

was a failure. If we can build on that, we will have another very successful program, and, I will say, for not a lot of money.

Ms. DELAURO. I would just say that, you know, when we talk about reduced class size, again like modernization is not bricks and mortar, lower class size says the following: I am a teacher, I can give more individual attention to each of the youngsters I have in a classroom. Better learning, better standards, more accountability. And you know what else? More discipline in the classroom. Parents today want to make sure that their youngsters are in schools that are safe, in a learning environment with a teacher who has time to devote attention to them.

And you are absolutely right about we have a very successful model on which to base this program, and it is one that universally school officials and administrators and parents and teachers are clamoring for.

I think it is important to note, because we are going to be out of time in a few minutes here, that our colleagues will talk about their accomplishments in education, but I do not think that we ought to be fooled by their commentary.

Child literacy program, America Reads, zero funding. Summer jobs, zero funding. Out of school youth, zero funding. School modernization, zero funding. Class size reduction, zero. New teachers, zero. Shortchanging Head Start programs, Goals 2000. When they talk about taking the money, Dollars to the Classroom, that eliminates Goals 2000, the Eisenhower training program that trains our teachers, several other critical programs that provide for basic skills for our young people.

We have an obligation. We serve here because the people who we represent trust us, and they trust us with their children.

Let us take the remaining days of this session and do something to improve public education in this country. We can do it. There is support for doing it. We need to do it. That is what we should be about.

I yield to either of my colleagues for any final comments.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Well, I have a comment. When our colleague, Mr. PALLONE, talked about small one-room school houses, those schools were homogeneous. Everybody in that class looked the same, came from the same kind of background and environment. Now we are talking about classrooms with as many as 17 different languages in one classroom. Tell me that these young children do not need one-on-one attention from their instructor.

Mr. PALLONE. If the gentlewoman will yield, I would just say that again, one of the things that really has been bothering me about this Republican Congress is that, you know, they will pay lip service to education, but they wasted so much time trying to take money away from public education by

instituting voucher programs that basically take public dollars and give it to private schools, and we had to go on for weeks and months fighting those proposals. If they had just not wasted that time, we would not be in the situation we are in today.

You know some of our colleagues have said, well, you know, it is time to go home, we got to get out of here quickly. They wasted so much time trying to attack the public school system. We heard talk again about abolishing the Department of Education. You know, again, how can we have any kind of standards or have any kind of supervision of what goes on out there if we do not have a Department of Education?

So, you know, I honestly believe that in many ways what the Republican leadership has been trying to do here is to basically break down or even destroy in some ways public education. I mean, if they are going to spend all their time and say we are going to take these dollars from public education and give it to private schools, we are never going to get to the initiatives that we are talking about.

That is why I get very annoyed when I hear them say, well, we care about education because we know that their whole history for the last 2 years and even for the 4 years that they have been in the majority is to try to break down the system and not allow dollars to go to public education.

Ms. DELAURO. The one thing they want to do is to return education to the limited few and the rich instead of using education as that great equalizer that allowed us our success to be able to come here.

MOST OF OUR PROBLEMS CAME FROM WHEN THE DEMOCRATS CONTROLLED THE CONGRESS

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

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from Arizona, sitting in the chair, for his endurance on a Sunday afternoon in listening to what has just gone on.

I listened to the discussion all this day, and I find it rather fascinating. The shrillness of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle I think reflects their sense of denial. Most of what they have said is that they are trying to continue the policies so that they can continue to support their philosophy of government that has failed. We have tried their way for well over 50 years, and most of the problems that they describe, the problems with our public school system, with our government, with health care, most of that came from when they controlled this Congress.

□ 1730

They have controlled most of the local governments, the state govern-

ments, this Congress, for the last 30 to 40 years, and the result are the problems that they have described.

The problem is that their solutions are more of the same, more money, more big government. "We know better." You heard just 15 minutes ago, the gentleman from New Jersey, talking about the fact that "I know what my local school boards need more than they do." Well, he ought to run for the school board, because that is where the decisions ought to be made, not here on this floor and not by the President of the United States.

For my colleagues and others, let me try to kind of put in perspective where we are today. I find it fascinating that the President of the United States showed up for the first time to talk to his budget people the day before the targeted date of adjournment, last Thursday. That is the first time that I have heard or read about that the President has met with his budget people about the spending and appropriations bills that we are trying to pass. That is the first time I have heard that this President has been engaged this year on anything that is going on in the Congress of the United States.

The day of adjournment, on Friday, the President announces that he is not going to accept the work of this House or the Senate unless he gets his education package. That is the first time since his State of the Union message that I have heard that he has been engaged in the process.

This President has been totally disengaged this whole year. In fact, I can contend that this year is nothing more than a reflection of what we have been going through for the last four years. This President's normal method of operation is he does not get engaged at all until the end, and then he comes in and demands more spending and bigger government and more programs. And, because he is President, he could shut down the government like he did in 1995. We have to deal with this President to get him to sign the legislation. Yet during the whole process, he is not engaged.

The American people need to really understand what is going on here. The President himself today in a meeting with Democrat leadership, I find it very strange, he has not this entire year, in fact I think if we go back two years, has not called on the Republicans, the majority leadership, to meet with him at all. But today he meets with the Democrat leadership, and he announces that he has been engaged in this educational program all along. All he could cite was he talked about it in his State of the Union message and he sent it up in his budget.

I defy anyone to bring to me one bill written that was initiated by this President this year. One bill. Just show me the bill. Show me the bill. This President has not initiated one thing.

Now, he has taken credit for the economy, but I also challenge you to show me one thing he has initiated in

this Congress and followed through on and got passed that was good for the economy. I deny anyone. The only thing I could think of was that he wanted Fast Track authority, negotiating authority for Fast Track. A little less than a year ago we tried to pass that. He could only deliver 32 of his Democrats to vote for fast track. I found out, because I am the Whip and working the votes, that many Democrats that wanted to vote for fast track did not trust this President, so they voted against it.

But this year he has not lifted a finger for education, not a finger for education, yet on the targeted adjournment date, Friday, he stands up and says, "I want my education bill," and he makes veiled inferences that he will shut down the government unless he gets what he wants.

This is the same President that has not even met with his cabinet but twice this year. He has only met with his cabinet twice in this whole year. The first time he met with them was to explain to them that he had no sexual relations, and the second time he met with them was to apologize to them for having sexual relations. That is the only time he has met with his cabinet. Now, during these meetings he did not meet on the world economic problems with Secretary Rubin. In the cabinet meeting he did not talk with the Secretary of Education.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HAYWORTH). The Chair would remind the gentleman that he should not refer to personal charges against the President.

Mr. DELAY. I apologize, Mr. Speaker. In cabinet meetings also he did not discuss his foreign policy, his failed foreign policy with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. He has only met with his cabinet twice this year.

Now, he has been out on the campaign trail. He has been to 97 fund-raisers this year. He has been away from his office attending to other things rather than work 152 days out of the 280 days so far in this year. This President is not engaged in what is going on.

I want to talk a little bit about what he is holding us up about.

Mr. Speaker, I will talk about that in a minute. I am also going to try to put this in a little more perspective. Being in leadership, we have had to deal with this administration at the end of every year on these same things that we have always done, and it is just fascinating to watch.

I remember in 1995 when the President of the United States vetoed the continuing resolution and shut down the government. The government shut down for a few days. I will never forget, I think it was November 19, anyway, it was a Sunday night, an agreement was made with this President to reopen the government, and the agreement was that he would work with us to balance the budget, to save Medicare from bankruptcy and some other issues.

Within 15 minutes after opening the government, the President and his staff walked out, held a press conference, and reneged, reneged, on everything in that agreement.

Now, we have had to deal with that for the last 4 years. In fact, just this weekend they sent staff over here to make an agreement on drug policy, and there has been a lot of work by the chief deputy whip, Dennis Hastert, and others in this House, to put together a very comprehensive antidrug policy, but the administration or the staff of the administration has fought us every step of the way.

So they have been negotiating over last week, and finally came to some sort of an agreement. Of course, the President sent staff to make the agreement. And then after they had an agreement, the staff went back to the White House, we were informed that the staff that was negotiating with the majority leadership could not negotiate for the White House, and, therefore, reneged on the agreement.

Well, how in the world are we going to do business when you have a President of the United States that you cannot trust his word to hold an agreement for longer than an hour? That is what we are going through right now.

The other thing too, some of the sticky points with this administration is this President is fighting to the death for foreign aid to North Korea. That gives me an opportunity to talk about this administration's foreign policy.

It is amazing to me that some people in this House commend the President for being such a great and effective President, but when you analyze his foreign policy, it is a complete disaster.

He wants more foreign aid for North Korea. Now, this is the President that was concerned, as we all were, with North Korea building nuclear weapons and threatening that part of the world. So he went and made an agreement with North Korea to stop doing that, and if they would do that, then what we would do would be we would give them more foreign aid and we would build them electric power plants.

Well, we have been giving them foreign aid. We find out that most of that foreign aid has gone to the military, not to the people of North Korea, and we are building their reactors for electricity, but the North Koreans are continuing with their building of nuclear weapons, and just this last summer shot a missile over the top of Japan.

You look at the President's policies in Iraq. Now, the President of the United States sent aircraft carriers in January and February to stand up to Saddam Hussein. He told the American people he was going to be tough on Saddam Hussein. Yet this summer we find out that he has surrendered to Saddam Hussein.

The President of the United States moved his trip from November to June to China, from November to June, and

he goes to China and kow-tows with the communist leaders of China. He is accepted in Tiananmen Square where freedom fighters were gunned down, and he honored the troops that gunned down the freedom fighters in Tiananmen Square. And as he was leaving China, by the way, the trip costs about \$50 million, while he was leaving China, he undermined the democracy on Taiwan and has never since then stood up and tried to support the democracy on Taiwan.

In the Middle East, they now are having photo ops with Arafat and Netanyahu in the last few days and weeks, and they are about to have a summit on Israel. Well, he has not lifted a finger to enforce the Oslo Accords and make Arafat comply with the agreements. That is where the problem is.

Now, all of a sudden, we find out we are going to pull everybody together, have a few more photo ops, but undermine what the people of Israel are trying to do. In fact, the President's own wife back in May said it might be a pretty good idea to have a Palestinian state in Israel, which would completely explode that part of the world. Yet the President of the United States has not emphatically stood up and said no, we will continue with our policy of opposing a unilateral move to create a Palestinian state in Israel.

I could go on and on. Russia was a complete fiasco. Nothing came out of Russia. This President, who wants to be treated different than any other American in this country and undermine the rule of law, went to Russia and demanded that they institute the rule of law. He was laughed at by the world because of that.

So part of the hangup and the reason we are here on Sunday afternoon negotiating with staff, not with the President, negotiating with staff, is that the President is holding us up. He could have come to us weeks ago and told us exactly what he needed and we could have been negotiating and probably would have met our targeted adjournment date.

Another hangup is he wants us, us being the American people, to take our hard-earned taxpayer money and give it to the International Monetary Fund, a failed agency, an agency that has undermined the economies of Russia and Indonesia, now is trying to undermine the economies of Brazil, a failed agency, they want to continue their failed programs by funding the IMF, and they do not want any reforms. They want the American people to give up their hard-earned taxpayer money and give it to the International Monetary Fund with no reforms so they can make secret loans at below market rates to failing economies of countries that ought to be moving towards a free market system, and what they want to do is prop up the kinds of political systems that have failed, and that is part of the problem of the economy in the world.

The other thing too that really grates on me a little bit, when we are trying to get our work done, you have the President sending out his attack dogs. Again, you know, we saw these attack dogs for eight months out defending this President, trying to destroy their enemies and misleading the American people for eight months. Now they are back out. I saw one on CNN late edition this morning, Paul Begala. And the misleading statements that Mr. Begala made were unbelievable. He said that we did not need a vote of inquiry in this House. He obviously does not know how the House operates. In order to proceed with impeachment proceedings you absolutely have to have a vote of inquiry to give the committee the right to proceed.

He said that Ken Starr was undermining the process by sending a letter right before we voted on the inquiry inferring that there would be more referrals coming from Ken Starr and just berated Ken Starr and tried to once again destroy the Independent Counsel because of this letter.

That letter was in answer to a bipartisan request coming from HENRY HYDE, the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, and the ranking member JOHN CONYERS, asking Ken Starr if there might be some referrals.

□ 1745

Maybe this is a good time to talk about the 100,000 police officers that the gentleman from New Jersey was saying was such a successful program, because Paul Begala said that they had hired 100,000 police officers.

Mr. Speaker, that is not true. It has been about 4 or 5 years now that the program, another failed program passed by the Democrat Congress, was signed by the Democrat president, creating 100,000 police officers. The person, Ken Avery, we checked with, who is spokesman for the COPS program in the Justice Department, says that the vast majority of our jurisdictions have plans in place to retain officers beyond the lines of their grant.

This is a requirement of the grant program, that they agree, upon acceptance of the grant, and what that means is if they accept this money, it is only money for 3 years. Then the money is shut off and they have to keep that police officer on the payroll. In other words, they need to raise taxes locally, and that is the Federal Government causing local governments to raise taxes for a Federal program.

Avery himself says that the COPS program has only placed around 58,000. In 4 years, they have placed 58,000 cops, of this great 100,000 cop program on the streets of more than 10,000 cities and towns.

It is absolutely amazing to me that Members can stand here in this well and praise a program that not only has failed, because they do not, most of the police or law enforcement agencies around the country do not want the Federal Government, with their big

sticky hands, in their business, and they think it is a poorly-designed program in the first place, and they do not want any part of it. Now the President is holding up the entire process of this Congress in order to put 100,000 teachers in.

Do Members really believe a program designed by this president would actually put 100,000 teachers in the classroom? They could not, over 4 years, put 100,000 cops on the street. This whole notion of these little things in this education proposal by the President, that these will change the educational system and save our schools.

It was brought up by my good friend, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SANDLIN) much earlier in the day, he was talking about the outlandish problems that he is seeing in East Texas about the school system. I need to remind the gentleman that part of the problem with the public schools in my great State of Texas is because the Democrats ruined them. I was there in 1984, and I will never forget it, I was in the State legislature, in the Texas House, when the Democrat Governor, Mark White, petitioned Ross Perot to design education reform in Texas.

Take what I am about to say and extrapolate it to the Federal Government. Before Mark White and Ross Perot ruined education in Texas, Texas's local school districts controlled the education of their children. Texas, thank goodness, had set up funding for local schools way back when Texas was a Republic, and continued it when it became a State, so we had good, honest funds coming to our local school districts. But the school districts were in control of their local schools.

What did the Democrat, Mark White, do? He took away local control and centralized it in Austin, Texas. He created the Texas Education Board. All decisions are made in Austin, Texas, for all the local school boards. The local school boards now are nothing more than administrators for State mandates.

I submit that my friends on the other side of the aisle and the President of United States want to do the same thing. They constantly are trying to take away local control. They are trying to take away decisions made by parents, elected school boards, and teachers, and put them right here in Washington. They do it systematically, one little program after another over the years.

I say to my good friend, the gentleman from Texas, they not only took away local control and put it in Austin, Texas, but in order so that they could not get to that board, they laid in another layer of bureaucracy called the Regional Educational Centers, so that local control, the local school districts had to go through one layer of bureaucracy before they could ever get to the State Board of Education.

I just think that we have a very sad situation going on outside this Cham-

ber. I think what the basic problem here is that we have two very different philosophies of government.

I think the best example of their philosophy is in the school system right here in Washington, D.C. They have piled money on the school system of Washington, D.C. so high that it has collapsed under the weight. The school system here is bankrupt in ideas, bankrupt in substance. The children here, a little over 50 percent of them do not even finish high school. The teenage pregnancy rate is at an all-time high.

If we talk about not being able to fix buildings, they have more money than any other school district in America, and they have crumbling schools in Washington, in our national capital. Why? Because the bureaucrats have the money, that is why. The teachers do not have the money. The students do not have the money. The bureaucrats have the money. They believe it is the government's money. I believe it is the American family's money.

They have created a government so big that over 50 percent of the income of American families goes to government. If we add up State, local, and Federal taxes and the cost of regulations, 50 cents out of every hard-earned dollar that the American family makes today goes to the government.

Would it not be incredible if we could do what we want to do and get a president to sign our bills to shrink the size of government, eliminate wasteful Washington programs, eliminate some wasteful Washington bureaucrats; not create more, eliminate them, so that the American family could have more money in their pocket, so that if they want better schools to be built, they will have the money to pay the taxes in their local school districts, empowered by them, to raise the taxes to pay for the schools that they need?

No, we are going to keep the government growing bigger and bigger. We are going to keep it growing, and get more and more bureaucrats. We are going to get more and more of the Federal Government sticking their sticky fingers into our school districts, because that is what the President of the United States demands. But it is not their money.

It boggles my mind all the time. It is the same pocket that all the money comes from, the American family's pocket. That is where this money comes from. But why would we take the money out of the families in Sugarland, Texas, send it up to Bill Clinton, so that he can send it back to Sugarland, Texas, to hire more teachers and build more schools? It does not make sense. And it fails, because it is a failed philosophy. It is a failed notion.

We are trying to, to the best of our ability, trying to stop this president and we cannot, because he is president. If we are going to do the people's business, we have to negotiate with this president.

I hope he stays home tomorrow. He is going on another one of those fundraising trips. I challenge the President to stay here and work on these issues. He is going down to Palm Beach, Florida, to have another fundraiser and pina colada with Greg Norman. Then after that he is going to New York City, and he is going to raise some more money in New York City for a person, by the way, the gentleman from New York (Mr. CHARLES SCHUMER) who happens to be on the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Speaker, I hope the President stays here. We are going to stay here. Many of my colleagues have said we are trying to get out of town and we are trying to rush this, and we want the President to give us what we want so we can get out of town and go home and campaign.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. We know what we are about. We know what we are locked into. We will stay here all the way through the election. I will say it again, we will stay here gladly all the way through the election to get the people's business done.

It is amazing to me that people are complaining about a Congress that is not getting its work done, that we are the do-nothing Congress. They are partially right, we are the do-nothing-that-the-liberals-like Congress. We are in the majority, and we do not buy into the minority's philosophy. All their bills that they want us to pass, we are not going to pass them, because we do not believe in their philosophy.

The majority of this House does not believe in paying trial lawyers for health care. That is their Patient Bill of Rights. The President has not written a patient's bill of rights. We have not seen a bill from the President, but that is their Patient Bill of Rights. We have not seen a bill from the President on his education policies, but they say they have one.

Mr. Speaker, what we are here to do is what the American people have sent us to do. I get a little weary of people speaking for the American people. The American people believe this, the American people believe that, the American people whispered in my ear this afternoon and told me this.

I watch the American people, and the American people have rejected their philosophy. It is not by some poll, it is not by someone whispering in my ear, it is by election. The American people have rejected their philosophy all across this country.

The Republican Party has gained over 500 State legislative seats since Bill Clinton has been president. It has gained 14 governorships. We now have 75 percent of the American people living under a Republican Governor. We have taken the United States Senate, we have taken the United States House for the first time in 40 years, and held onto it for the first time, back-to-back Republican Houses, in 68 years. We have even had over 370 Democrats

switch to the Republican Party all across this Nation. That is the real American people speaking.

Mr. Speaker, Members can say whatever they want to on this floor about who is at fault, back and forth, but we have tried it their way. We have tried it Bill Clinton's way.

Let me just finish with this. It is amazing to me that the President of the United States would hold up spending that amounts to about \$1.7 trillion over his little, small education program. The American people ought to think about that just a minute, because we know what this is about.

This is another sham. This is another attempt to mislead the American people. This is another rhetorical outtake to try to win the election in November and take back the House, or give the President some sort of credibility and legitimacy. The American people have not bought it in the last 2 elections, and they are not going to buy it in this election.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DELAY. I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, the distinguished majority whip, for yielding to me. Mr. Speaker, as I have had the honor and privilege of serving in this House, I am struck by what our colleague, the gentleman from Texas, tells us tonight, because we have seen example after example, sadly, of this President and this administration saying one thing and then doing another.

In fact, I think about the historic budget agreement that was reached last year by this allegedly do-nothing Congress to balance the budget for the first time in a generation, to set up budget caps, ceilings that were to remain inviolate.

Now, as my colleague, the gentleman from Texas, points out, in the last nanosecond of the 11th hour, perhaps based on focus groups and extensive polling, suddenly, education becomes the watchword; sadly, not in an effort to improve education, which we believe is too important to be left up to Washington bureaucrats, but because of the endless posturing and preening and electioneering that continues, regardless of the dates on the calendar, but now has grown more frenetic and frantic, given the constitutional questions that confront us, and also our constitutional heritage of an election that approaches the first Tuesday following the first Monday in November. It is very insightful.

Mr. DELAY. I would just remind the gentleman it did not take the President 6 months to break this agreement. In his budget, and the only thing he has actually submitted to Congress was his budget, in his budget he broke the caps, he expanded government, he raised taxes, and created an incredible tax increase.

What is worse, as the President, who is claiming to be the education presi-

dent, in his own budget he cut the IDEA program. That is the program that has been discussed earlier, the mandate from the Federal Government on local schools to provide education for our disabled students through special education programs.

□ 1800

Yet they promised they would provide 40 percent of that expense for IDEA. In the President's own budget, he cut IDEA.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, indeed, as I stand here from this unique vantage point in the House, I note that just behind the gentleman is a rostrum. On an annual basis, we invite the President of the United States here to offer a State of the Union message.

I remember this year the President's insistence when he said, about moving from the politics of deficit to the policies of surplus, not one penny out of the surplus unless it goes to save Social Security. Save Social Security first.

Yet, almost within the twinkling of an eye, there was the administration petitioning the Congress for close to \$3 billion for spending in Bosnia. How profound. How prophetic the words of the columnist from the Arkansas Democrat Gazette, Paul Greenberg, who instructed all of us years ago, Mr. Speaker, in the case of President Clinton, listen not so much to what he says, instead, watch what he does.

And it has been trying, challenging, and ultimately tragic that we are beset by a chief executive who so often, in so many different circumstances, says one thing and then does another.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I want to follow up on that just a moment, saying one thing and doing another. The President evidently wants to become the education President in the last week of the 105th Congress.

He said on the day that was designated as the targeted adjournment day, the day that he started this effort, on the day that we had targeted to adjourn, "Members of Congress should not go home until they pass a budget that will strengthen our public schools for the 21st century."

The President, what he does, his record is, he has vetoed a D.C. scholarship bill to provide 2,000 of this capital's poorest children a chance to escape one of the worst school districts in this Nation. I described this school district earlier.

He vetoed the education savings accounts this year to provide middle income families with tax relief for elementary and secondary education expenses. He vetoed a back to basics common sense literacy program. He vetoed lowering costs for school construction bonds. He vetoed incentives for teacher testing and merit pay.

He vetoed safe schools, a safe school antigun provision. He vetoed a tax relief for employer provided education assistance and qualified State tuition

programs. He vetoed seven pro-education bills.

He was so sinister in paying homage to the National Education Association that he would take away 2,000 scholarships from the poorest of the poor in the Nation's capital and give those scholarships to the parents of those poor children so that they could take those kids and put them in a school and hopefully get them an education.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DELAY. I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, since this White House is so poll driven, that is the one time this administration ignored the polling in this Federal capital district.

In the District of Columbia, where over 70 percent, well nigh close to 80 percent of parents, when given the choice, said, yes, we want to have an option and educational scholarships for our children. That should come as no surprise, Mr. Speaker.

Imagine the dilemma of parents whose heads hit the pillow every night knowing that they are sending their children into unsafe, unproductive schools, where their safety is threatened, where sadly they are not learning.

Yet, to have that wiped away in a show of allegiance to factions and groups who insist they want to improve education but instead seem to want to expand the educational bureaucracy is yet another reason why we find ourselves in this dilemma of the factually challenged White House and a factually challenged President.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the comments of the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. HAYWORTH).

Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to yield to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. SOUDER).

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank our majority whip. He has been a leader in pointing out a lot of the inconsistencies and problems of this administration as well as being a strong voice for conservative principles. It is an honor to be associated with the gentleman in this special order.

I think the gentleman has made the basic point here that, and I wanted to elaborate on it and get into it a little bit in detail, because I chose when I got elected to Congress in 1994 to pick to go onto the Committee on Education and the Workforce and to choose that as my first choice, not something that many Republicans do.

Because I wanted to come in and do battle. My background, besides being in the private sector business, I had been a staffer for 10 years for first Congressman and then Senator COATS and was Republican staff director with the Children, Youth, and Families Committee in the House for 4 years, and then worked as legislative director and deputy chief of staff for Senator COATS in the Senate where, predominantly, I worked with a lot of the difficult social issues.

I do not think there is anybody that is going to deny the importance of education or how we need to deal with education. We may have some differences of local, State, and Federal, and we even have differences within our party, and the other party has differences.

We are not really going to question, I do not believe, that the President is committed to education. I was over at the White House for the higher ed markup the other day, and I think he is very committed to certain parts of that education.

But we do have a fundamental question of what is happening right now and why we are here this weekend. The President was up here for the State of the Union address. We saw what is coming now. He said, we are going to use all the surplus for Social Security. Then, for about 15 or 20 pages, for about 45 minutes went on with spending program after spending program that would have bankrupted this government for the next 10 years.

Just in child care alone, he had, I am forgetting, it was like \$20 billion. It was a phenomenal kind of the twofer approach that we are starting to see now.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I think it is called the Clinton pivot.

Mr. SOUDER. Yes. Mr. Speaker, he is moving so fast, it is hard to tell when it is an actual pivot.

Mr. Speaker, then what happened this year, he sent down a series of proposals, as he does regularly, to try to nationalize education. Because his philosophy of education is that, unless he does something, nothing is happening in education, unless it comes out of the President. When he was governor, it had to come out of the governor. But now that he is President, it has to come out of the President.

As they propose these different things, the Democrats did not even pick them up. We heard very little about it in the Committee on Education and the Workforce; occasionally a whine here or there, occasionally a whine on the floor. But basically his policies just lay in state almost.

We went through several major pieces of legislation, the higher education bill, where we worked and wound up with a bipartisan bill that has many important parts to it that was signed last week. We just completed and passed through a bill to reauthorize Head Start, community services block grant, and other things.

We have been working for 4 years trying to get compromises on vocational education and job training legislation. We did Dollars to the Classroom through here. We have been moving education bills, as has been pointed out today numerous times, 25 different bills in this 2-year term.

We have been moving education bills, and the President basically signs them. In fact, the day after he blasted us for not having an education policy, he invited us over to the White House to sign the higher ed bill.

Then yesterday, he blasted us on education. Probably in the next day or two, we will have a signing of the Head Start bill. There is a disconnect here of what is going on. The gentleman very well prepared, I think, the general public for what is going on here.

In the last couple of days, he has refound these education bills. There can only really be two explanations. One is that he realized, contrary to all the grandstanding that we hear, because the process that we hear is, just give us a clean appropriations bill and put nothing on it, and that the Republicans, I heard this on some news broadcast yesterday, again the Republicans want to put additional things on the spending bills.

Why would we want to do that? Maybe because he vetoes everything else that has substantive reform. The only way to do it is to put it on an appropriations bill. But he is doing the same thing. He wants to put unauthorized, which is basically not allowed by House rules, new programs on appropriations bills.

Whatever he is saying about Republicans on pro-life principles and other things, he is doing on education principles. That is point one.

Point two is, as I have pointed out several times today, this looks very much like the "Wag The Dog" movie. I personally do not believe that the movie was very realistic. I do not believe a President of the United States, including in the terrorism incident, would put American lives at stake just for his own political gain.

But I do believe a President would put something like this to try to make us look like we are the bad guys in Congress. I mean, with all due respect to our majority whip, and I do not mean this personal to him because he is a strong conservative, but some of us believe we have already negotiated too much away in this budget, that sometimes our negotiators, probably when they were growing up on Halloween, when they went to the door and said trick or treat, they gave the people the candy rather than the people giving them the candy.

We seem more than willing to surrender in these appropriations bills, yet the President still does not want to deal. Why does he not want to deal? Maybe because today's Washington Post and other papers have "Are the Republicans Going to Shut Down the Government" on the front page, instead of whether or not what problems he has with impeachment, with Monica Lewinsky, with Chinese contributors, and so on.

If I can take one more minute before we engage. One of the issues is national testing, that national testing is something that neither his base likes; teachers do not like it. The blacks and Hispanics are worried they are going to discriminate against them.

Conservatives do not like it because, if you have a national test, potentially every home school or every Christian

school, everybody who has concerns about a national test could all of a sudden have a standard that they cannot get into college, they cannot get Federal employment, they cannot get into the military. It could become the standard around the country. We do not know what are going to be in these national tests.

The President every year wants to fight over this national testing.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, the national tests, therefore, leads to involvement of the Federal Government in designing curriculum. The gentleman just before us, in the special order before us, was talking about, we do not want to get into the curriculum. Yet, the national testing is the back doorway of the Federal Government designing curriculum for our local schools.

Mr. SOUDER. Absolutely. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DELAY. Certainly, I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Speaker, how could you have a national test? Every teacher with a right mind and every principal would say teach to the test. That means, to teach to the test, they have to have courses that have the subject matter that is in the test. It is not even logical. I mean, anybody with basically about a first grade or a Head Start or preschool education ought to be able to figure that is curriculum.

But I wanted to give a couple reasons this afternoon why the President should actually oppose national testing to see if we can move him in the direction. Because this is the report card for President Clinton the first semester.

If the subject is math, he clearly would get a D minus because he misses basic arithmetic. For example, he sent over ag. appropriations that were less than what he vetoed the other day. I mean, wait a second here. Let us look at the math. This is like blaming us for school lunches when his bill was actually less than we funded in school lunches but then said we tried to cut it.

His math does not work. He can't be for a balanced budget and say our tax cuts are taking away from the surplus. But he can propose surplus. His math is D minus, is a little generous.

In history, we have an incomplete, because, clearly, he is following the Nixon parallel well. He has read up on Nixon. He has got all the things, yell at the special prosecutor, stonewall them, all that down. But he does not understand other parts of history too well. So we gave him an incomplete there.

In citizenship, he gets an F. He fails to grasp the basic concept of a respect for the legal process. The perjury, what you tell your staff to do, that is a clear F.

Health. He fails there with an F. He fails to master the dangers of illegal drugs. In fact, just the other day, apparently we thought we had an agreement on the two drug bills. Senator LOTT now says that, since General McCaffrey agreed with this, the Presi-

dent apparently said General McCaffrey did not speak for this administration, and they want to go through the drug bill piece by piece.

He continues the lack of I did not inhale, all that kind of thing. Plus he relies on lawyers instead of doctors. Basic health, he thinks the way that we get health care reform in this country is to put it in the hands of the lawyers.

In foreign languages, we did give him an A. He interacts well with the Chinese unable to speak English. He has clearly done really well in a lot of the fund-raising from overseas. Nonnationals contributed to his campaign. So he gets a good A in foreign languages.

We should have given him an A in English, too, because he really is precise. He tries to sort out exactly what "is" means. He tries to go through the preciseness of the English language to make sure that he is avoiding saying anything he did not mean.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, in fact, he is very good. He is trying to rewrite the dictionary.

Mr. SOUDER. Yes. Mr. Speaker, that is a good point.

In science, we gave him a D. He misimplies census statistics. Clearly he does not know how to count and what the Constitution means regarding counting and what math means there. Sampling is one thing, but when we come down to actually getting a count, sampling does not really work.

Furthermore, he fails on missile defense. Clearly, Moscow is 80 percent protected. We do not have anything protected. He does not understand some basic science there. We could also throw in environmental science in here where he has no real understanding of the fundamentals of the environmental science.

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In government, he would get a D. He lacks knowledge of the role of Congress. He was elected, he keeps reminding people he was elected President. We were elected to control the House and the Senate. At some point here, somebody has got to make a deal. We are all adults. We get upset that we cannot see pro basketball right now. We say, why cannot adults, knowing they have the differences, sit down. It is not like there are any surprises. It is not like they have not been talking and warning each other for two years. Unless one side has a posturing point here, we ought to be able to sit down and do that. Economics, we give him a C minus. He does not understand tax incentive very well. He does understand what a balanced budget is but, then he wants to spend the surplus. He signed the agreement. Gave him a C minus there.

Mr. DELAY. I might also add, you cannot spend the surplus on tax cuts for the American family, but it is okay to spend the surplus for all his government programs.

Mr. SOUDER. He clearly does not deserve more than a C minus.

Mr. DELAY. You are being magnanimous.

Mr. SOUDER. I try to be generous to the President when possible. In physical education he got an A. He is an excellent golfer and a jogger. No comment beyond that.

In attendance, we have had an attendance problem. We have a serious attendance problem. He spent 153 days this year traveling, 32 for vacation, 57 for fund-raisers and other extraneous events. He has only held two cabinet meetings so clearly we have a focus and attention problem. Just out of the kindness of my heart, we did not put a conduct rating up. In fact, the question is what exactly would you write in a conduct. It would be very hard if you were his teacher to give him a conduct rating.

But given all this, you would think that this would persuade him that he should be against national testing, because with a national test he himself would not be able to pass.

Mr. DELAY. I appreciate the gentleman and his comments. I think he puts it so succinctly and directly that the American people can understand what is really going on here.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Again, Mr. Speaker, there is another aspect to this ongoing saga that we would be remiss if we did not point out. Because as my colleague from Indiana just briefly touched on, there seems to be a tendency in this town for members of the fourth estate, that is to say, the press, to view things with a prism that always and forever supplies a benefit of the doubt to the executive branch and to the administration.

You mentioned that in terms of the alleged government shutdown that may be formulated at this time.

I think it is also important, again, to review the itinerary that we understand the President will follow tomorrow. Tomorrow the President will not be involved in negotiations to end this stalemate. The President will instead first go to Palm Beach, Florida and then follow up that trip with a trip tomorrow night to New York City to fund raise for his political party and for candidates including in New York City a gentleman who serves in this House, who also serves on the Committee on the Judiciary and who entertains ambitions of moving across this Capitol into the other body.

Now, again, I should point out that we certainly know why Washington fancies itself a sophisticated place, sometimes sophisticatedly cynical. But even with the collective mindset of journalists and the punditocracy in Washington, D.C., certainly, Mr. Speaker, we can detect some conflict of interest. Indeed, my colleague from Indiana, in his other position in oversight on the yet another committee, we understand that given campaign finance difficulties of the minority party in this Chamber, apparently in excess of \$1 million, some \$1.7 million has yet to be refunded that the minority party

in this Chamber claimed they would do given the status of those contributions and the apparent illegalities involved. Does the gentleman from Indiana have a comment on that?

Mr. SOUDER. Yes. Hopefully later today we will be talking further about that. In fact, this is interesting, the board that I chose to put the national testing on is one I had earlier of 94 witnesses who have fled the country or pled the fifth.

The problem is that you have to change this part up here a lot. It is now 116 or 118 people. We know that a number of these witnesses, they have had to refund the money, but others are still pending. If they would talk to us, we probably would have a lot more money that has been illegal. As Chairman HOEKSTRA'S oversight investigation of the Teamsters, he sees the same money laundering pattern there. As these things move up, you start to see the same names pop up in different places. They have some real problems. They would like to make this whole discussion of what Congress has been focusing on just about the legal questions or about personal affairs of the President or people in the White House, but the truth is that it is a lot more complicated. It would be nice if some people helped come forward to clean up the process that this government has sunk into.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I thank the gentleman for his comments. Again, I am somewhat amazed and chagrined that now over 100 people, almost 120 people have either taken the fifth amendment or fled the country with regard to this investigation. It only compounds the difficulty that sadly we see in this city within this government, within the executive branch.

As I was looking at the report card offered the President by my colleague from Indiana, Mr. Speaker, I thought about my own children, their educational experience and the fact that our youngest, John Micah, not to be confused with the gentleman in the chair from Florida tonight, but John Micah with an "h" at the end of his middle name, is fond of a new endeavor at school, being a year out of kindergarten and being 4½, something called connect the dots. And it is a metaphor for what is transpiring within the executive branch of this government, to the point where we have moved past connecting the dots in some areas of conduct and, to mix metaphors, we have moved from that endeavor of connecting the dots to Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tale of the emperor's new clothes or the lack thereof.

It is amazing, again, to see the willingness of people to turn away, to actually try, through the punditocracy to distract us, to suggest that constitutional procedures should not be followed, that it really would be better to try and find an unconstitutional or extra constitutional third way that is just as devoid of reality as any fanciful tale you could find in children's literature.

Mr. DELAY. The gentleman is right. I think he has expounded on his premise of where he quoted Paul Greenberg, do not watch what the President says, watch what he does. The gentleman from Indiana, as he says, is on the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

My question is, who is in charge? We do not know who to deal with anymore. We have been here all weekend. We are going into more negotiations tomorrow, and who knows how long we will be here. And again, I tell my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, we will stay here until we get it done. But this whole notion of who is in charge and what he says and how he backs up what he says, we have already talked about the fact that having 100,000 teachers being paid for by the Federal Government would be as successful as the 100,000 cops that they have not funded yet. There are only 58,000 that have actually been put on the streets because nobody, most people do not want to participate.

The gentleman is on the Education Committee. I seem to remember that along with that, the President wants to improve the technology, put computers in every classroom, those kinds of things. In fact, I think his quote was, the budget should also bring cutting edge technology to the classroom, the library.

Does not the Department of Education have a trust fund and they have had a trust fund to bring technology to the classroom and it has been in place for over 2 years. And not one dime has been spent on improving technology in the classroom. So they have this bunch of money sitting out there. That was not good enough.

The President of the United States got the phone companies to raise taxes on phone calls, we call it the Gore tax on long distance, to help fund this effort, and that was not even part of the agreement, when the bill was actually passed a couple of years ago. Another almost shutdown where the President demanded new programs and things like that. But there is money there. There is a trust fund set up, and they cannot even spend it. So they propose a program for rhetorical reasons. They get what they want by negotiating out the final outcome of spending, yet when they are given it, they cannot even implement it. They are so incompetent they cannot even implement those programs.

Mr. SOUDER. I think it is important for those who may not be real C-SPAN junkies who may be watching today, you did not say the President is trying to provide Gortex to people. It is a Gore tax. The vice president has proposed a tax on all American consumers to pay for one of their pet programs. A lot of times when we say it real fast, it sounds like Gortex.

I think you have hit the fundamental point. There is a difference. In my heart of hearts, I believe that the President and the First Lady have a

sincere commitment to education. I believe, however, they want to nationalize it. Furthermore, the way they do that is they poll test. I had the unusual experience, when I was working with Senator COATS for 2 years, to work with Dick Morris, who is a very brilliant pollster, but he tests different things to see, and these things get the highest response, even down to the words with the little things on your arm where you try to see which words get the response.

My daughter is an elementary ed and her secondary emphasis in education is preschool education. And as I mentioned, I am on the committee. I also am more of a neoconservative than a particular libertarian. We may have some differences on this, but there is a framework for the Federal Government within to work. That is, if certain school districts, say, in inner city Chicago or New York do not get covered or do not have the property tax base and they do not get covered at their State, we have developed programs at the Federal level, chapter 1, TRIO accounts and so on, to say for the very poor there is a Federal role. We also, because a lot of States and local governments ignore the handicap, have developed a program called IDEA. We developed Head Start. It is not that the Federal Government is not in education.

Quite frankly, almost everybody in this body votes for those particular programs every year. The question is that that was a very particular need. These, I believe, as you stated, are poll driven. Even when the money is there, they do not use it. There is no reason that every school district has to surrender their sovereignty on computers and that type of thing, that there can be, there are plenty of targeted funds that can be better used.

We did far better for this country by balancing the budget, getting interest rates down, getting taxes down in local communities and giving families more money to work with so they can try to make the decisions at the local schools. If we are going to fund Federal programs, it takes a lot of gall for the President of the United States to propose new programs when he has not funded the programs for the handicapped children in this country. If he is going to spend money, he ought to give it to those who are hurting and where we have a consensus, not come up with new gimmicks.

Mr. DELAY. I appreciate the gentlemen from Arizona and Indiana participating in this special order. The insight was very valuable.

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MANAGED CARE REFORM AND OTHER TOPICS

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