

Principals, the National Association of State Directors of Special Education, the National Science Teachers Association, the American Federation of Teachers, and the National Education Association. The Republicans claim that they are letting the members of these organizations make the decisions. If that is true, why are they all opposed to it?

There is nothing we do as Members of Congress that is more important than safeguarding the future of our children. We should be working to improve education, but this bill is not the way to go about it. We should be helping our local school districts with the modernization or construction of schools. We should be passing legislation to allow our local districts to hire more teachers so we can have small classes. We should be helping our local communities fund after school learning programs. We should be giving our local schools the ability to ensure that all students are computer literate and all classrooms are connected to the Internet by the year 2001.

Mr. Chairman, I challenge this body to consider and pass real education reform. Vote on this sham of a reform.

Mr. PAUL. Madam Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to express my reservations about H.R. 3248, the Dollars to the Classroom Act. I take a back seat to no one in my opposition to Federal control of education. Unlike some of this bill's most vocal supporters, I have consistently voted against all appropriations for the Department of Education. In fact, when I was serving in the House in 1979, I opposed the creation of the Education Department. I applaud the work Mr. Pitts and others have done to force Congress to debate the best means of returning power over education to the states, local communities and primarily parents. However, although H.R. 3248 takes a step toward shrinking the Federal bureaucracy by repealing several education programs, its long-term effect will likely be to strengthen the Federal Government's control over education by increasing Federal spending. Therefore, Congress should reject this bill.

If H.R. 3248 did not increase Federal expenditures, my support would be unenthusiastic at best as the system of block grants established by this bill continue the unconstitutional practice of taking money from taxpayers and redistributing it to other states. The Federal Government lacks constitutional authority to carry out this type of redistribution between states and taxpayers, regardless of whether the monies are redistributed through Federal programs or through grants. There is no "block grant exception" to the principles of federalism embodied in the United States Constitution.

The requirement that the states certify that 95% of Federal monies are spent "in the classroom," (a term not defined in the act) and report to the Congress how they are using those monies to improve student performance imposes an unacceptable level of Federal management on the states. States are sovereign entities, not administrative units of the Federal Government, and should not have to account to the Federal Government for their management of educational programs.

For all its flaws, the original version of H.R. 3248 at least restored some measure of state control of education because it placed no restrictions on a state's use of funds. It was, thus, a pure block grant. However, this bill does not even give states that level of discre-

tion as H.R. 3248 has been amended to restrict the uses to which a state can apply its block grants.

Under the revised version of H.R. 3248, states can only spend their block grant money on one or more of the programs supposedly repealed by the Federal Government! In fact, this bill is merely one more example of "mandate federalism" where states are given flexibility to determine how best to fulfill goals set by Congress. Granting states the authority to select a particular form of federal management of education may be an improvement over the current system, but it is hardly a restoration of state and local control over education!

The federal government's power to treat state governments as their administrative subordinates stems from an abuse of Congress' taxing-and-spending power. Submitting to federal control is the only way state and local officials can recapture any part of the monies the federal government has illegitimately taken from a state's citizens. Of course, this is also the only way state officials can tax citizens of other states to support their education programs. It is the rare official who can afford not to bow to federal dictates in exchange for federal funding!

As long as the federal government controls education dollars, states and local schools will obey federal mandates; the core problem is not that federal monies are given with the inevitable strings attached, the real problem is the existence of federal taxation and funding.

Since federal spending is the root of federal control, by increasing federal spending this bill lays the groundwork for future Congresses to fasten more and more mandates on the states. Because state and even local officials, not federal bureaucrats, will be carrying out these mandates, this system could complete the transformation of the state governments into mere agents of the federal government.

Madam Chairman, those who doubt the likelihood of the above scenario should remember that the Education Committee could not even pass the initial block grant without "giving in" to the temptation to limit state autonomy in the use of education funds because "Congress cannot trust the states to do the right thing!" Given that this Congress cannot pass a clean block grant, who can doubt that some future Congress will decide that the States need federal "leadership" to ensure they use their block grants in the correct manner, or that states should be forced to use at least a certain percentage of their block grant funds on a few "vital" programs.

I would also ask those of my colleagues who claim that block grant will lead to future reductions in expenditures how likely is this will occur when Congress had to increase expenditures in order to originally implement the block grant programs?

Furthermore, by increasing the flow of federal money to state and local educators, rather than directly increasing parental control over education through education tax credits and tax cuts, the effect will be to make state and local officials even less responsive to parents. I wish to remind my colleagues that many state and local education officials support the same programs as the federal educators. The officials responsible for the genital exams of junior high school girls in Pennsylvania should not be rewarded with more federal taxpayers' dollars to spend as they wish.

It will be claimed that this bill does not increase spending, it merely funds education

spending at the current level by adding an adjustment to inflation to the monies appropriated for education programs in Fiscal Year 1999. However, predicting the rate of inflation is a tricky business. If, as is very likely, inflation is less than the amount dictated by this bill, the result will be an increase in education spending in real dollar terms. Still, that is beside the point, any spending increase, whether real or nominal, ought to be opposed. CBO reports that H.R. 3248 provides "additional authorization of '9.5B.'"

Madam Chairman, while I applaud the attempt by the drafters of this bill to attempt to reduce the federal education bureaucracy, the fact is the Dollars to the Classroom Act represents the latest attempt of this Congress to avoid addressing philosophical and constitutional questions of the role of the Federal and State Governments by means of adjustments in management in the name of devolution. Devolution is said to be a return to state's rights since it decentralized the management of federal program; this is a new 1990's definition of the original concept of federalism and is a poor substitute for the original, constitutional definition of federalism.

Rather than shifting responsibility for the management of federal funds, Congress should defund all unconstitutional programs and dramatically cut taxes imposed upon the American people, thus enabling American families to devote more of their resources to education. I have introduced a bill, the Family Education Freedom Act (H.R. 1816) to provide parents with a \$3,000 per child tax credit for education expenses. This bill directly empowers parents, not bureaucrats or state officials, to control education and is the most important education reform idea introduced in this Congress.

In conclusion, the Dollars to the Classroom Act may repeal some unconstitutional education programs but it continues the federal government's equally unconstitutional taking of funds from the America people for the purpose of returning them in the form of monies for education only if a state obeys federal mandates. While this may be closer to the constitutional systems, it also lays the groundwork for future federal power grabs by increasing federal spending. Rather than continue to increase spending while pretending to restore federalism, Congress should take action to restore parents to the rightful place as the "bosses" of America's education system.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Chairman, Plutarch once wrote that the very spring and root of honesty and virtue lie in good education. The proposed "Dollars to the Classroom Act" would rent this spring and root from the fertile soils of our school systems and would leave only a desolate land of ignorance.

This measure attempts to tear the elementary and secondary education system apart in an effort to make political gains rather than substantive policy improvements for children and education.

H.R. 3248 would eliminate 31 existing elementary and secondary programs—including Eisenhower Professional Development, School-To-Work, Goals 2000, Comprehensive School Reform, Magnet Schools Assistance, Technology for Education, 21st Century Community Learning Centers, and Civic Education programs, among others, with no assurance that any of the funding for these programs would stay in the education arena. It seems