other bills to implement our report. The first is the Persian Gulf

War Veterans Act of 1998, H.R. 4036. This would establish in law the presumption of service connection for illness associated with exposure to toxins present in the war theater.

The Secretary of Veterans Affairs, VA, would be required to accept the findings of an independent scientific body as to the illnesses linked with actual and presumed toxic exposures by establishing a rebuttable presumption of exposure and the presumption of service connection for exposure effects. The bill places the burden of proof where it belongs, on the VA, not on the sick veterans.

The bill would also require the VA to commission an independent scientific panel to conduct ongoing health surveillance among Gulf War veterans. We basically put the burden of proof on the government to prove that a veteran who is in fact sick, no one disputes that, was sick due to their illness in the Gulf War theater. The presumption is with the veteran. The Department of Veterans Affairs would have to prove that this veteran was sick for some other reason. If they cannot prove it, the presumption is with the veteran.

The second bill, the Drugs and Informed Consent Armed Forces Protection Act of 1998, H.R. 4035, would amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to require presidential concurrence in any Department of Defense, DOD, request for a waiver of informed consent in connection with the administration of an investigational or experimental drug to members of the Armed Forces.

The bill would also amend a section of last year's defense authorization bill to require DOD to provide detailed written information about investigational or experimental drugs to U.S. forces before being administered. The current provision allows DOD to require use of any investigation or experimental drug and only provide basic information such as the name of the drug, reason for use, side effects, and drug interactions within 30 days after initial administration, which by the way the DOD did not do.

The DOD gave 700,000 of our troops, with the consent of the FDA, an experimental drug that may in fact have caused serious illness with our soldiers. They were ordered to take this drug. They were not told of the dangers and the DOD did not keep records as to who took this drug and did not make any examinations afterwards to determine the effect of this drug.

So we would require the President of the United States of America to sign off if our troops were forced to take a particular drug that was, in fact, experimental.

Mr. Speaker, I just would conclude my comments to say again that what we support our troops being properly diagnosed, effectively treated, and fairly compensated for their Gulf War illnesses. We would hope and pray that this House would take action on the three bills that I described: The one

presented by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) that would take the research away from the DOD and VA, which has been part of the problem, and give it to another agency; that we would require the President to sign off on any experimental drug being administered to our troops under order; and that we would place the presumption of illness with the veteran and force the VA to do its job in proving that it was not an illness caused in the Gulf War theater.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. Speaker, I am not sure I have a very good transition to my next issue, but I would like to briefly talk about campaign finance reform and to say that this is an issue that the House of Representatives has put off dealing with for the 11 years that I have been in this Chamber. In an effective way, we have not had a fair and open debate.

It was my expectation that this House, this Republican Congress of the 1994 election, this first Republican Congress elected in 1994, taking power in 1995, would deal with a number of reform issues.

Praise the Lord, we dealt with congressional accountability. We require Congress to live under all the laws that we impose on the rest of the Nation. We did that under our rule, under our leadership, but we did it on a bipartisan basis. Republicans and Democrats working together passed congressional accountability.

Now Congress comes under all the laws it exempted itself from for so many years. The civil rights laws that we were not under. The OSHA laws, Occupational Safety and Health Act. The various laws that require us to have a safe working place. The sexual harassment laws that Members of Congress were not under with its employees. The 40-hour work week with time-and-a-half over 40 hours.

We exempted ourselves from all of those acts that we imposed on the rest of the Nation. But now we are under them, and we should be. Congratulations to Congress and the Republicans and Democrats on both sides of the aisle for making sure that happened. That was a true reform.

We also passed a gift ban that basically says Members of Congress cannot accept gifts. Maybe a hat, maybe a certificate, a book. We can accept that. But the meals, the wining and dining, the various expensive gifts that Members were given that could go up to \$100 and \$250 cumulative, we banned them. That was done under a Republican Congress, but on a bipartisan basis. It did not happen years ago. The ban took place after the 1994 election, but on a bipartisan basis.

For the first time since 1946, we passed lobby disclosure. Now we know there are far more individuals who lobby Congress who are now having to register than in the past. We have over 10,000 that have to register. Before it was literally 1,000 or 2,000.

We have many people who are lobbyists and that is part of the law and part

of the process. But now they have to register and disclose information as to how much they spend and the contacts they make and who they try to influence and why they are trying to influence it. It is a disclosure that makes sense and it happened under this Congress, a Republican Congress, but on a bipartisan basis.

Mr. Speaker, the one issue we failed to deal with in the last Congress was campaign finance reform. We failed to deal with it. We dealt with three issues: Congressional accountability, the gift ban, and lobby disclosure on a bipartisan basis, and we did it. But campaign finance reform remains to be dealt with in a fair and open process.

It was the expectation of many of us that while we would not do it with the last Congress, that we would do with it the next Congress, the 105th Congress, the Congress that took over in the beginning of last year in 1997. It was our hope and expectation that Republicans and Democrats on a bipartisan basis would want to deal with campaign finance reform.

There was a lot of debate and dialogue on the bipartisan and historic budget agreement and many of us did not push campaign finance reform because we felt that was the issue that we first needed to deal with. But by the fall, it became clear to us that we could in fact deal with this issue and that leadership did not want to.

There was a petition drive. There was an effort on the part of Republicans and Democrats to get this Republican Congress to deal with campaign finance reform and a promise that we would deal with it in February or at the latest March.

Obviously, Mr. Speaker, that has not happened. We did not have a debate in February. And towards the last week in March, it was clear that leadership did not want to deal with an amendment, a major bill, the McCain-Feingold legislation that was in the Senate and referred to in the House as Shays-Meehan or Meehan-Shays.

□ 1900

This bill bans all soft money. Soft money is the unlimited sums that individuals, corporations, labor unions, and other interest groups can give to the political parties which was supposed to be used for party building and registration. But elected officials and party officials found ways to just bring it right back to individual candidates and circumvent the campaign law.

A second issue, besides banning soft money, and we would in fact ban it all, money that goes to the Democratic Party and money that goes to the Republican Party, because it has been an abused system that has simply allowed unlimited sums from individuals, corporations, and labor unions to go to your individual candidates. We would recognize that the sham issue ads are truly campaign issue ads, are campaign ads and treat them as campaign ads.

We do not take away anyone's right to speak. We do not do that. We just

say that if they are campaign ads, they be treated as campaign ads and come under the campaign laws, which means people have a voice, but they have a voice that requires that there be disclosure; and that, while they are not limited on what they can spend, they do follow the limitations of what they can raise, as all campaign law has. We cannot limit what can be spent. We can limit what can be raised. We, in fact, do that under the Constitution.

We require that if an individual candidate is referred to by picture or name 60 days prior to an election in a sham issue ad, it is to be called a campaign ad and come under the campaign laws.

We also use the 9th Circuit Court, the unambiguous, unmistakable support or opposition for a clearly identified candidate as a campaign ad, and that would go through 365 days a year. We codify the Beck decision, which means this, that if you are not a member of the union and you pay an agency fee, you do not have to have in your agency fee to the union money that goes for political purposes. That is what the Beck decision determined.

They did not determine that union members could be exempt from a political payment to the union for political activities, rather, they determined that if you were not a member of the union, you did not have to have your agency fee go for political activity.

My wife does not like me bringing this up because she does not like me bringing her up as an example in anything, but I will say, notwithstanding her objection, that she, in fact, has experienced this process of the Beck decision; and that is that, as a public schoolteacher, she did not choose to have her union dues go to support a gubernatorial candidate she did not support, who happened in this case to be a Democrat.

When she complained to her union, she was told the only way that her money could not go would be that she could not be a member of the union. If she paid an agency fee, they would make sure they subtracted the amount of the political payment.

So in fact she is not a member of the union anymore. She has taken advantage of the Beck decision, and she does not have to make any political payment to a candidate she does not choose to support.

In our bill, we improve the FEC disclosure and enforcement. We require disclosure within 48 hours of a major contribution and that the FEC put it on the Internet within 24 hours. We strengthen FEC disclosure and also enforcement.

We allow the FEC to speed up the process to eliminate a frivolous complaint. We also allow them to speed up the process to take action on a complaint that is not frivolous. We also say that wealthy candidates can contribute \$50,000 or less. But if they contribute more, then they cannot expect support from their own political parties to augment the \$50,000 they put into it. So if

they contribute \$49,000, the parties can contribute up to \$61,000, but not if they contribute more.

We ban franking mail, unsolicited franking mail throughout the district 6 months to an election. Then we also make clear foreign money and fund-raising on government property is illegal. Believe it or not, the Vice President of the United States was right. There was no controlling authority for raising soft money from a government building.

It is not illegal to accept money from a foreigner if it is not campaign money. Soft money is not defined as campaign money. If it were campaign money, it would come under the campaign laws. It would have limits placed on it. There are no limits.

So we need to correct an abuse that, clearly, the spirit of the law was broken, but the law was not broken, which allows me to make one point that I think needs to be made time and again.

The big failing, in my judgment, with Republicans is that we are not willing to take up campaign finance reform. We are willing to investigate wrongdoing of the President and the administration, as we should, but we do not want to take up campaign finance reform.

The Democrats, on the other hand, are willing to take up campaign finance reform, as they should, but are not willing to hold the President accountable for the actions that his administration should be held accountable for.

When Democrats investigated the Nixon administration, they did not say that the President of the United States has broken the law; therefore, we do not need to reform the system. They said the President of the United States has broken the law and should be held accountable, and we need to reform the system.

I have a gigantic regret that Republicans have not made the same argument today. I believe the President of the United States, his administration, has broken the law and should be held accountable. I also believe we need to reform the system.

The foreign money and fund-raising on government property is a case in point. We know what the spirit of the law is, but we also know that soft money is not considered campaign money. It does not come under the campaign law. It was allowed by the FEC years ago as party-building money, not meant as campaign money. But over time, it began to be a big sum of money that both parties have now raised for campaign purposes even though it is not campaign law.

Mr. Speaker, I know that the other speaker is ready to speak, and I have gone over my 20 minutes, but I would like to say that I believe it is absolutely essential that my own party and my own leadership keep faith with its commitment to deal with campaign finance reform now, not later.

The commitment originally that was made was that we would deal with it in February or March, and we did not do that. We did not keep faith with our commitment.

The commitment then, after a number of us got off a petition, was to deal with this issue in May. Since May, we have had a vote on a rule allowing for debate on campaign finance reform. We have had a general debate on campaign finance reform. We have had a specific debate on a constitutional amendment brought forward by an individual who did not even support the constitutional amendment the individual was bringing forward, and that is it.

Since the commitment that was made to us in April, we have not had debate of any consequence during the time in May. We are already in the middle of June. I was told last week that the second rule on campaign finance reform would be debated on Friday, in which I concurred and thought that was some progress. That was not debated. I am told we will bring it up tomorrow. I am told we will have debate on Wednesday and Thursday and Friday. Now I have been told we will have no debate next week on campaign finance reform.

In my own mind, I do not understand why this reform Republican Party would oppose dealing with campaign finance reform. I do not know why my reform-minded leadership would object to dealing with this issue now, since we are going to have an open debate with endless amendments.

But there is a point where, if the leadership refuses to allow for an open debate to take place, then it forces us to consider going back on petitions. It forces us to take other action to express our concern with the process and to force some kind of change.

I realize that I am only one Member of 435, so I cannot force anything, but 218 Members can. Ultimately, there have to be 218 Members in this House who believe that the word of our leadership should be honored and that we should take up debate on the 11 substitutes and the endless amendments.

Tomorrow we will be taking up a second rule that will make germane amendments that are not even germane. We have hundreds and hundreds of amendments. I also have some leadership that have publicly stated that it is the intention to just drag out this debate ad infinitum.

I cannot understand why Republican leadership would choose to put this debate off any longer. Is it going to be better to debate this issue later this month? Is it going to be better to take up this issue in July and debate it? Do we win more points by putting it off even further and taking it up in September? How is that living up to the commitment of my leadership to take up this issue in May?

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON RULES TO FILE REPORT ON HOUSE RESOLUTION 463, ESTABLISHING SELECT COMMITTEE ON U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY AND MILITARY/COMMERCIAL CONCERNS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules have until midnight tonight, June 16, 1998, to file a report to accompany House Resolution 463.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Is there objection to the request from the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

PROTECT THE E-RATE FOR AMERICA'S CHILDREN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from New York (Mr. OWENS) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, there is an emergency in America right now, and it affects the students in school. It affects the students who go to use our libraries.

I would like to announce that it is only 7:10 Eastern Standard Time, and I hope that there are kids in America listening, because this is their fight and they ought to rally to defend their own interests, the E-Rate. The E-Rate belongs to the kids of America.

What is the E-Rate? The E-Rate is a discount that is given through a universal service fund to schools and libraries in order to enable those schools and libraries to wire their computers to the Internet, to hook up to the Internet.

Then the E-Rate also continues to provide a discount on the ongoing telecommunication services utilized by the schools. The E-Rate is the greatest thing that has happened to schools in a long, long time.

The E-Rate is the result of the 1996 Telecommunications Act. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 gave the big corporations in broadcasting and telecommunications almost everything they asked for. The one concession they made is that they would provide discounted rates for schools and libraries.

By the way, this is all schools, parochial schools, private schools, all schools are eligible for the utilization of this E-Rate, the discount from the universal fund. Libraries, all libraries, all public libraries are eligible for it.

So we have started that. There was \$2.25 billion made available or projected as the first year's expenditure. And 30,000 schools and libraries have applied already. They have met the qualifications. They have gone through the application process, and they are waiting for their funding from the E-Rate.

We have a great reduction in the E-Rate. So kids of America, they have

some monsters out here. They have some monsters out here who have stolen or who are attempting to steal the E-Rate away from the children of America.

MCI wants the E-Rate to die. AT&T. And there are a lot of misguided Members of Congress who want the E-Rate to die. These big corporations and big powerful people elect are like the Grinch that stole Christmas. Only this time the Grinch is going to steal E-Rate.

They are like the Giant that chased little Jack. They are powerful, overwhelming, abusive. They have all the power. But Jack outwitted the Giant. That means that the children of America can fight back. This is a democracy and their parents vote. I hope they are listening and they tell their parents to listen, that the E-Rate deserves to live.

We are dealing with something like the Big Bad Wolf that was in Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother's bed. Little Red Riding Hood outwitted the Wolf. The Wolf in the end was destroyed, not Little Red Riding Hood.

We are dealing with something like Yertle the Turtle. There are people that are very powerful. There are corporations that are very greedy.

AT&T has been around a long time. They have made billions of dollars. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 would enable AT&T to make more money. MCI can make more money. Tremendous amounts of additional profit will accrue to these corporations as a result of the Telecommunications Act of 1996. But they want more. They want more. They are like Yertle the Turtle.

I think I remember Yertle the Turtle correctly. I read it to my kids a long time. I have a grandson, and I have got to get ready with all of these stories and get familiar with them. Green Eggs and Ham is my favorite, but Yertle the Turtle also was a favorite Dr. Seuss story.

If you recall, Yertle is not the hero. Yertle the Turtle is not the hero. Yertle is the villain. Yertle is the turtle who wanted to be the tallest turtle in the world. He wanted to be higher than everybody else. He kept forcing other turtles to get under him so he could get higher and higher and higher. Yertle was not the hero.

There was a little turtle on the bottom of him named Mac.

□ 1915

And Mack said, I'm tired of bearing all the weight of all these turtles on top of me. So Mack decided to squeeze out of the line, and the whole pile of turtles came tumbling down.

Kids of America do not have to take this bullying by AT&T or MCI or the chairmen of the powerful congressional committees. Kids of America can rebel. They can fight back. Kids of America should stay awake, listen, they should talk to their parents. They need to know more about the E-Rate. They need to know more about the attempt of the Grinch to steal the E-Rate from the kids of America.