

when the time comes, to support full funding for IDEA.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to express my opposition to H. Res. 399, the resolution calling for full-funding of the Individuals with Disabilities Act (IDEA). My opposition to this act should in no way be interpreted as opposition to increased spending on education. However, the way to accomplish this worthy goal is to allow parents greater control over education resources by cutting taxes, thus allowing parents to devote more of their resources to educating their children in such a manner as they see fit. Massive tax cuts for the American family, not increased spending on federal programs, should be this Congress' top priority.

The drafters of this bill claim that increasing federal spending on IDEA will allow local school districts to spend more money on other educational priorities. However, because an increase in federal funding will come from the same taxpayers who currently fund the IDEA mandate at the state and local level, increasing federal IDEA funding will not necessarily result in a net increase of education funds available for other programs. In fact, the only way to combine full federal funding of IDEA with an increase in expenditures on other programs by state and localities is through massive tax increases at the federal, state, and/or local level.

Rather than increasing federal spending, Congress should focus on returning control over education to the American people by enacting the Family Education Freedom Act (H.R. 1816), which provides parents with a \$3,000 per child tax credit to pay for K-12 education expenses. Passage of this act would especially benefit parents whose children have learning disabilities as those parents have the greatest need to devote a large portion of their income toward their child's education.

The Family Education Freedom Act will allow parents to develop an individualized education plan that will meet the needs of their own child. Each child is a unique person and we must seriously consider whether disabled children's special needs can be best met by parents, working with local educators, free from interference from Washington or federal educators. After all, an increase in expenditures cannot make a Washington bureaucrat know or love a child as much as that child's parent.

It is time for Congress to restore control over education to the American people. The only way to accomplish this goal is to defund education programs that allow federal bureaucrats to control America's schools. Therefore, I call on my colleagues to reject H. Res. 399 and instead join my efforts to pass the Family Education Freedom Act. If Congress gets Washington off the backs and out of the pocketbooks of parents, American children will be better off.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 399, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

The title of the resolution was amended so as to read:

Resolution urging the Congress and the President to work to fully fund the Federal Government's responsibility under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SENSE OF THE HOUSE THAT SOCIAL PROMOTION IN AMERICA'S SCHOOLS SHOULD BE ENDED

Mr. RIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 401) expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that social promotion in America's schools should be ended and can be ended through the use of high-quality, proven programs and practices, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 401

Whereas high student achievement and academic advancement are vitally important to our Nation's schools and the future success of America's workforce;

Whereas some pupils proceed through school without having mastered the knowledge and skills required of them, and graduate from high school ill-equipped to handle college-level work or obtain an entry-level job;

Whereas "social promotion", the practice of moving pupils from one grade to the next regardless of whether they have the knowledge and skills necessary for the next level, is one reason for a pupil's inadequate academic achievement levels;

Whereas research has shown that retention, the customary alternative policy to social promotion, is also an inadequate response to the problem in that pupils are usually presented with the same instructional practices and materials that were ineffective the first time around;

Whereas to help underachieving students learn, it is essential that policies and programs address the underlying causes of failure and rectify the problems through various proven instruction practices;

Whereas high-quality teacher training and education, and other proven practices will provide our teachers with the tools necessary to educate our Nation's children and work toward high academic achievement by students;

Whereas social promotion policies already have been abolished in Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, West Virginia, and in Chicago, Illinois, Portsmouth, Virginia, Long Beach, California, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and

Whereas the abolishment of social promotion policies have been proposed in California, Michigan, Wisconsin, Delaware, Texas, Oklahoma, New York, Washington, D.C., and in Boston, Massachusetts, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Now, therefore, be it Resolved,

That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that—

(1) ending social promotion should be addressed in America through a coordinated effort by government officials, teachers, and parents committed to high academic achievement of students;

(2) State Education Agencies and local educational agencies that receive Federal funds should make every effort to address and end social promotion;

(3) the problems associated with social promotion can be resolved effectively through a commitment to provide high-quality train-

ing and education for our teachers, and the use of other proven practices; and

(4) States should adopt high, rigorous standards and standards-based assessments aimed at requiring academic accountability with the specific aim of ending social promotion and raising student achievement.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from California (Mr. RIGGS) and the gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. RIGGS).

Mr. RIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, obviously I rise to support the resolution and urge my colleagues, our colleagues, to approve this sense of Congress resolution that social promotions in our schools should end.

The very first thing I want to do, because I may interject a few more partisan remarks a little bit later or remarks more aligned with the Republican philosophy on education, is salute and thank my very good friend, the ranking member of the committee that I am very privileged and honored to chair, the gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ) for his leadership on this issue. I want the record to show that it was Congressman MARTINEZ's leadership in this area that resulted in this legislation reaching the House floor today. He initially approached me and suggested that we direct our attention in the subcommittee on the problem of social promotions, and I think as every Member of this body knows, particularly any Member that has attended a State of the Union address, the two recent State of the Union addresses by the President, or for that matter reviewed a transcript of his addresses, they would know that the President has spoken, and I think very sincerely, of the problem of social promotion in American education today in this very Chamber.

So I am pleased to join the gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ) and by extension President Clinton and others who share this concern in supporting this resolution.

The act of promoting a child from grade to grade or for that matter even allowing a child to graduate from junior high school or high school regardless of his or her readiness; that is to say, regardless of what that child has learned and what they can demonstrate they know, is a very real problem in American education today, and as I mentioned, the President has spoken of this phenomenon, and many of us who also hold positions of elected responsibility have spoken of our concern that children are too often promoted from grade to grade or even graduated as much on the basis of what we might call good behavior and seat time as on the basis of what they know and can demonstrate that they have learned.

The gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ) and I believe that promotions should be based on both the academic performance and the relative individual development readiness of

the child. Government officials, teachers, parents, all of us who for that matter are committed to high academic achievement and who believe that we ought to have high expectations and standards of teachers and parents and children alike, all of us want to join in this effort really beginning today to end social promotion through a coordinated effort, and this resolution, Congressman MARTINEZ's or the Martinez-Riggs bipartisan resolution expresses that policy.

Now we know that we have roughly 52 million children in elementary, American children obviously, in elementary and secondary schools in this country, 46 million of the 52 million attending some 87,000 public schools, and I hope this resolution reaches everyone of those children and everyone of those schools. This resolution lists the communities and the States around the country where social promotion has already been abolished or is proposed to be abolished. Those States and communities which have already abolished social promotion include Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, West Virginia, Chicago, Illinois, Portsmouth, Virginia, Long Beach, California, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Those States and those communities are to be commended because they have taken on this problem of social promotion, and they are tackling it head on with tough standards and expectations, and part of that expectation is that every child can succeed in elementary and secondary school. In fact I will go so far, and this is somewhat anathema for a Republican, but I salute the large national teachers' unions for also speaking about this problem of social promotion.

There are many other States and communities where social promotion has been proposed to be abolished altogether, and those States and communities include California, my home State, Michigan, Wisconsin, Delaware, Texas, Oklahoma, New York, here in the District of Columbia, Boston, Massachusetts and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. These communities, these States, serve as a model for the rest of the Nation to follow.

House Resolution 401 also calls on State educational agencies and local educational agencies that receive Federal funding, Federal taxpayer funding, for educational purposes to make every effort to address and end social promotion. All children should be given the strongest possible foundation, academic foundation, in school upon which to build their future until they can develop to their fullest potential as citizens of the greatest Nation on earth and as children of God, and I compliment the gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ) for focusing attention on this issue, and I urge support of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, first I want to thank the chairman, the gentleman from California (Mr. RIGGS) of the Subcommittee on Children, Youth and Families for his willingness, and, no, I should not say willingness, eagerness to join me in this effort. I also want to thank him for the expeditious way he moved this bill through the committee and then on through the full committee.

□ 1645

As he has said, social promotion in our Nation's schools is a destructive force that undermines our children's academic achievement, and therefore, the future of our Nation's economy and overall well-being.

H. Res. 401 sends a strong message, one that is much needed, that the Congress expects all of our children to meet high academic standards.

Social promotion, as many of us know, is a process of promoting children from one grade to the next without meeting the necessary academic standards. This means children are moved from grade to grade without the skills or knowledge to succeed. Lacking a strong educational foundation, the children of our communities and our country will be ill-served in their quest for future employment.

Unfortunately, for many years, educators discouraged holding children back due to the fear that it would harm them. However, compelling a student to repeat a grade and then using the same instructional techniques which previously failed does little to foster learning. In order to truly combat the plight of social promotion in this country, we need to invest in our educational system and our children. We need to believe that all children can and will academically succeed.

Government officials, teachers and parents must work together in a commitment to the high academic achievement of our students. States and local school districts should adopt high-quality academic standards and hold students to those standards. Resources must be focused on giving teachers the tools to educate our children through the high-quality professional development of themselves, and the utilization of summer school, after school, and other proven educational practices.

This resolution seeks to send that message that without the commitment to high standards and the proper investment in our educational system, social promotion will continue to harm the success of our Nation and its people. The important message of this resolution is evidenced by the bipartisan support it has received, particularly from the chairman of the Committee on Education and the Workforce, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING), and the chairman of the Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Youth and Families, the gentleman from California (Mr. RIGGS).

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. RIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Now that we have struck that note of bipartisan cooperation and agreement, I just want to interject for the RECORD, and here I think is the clear, and I believe collegial difference between the Democratic Members of the House of Representatives and the Republican Members; while we agree on the problem, the problem being social promotion, we disagree on the solution to the problem.

Many of us, if not most of us on the Republican side of the aisle, feel that the solution inherently involves infusing the education system today with more competition, giving parents more choice, and that is that the best way, if not the only way, to ensure bootstrap improvement in our schools and ensure that schools are ultimately more accountable to the consumers of education: parents and guardians. At the risk of belaboring this point, since we have discussed it many times informally and in committee and certainly on this House floor, it is good to see the Delegate from the District here, since she is a passionate opponent of vouchers or parental choice in education and is sincere in her views.

I just want to refer my colleagues to a letter that I saw published in the Washington Post over the weekend, a publication I do not often quote on the House floor, because I think it is the single best writing on parental choice in education that I have ever seen. It is from a lady by the name of Marilyn Lundy of St. Clair Shores, Michigan, and she wrote in response to an article that the Post had published earlier on parental choice in the District of Columbia, this idea of vouchers, or scholarships, as prefer to call them, for low-income families. That article was entitled, "Poll Finds Backing for D.C. School Vouchers; Blacks Support Backing More Than Whites."

In the article Ms. Lundy says, one person responding to the poll, a Howard University professor, is quoted as saying, and this is a quote within a quote, because I am not quoting Ms. Lundy, I am quoting this Howard University professor and poll respondent, as saying, "The Founding Fathers, Jefferson, Washington and Adams, considered public education to be the key to success to the democratic Republic."

Vouchers cannot help but weaken public education. I think that boils down to its very essence, the argument that voucher opponents from President Clinton on down, within the Democratic party, repeatedly make.

Now, Ms. Lundy goes on to say, "Sorry, sir, but those gentlemen would not have known public education as we know it today, and would be horrified at its present condition. Education in the colonies, and at the time of the Founding Fathers, was the province of private and community endeavors and

financing." My colleagues heard me right, "Private and community endeavors and financing, and was often transmitted by ministers, who were generally the most educated in the community.

"Since most of the early colonists were Protestants, for whom salvation was dependent on private interpretation of the Bible, literacy was of great importance and the Bible was an integral part of the school, reflecting the religious affirmation of the people."

Ms. Lundy goes on to write, "Not until the 1820s and 1830s, and Horace Mann, was their general movement toward publicly financed community schools, which were called 'common schools,' not public schools, but still these common schools were voluntarily and predominantly Protestant oriented. Mandatory attendance did not enter the picture until many decades later.

"Yes, public education is a key factor in a democratic," small D, "republic, but not necessarily as implemented through government-operated schools only, which seems to be the mantra of those opposing vouchers. The idea that the State makes education mandatory, taxes all to pay for it, but then forces children into government-operated schools as a condition for receiving their just benefits is more a tenet of socialism/totalitarianism than democracy. In fact, the United States is the only free Nation that denies taxpayer-funded assistance to children in nongovernmental schools.

"In a Nation that professes freedom of speech and religion and equal protection of the laws, it would seem that choice, competition and equal educational opportunity are essential ingredients to universal public education. In other words, fund the education of the child according to the constitutional rights of the parents, rather than fund a government system into which children whose families cannot afford otherwise are forced.

"It is this virtual monopoly that has weakened public education. The choice, competition and direct accountability to parents created by vouchers are what is needed to revitalize public education, and I thank Ms. Lundy for putting it so well." At this time I would include this article for the RECORD.

THE EDUCATION MONOPOLY

In Sari Horwitz's news story "Poll Finds Backing for D.C. School Vouchers; Blacks Support Backing More Than Whites," [Metro, May 23], one poll respondent, a Howard University professor, is quoted as saying: "The Founding Fathers, Jefferson, Washington and Adams, considered public education to be the key to success to the Democratic republic. Vouchers cannot help but weaken public education."

Sorry, sir, but those gentlemen would not have known public education as we know it today—and would be horrified at its present condition. Education in the colonies, and at the time of the Founding Fathers, was the province of private and community endeavors and financing, and often was transmitted by ministers, who were generally the most educated in the community.

Since most of the early colonists were Protestants, for whom salvation was dependent on private interpretation of the Bible, literacy was of great importance and the Bible was an integral part of the school, reflecting the religious affirmation of the people.

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Yes, public education is a key factor in a democratic republic, but not necessarily as implemented through government-operated schools only, which seems to be the mantra of those opposing vouchers. The idea that the state makes education mandatory, taxes all to pay for it but then forces children into government-operated schools as a condition for receiving their just benefits is more a tenet of socialism/totalitarianism than democracy. In fact, the United States is the only free nation that denies assistance to children in nongovernment schools.

In a nation that professes freedom of speech and religion and equal protection of the laws, it would seem that choice, competition and equal opportunity are essential ingredients to universal public education. In other words, fund the education of the child according to the constitutional rights of the parents, rather than fund a government system into which children whose families cannot afford otherwise are forced.

It is this virtual monopoly that has weakened public education. The choice, competition and direct accountability to parents created by vouchers are what is needed to revitalize public education.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume to refer to something that my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. RIGGS), said that the Democrats and Republicans have a different philosophy on a particular issue: vouchers.

It may be that in the simple question of vouchers themselves, there may be a big difference, but I am not sure that as far as choice is concerned, we are all that far apart. I am sure that not all Democrats are against choice, but we have to understand what choice is. In fact, there is choice now. In fact, I had that choice.

I sent my children to parochial school to begin their first years, K through 6, and they got to choose whether they wanted to go on to parochial school in the upper grades or not. One did, and 4 did not. They went to public schools and the one went to parochial schools. So I had that choice. I had the choice to send my kids to the kind of school they wanted. That choice exists today. In fact, now in many school districts one can choose to send one's child to another district simply because one believes that district is a better school district and one can get a waiver from the school district to send them there.

So the one main concern that maybe the Democrats do have is to make sure that every child in this country has a full and meaningful education, and the

only way we can do that is to make sure that the public school system has the resources that it needs to do that. Other than that, if we were able to guarantee that every public school child had the resources to get a full and meaningful education, I would not care where they sent their kids or where everybody sent their kids, but the main thing is that the public school system is the major source of our education in this country and it has to be protected before we can consider other choices that are available.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON).

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California for yielding me this time. I thank him also for his leadership in proffering this most valuable resolution. I also thank the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from California (Mr. RIGGS), for the bipartisan spirit in which he has joined this resolution.

Before I speak directly to it, I do want to note for the RECORD that the majority seldom comes forward to endorse another public entitlement, and here the majority appears to endorse a public entitlement to choice for education. I think it is a precedent that should be noted for the RECORD. If only the majority would support entitlements such as the one that was on the floor just ahead of this one, that 40 percent of funds for children in special education be paid for by this body, I would be prepared then to look more seriously at the public entitlement to go to private schools that is here offered this afternoon.

Mr. Speaker, I do want to commend the gentleman for his support of charter schools. We know that vouchers are on their way to the Supreme Court, one State court having already found them unconstitutional. I wish to offer what amounts to a subset of this resolution for a truce, until the Supreme Court tells us whether vouchers are constitutional or not, because neither the gentleman from California (Mr. RIGGS), nor I, nor any Member of this body, will have the last word on that. The last word on that serious church-State question lies with the court. So if we are serious about providing education for children in the meantime, we will look for opportunities such as that offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ), for true bipartisan work to help children where they are now, such as the resolution that was offered before this one, and this resolution now.

May I also note for the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, that I endorse choice in the very way that the gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ), has shown how choice works in a society which separates church from State. Instead of entanglement of church and State, something that has kept us free from religious warfare for 200 years, essentially it says, choices are available to us all, but as with everything else in a

market economy, the Federal Government will not pay for all choices, and one choice we choose not to pay for is religious education, in no small part because that entangles the State with the church and would force the church to abide by rules and regulations that no church in this society could possibly accept, because there is no free money that comes from the Congress. Every bit of money that comes from us comes with strings attached, and this Member will never attach strings to money that goes to churches or to religious institutions.

I am proud to associate myself with the work of the Washington Scholarship Fund which, instead of coming with hands out to this body, came into the District of Columbia and said, how many children are there who want to go to private schools? We will raise the money to go to private schools.

I went to the graduation sponsored by the Washington Scholarship Fund and spoke at that graduation at their invitation. Last year I went to St. Augustine Catholic School with the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. GINGRICH), the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and spoke to those eighth grade children who were on scholarship, courtesy of the Washington Scholarship Fund, and on this floor today I want to thank the Washington Scholarship Fund for each and every scholarship they have raised with private money to send our children to religious schools all across the District of Columbia. I wish them well, as they now set up the Children's Scholarship Fund to do the same in cities all across the United States of America. I have sent a letter to them so that they could use it in their publications endorsing their extraordinary work.

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Meanwhile, there is much that we can agree upon here today, as the gentleman from California (Mr. RIGGS) and I agree on charter schools. I salute him for his extraordinary leadership there and as, of course, this bipartisan resolution offers us the opportunity to do.

The Martinez resolution to end social promotion speaks to one of the most important issues facing both U.S. education and the U.S. workforce today. I applaud the gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ) and come to bear witness to his resolution in the Summer Stars program which is to be implemented in the District of Columbia beginning June 30.

Mr. Speaker, this program makes the District one of the first and one of the few districts in the United States to abolish social promotion. Children are socially promoted throughout the country in part to avoid incurring dropout rates that occur when students are left behind and to avoid placing older and younger children together in the same class.

The reason social promotion is so widely used, however, is that systems are unwilling to do the hard work asso-

ciated with replacing social promotion. The District's public schools have just done that hard work establishing an academic enrichment program in math and reading to replace social promotion.

Although students who score below basic in reading and math must attend the Summer Stars program, it is not just an old-fashioned program for failing students that stigmatizes children. It is offered not only to students who must or should attend; students who score proficient or advanced may also attend.

Mr. Speaker, 7,000 students signed up for Summer Stars in the District before the scores were out. The student-teacher ratio will be 15 to one. Homework is required, and three absences drops the student from the program. Breakfast and lunch are provided. Private funds have been secured for after-school enrichment activities that mix recreation and education.

Test results reported last week already show significant improvement in virtually all grades before the Summer Stars program even begins. Further progress from this rigorous and skillfully developed program almost surely will follow. The collective hats of this House should be off to Arlene Ackerman whose leadership as superintendent is responsible for this progress.

If the District keeps this up, Congress will soon not have the D.C. public schools to kick around anymore. I know that this is the desire of this House. The D.C. public schools are not only proud to be leading the way in abolishing social promotion; we are especially proud of the Summer Stars program that we are putting in its place.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. MILLER).

(Mr. MILLER of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ) for yielding me this time, and I commend the gentleman for this resolution and the chair of our committee and the ranking member for bringing it both to the committee and to the floor of the House.

Mr. Speaker, this is an important resolution and it addresses a very important and yet complex problem facing our school systems and our families and their children. Too often parents are told in the school system that their children are doing just fine. Students are told that they are doing just fine. And then they are passed from grade to grade.

But later, many of the students find out that despite their good grades, despite their report cards and their diplomas, that they have not achieved even the basic skill levels in math reading and other academic core subjects. I have learned this from talking to stu-

dents and teachers, observing school districts, and watching how education is applied in the district which I represent.

Mr. Speaker, every Monday morning during the school year I teach a high school class. At the end of that year we have a discussion with those students about their education. Almost all of them are disappointed in their education. Almost all of them believe they could have done more work and better work and almost all of them will say that it really was not asked of them.

Some of them are quite angry that they are not equipped to go out into the world. Some of them are quite angry that the school did not care enough to really find out how they were doing as opposed to passing them on.

I think as the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) just pointed out in the well of the House, this is an important process of ending social promotion, but ending it with the alternatives.

Too often of social promotion it is said: We do this for the student and for the family so that the kids are not stigmatized, are not held back, and do not have to miss class. However, very often it is done so the school district does not have to be held accountable for what is being done in that school district. They can gloss over the problems of individual children and gloss over the problems of groups of children and give them passing grades and move them along. They do not have to confront the difficult issues about the quality of their teachers, about the quality of their textbooks, about the quality of their curriculum, about the condition of their school buildings. They can simply herd the children along and get them out of the schools.

Cities like Chicago, Milwaukee, and States like Texas have had notable success in strengthening the standards and creating more rigorous criteria for the passage from grade to grade. Implementing rigorous standards can be difficult and controversial. The minute we start to tell a parent or start to tell teachers that students may not be socially promoted, all sorts of problems come right to the forefront.

But, Mr. Speaker, the fact of the matter is that these rigorous standards may be implemented. Such changes are initially greeted with trepidation, but they have actually served to energize students and engage teachers and parents around homework, tutoring, summer school and Saturday morning classes.

Last spring, more than 42,000 students in Chicago were told that they would not be able to advance to the next grade until they met the tough standards set by the large district. Students had to attend summer school. The move was not popular, but the early results are starting to suggest in this instance the get-tough policy worked.

Of the 473 elementary schools, 393 had better math scores this year than

last year, and 271 had better reading scores.

The point is this. They just did not stop social promotion; they offered intensive math and reading tutoring and mentoring and help to those students that needed it, and they also said to the students who were yet to cross that threshold, they let them know what the standard would be at end of the year.

Letting students slide in elementary and high school is not only unwise, it is expensive. A report released in March shows that more than half of the freshmen entering the California State University system last fall needed basic remedial help because they were unprepared for college level math. Forty-seven percent could not handle college level English. How many times must we pay for students to learn the same material that they were supposed to learn earlier in their educational experience?

This resolution is important, but we need to step up to the plate and strengthen accountability for Federal education programs. We spend billions of dollars annually on elementary and secondary education primarily through the title I program, but we do not demand the results that we are entitled to, that the students are entitled to, that the taxpayers are entitled to.

Last year's Obey-Porter bill was a good first step. It will move title I programs to use up-to-date and proven instructional programs. But we need to go further to make sure that whatever model is being used, the students are achieving academically at the standards we should expect.

Higher standards must be coupled with adequate resources. This means better teachers, safe and well-equipped classrooms, and computers with access to the technology and the Internet for all of our students.

Here again, the success of today's debate should not be judged by the strength of today's vote but on what we do after today. There is a bit of disconnect in that we all say we are for education and we all say we want better student achievement, but the reality is that this Congress has really fallen short when it comes to taking action.

Mr. Speaker, we will know we are doing a much better job on behalf of our students and their families and a good job when somebody slips \$50 billion in a bill in the middle of the night for school construction and education rather than for the tobacco companies.

We will know we are doing a good job on education when this body struggles to find money for classrooms and teachers with the very same verve with which that they quite appropriately sought funding for roads and bridges.

We will know we are doing a good job on education when we put the same energy into strengthening the accountability that we now waste in conducting partisan and fruitless investigations

This resolution says many good things and sets a very good direction on ending social promotion. But the time has come for Congress to act to demand accountability for the money that we spend and to demand accountability so that America's parents and families will know how their children are doing as they proceed through their educational experience.

Mr. Speaker, again I commend the gentleman from California (Mr. MARTINEZ), ranking member and author of this resolution, and the gentleman from California (Mr. RIGGS), chairman of the subcommittee, for bringing this to the floor.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. Speaker, I urge all Members to support this resolution, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. RIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I will briefly close this debate. Let me just say again that with respect to the gentleman from California (Mr. MILLER), my good friend and California colleague, that calling the Congress which has very legitimate oversight and investigative responsibilities as a legislative branch of government, saying that we are engaged in partisan and fruitless investigations is itself a partisan statement. But I guess that is obvious.

Secondly, I just again want to reemphasize that really the direct accountability to parents through choice and competition is in my mind the way to revitalize public education. But I do agree with my Democratic colleagues that there is no silver bullet or panacea. All we can do is say to State and local education agencies and to the civic leaders in those communities, we really believe social promotion is a problem that has to be balanced with high expectations and high standards for parents and teachers alike and students. We hope, again, that today's resolution is a way of starting that debate.

Lastly, I just want to say very gently to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) that if we did not think that IDEA funding, that is to say funding for children with disabilities and special needs, was a priority, we would not have brought the Bass resolution to the floor immediately preceding House consideration of this particular legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I also want to point out to that the Wisconsin Supreme Court just upheld the constitutionality of the low-income parental choice parental scholarship bill in Milwaukee schools and we are very encouraged about that, and we look forward to the Supreme Court perhaps hearing that case on appeal.

Lastly, I agree with the gentleman. I want to join with the people who are doing what I think is the Lord's work. They are really angels of mercy, philanthropists and other individuals making charitable contributions to these private scholarship pro-

grams underway now in some 50 communities across the country, including the District of Columbia. I extend a hand to the gentlewoman across the so-called partisan aisle to see perhaps if we could work with some of our colleagues to raise even more money for those scholarship programs for low-income families beginning here in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Speaker, since I intend to call for a recorded vote here momentarily, I urge our colleagues to support the Martinez-Riggs bipartisan social promotion resolution.

Mrs. MINK of Hawaii. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express concerns regarding H. Res. 401, which calls for an end to the practice of "Social Promotion" in our education system. We can all agree that promoting a student from grade to grade if they have not made the appropriate academic advances is generally not a good idea. However, simply calling for the end of Social Promotion, without acknowledging the issues related to why our children are not meeting academic requirements, ignores the very heart of this issue.

H. Res. 401 calls for the end of Social Promotion, but it is silent on assuring that children are provided quality education which effectively teaches them what they need to know in order to advance to the next grade. This leaves the impression that the simple act of retaining a child in their current grade solves the problem. This does not address the real problem, which is how to prevent children from failing to meet academic standards and how to help them improve their academic achievement.

We know that students need enriched and accelerated curriculum, effective instruction, timely intervention if they have trouble meeting the appropriate standards, and strong parental involvement to assist them. Yet none of these important factors are mentioned in the Resolution.

H. Res. 401 supports the idea of holding children accountable for their lack of academic progress, but it says nothing about holding our education system accountable for a quality education. Children cannot learn without quality instruction, trained teachers, a safe learning environment, adequate textbooks and other curricular material. The question is who is really failing? Is it our children or is it our system?

While I will not vote against H. Res. 401 today, I believe it misses the boat completely on what this Congress should support in order to prevent students from advancing in our education system without the knowledge and skills appropriate for their grade level.

We should resolve to provide the resources necessary to assure that children are receiving quality education; we should resolve to support early intervention efforts for children who are at risk of "Social Promotion", and we should resolve that every child in America is provided an opportunity to learn what is necessary to progress on to the next grade.

Mr. RIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. RIGGS) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, House Resolution 401, as amended.

The question was taken.
Mr. RIGGS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.
The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 5 of rule I and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. RIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on House Resolution 401.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 5 of rule I, the Chair will now put the question on each motion to suspend the rules on which further proceedings were postponed earlier today in the order in which that motion was entertained.

Votes will be taken in the following order:

Concurring in the Senate amendment to H.R. 1847, by the yeas and nays;

House Resolution 401, by the yeas and nays.

The Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the time for any electronic vote after the first such vote in this series.

TELEMARKETING FRAUD PREVENTION ACT OF 1997

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The pending business is the question of suspending the rules and concurring in the Senate amendment to the bill, H.R. 1847.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. GOODLATTE) that the House suspend the rules and concur in the Senate amendment to the bill, H.R. 1847, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 411, nays 1, not voting 21, as follows:

[Roll No. 232]

YEAS—411

Abercrombie	Bateman	Borski
Ackerman	Becerra	Boswell
Aderholt	Bentsen	Boucher
Allen	Bereuter	
Andrews	Berman	Brady (PA)
Archer	Berry	Brady (TX)
Army	Bilbray	Brown (CA)
Bachus	Bilirakis	Brown (OH)
Baesler	Bishop	Boyd
Baker	Blagojevich	Bunning
Baldacci	Billey	Burr
Barcia	Blumenauer	Burton
Barr	Blunt	Callahan
Barrett (NE)	Boehlert	Calvert
Barrett (WI)	Boehner	Camp
Bartlett	Bonilla	Campbell
Barton	Bonior	Canady
Bas	Bono	Cannon

Capps	Hamilton	Metcalf
Cardin	Hansen	Mica
Carson	Harman	Millender-
Castle	Hastert	McDonald
Chabot	Hastings (WA)	Miller (CA)
Chambliss	Hayworth	Miller (FL)
Chenoweth	Hefley	Minge
Christensen	Hefner	Mink
Clay	Heger	Moakley
Clayton	Hill	Mollohan
Clement	Hilleary	Moran (KS)
Clyburn	Hinchey	Moran (VA)
Coble	Hinojosa	Morella
Coburn	Hobson	Murtha
Collins	Hoekstra	Myrick
Conest	Holden	Nadler
Condit	Hooley	Neal
Conyers	Horn	Nethercutt
Cook	Hostettler	Neumann
Cooksey	Houghton	Ney
Costello	Hoyer	Northup
Cox	Hulshof	Norwood
Coyne	Hunter	Nussle
Cramer	Hutchinson	Oberstar
Crane	Hyde	Obey
Crapo	Istook	Olver
Cummings	Jackson (IL)	Ortiz
Cunningham	Jackson-Lee	Owens
Danner	(TX)	Oxley
Davis (FL)	Jefferson	Packard
Davis (IL)	Jenkins	Pallone
Davis (VA)	John	Pappas
Deal	Johnson (CT)	Parker
DeFazio	Johnson (WI)	Pascrell
DeGette	Johnson, E. B.	Pastor
Delahunt	Johnson, Sam	Paxon
DeLauro	Jones	Payne
DeLay	Kaptur	Pease
Deutsch	Kasich	Pelosi
Diaz-Balart	Kelly	Peterson (MN)
Dickey	Kennedy (RI)	Peterson (PA)
Dicks	Kennedy	Petri
Dingell	Kildee	Pickering
Dixon	Kilpatrick	Pickett
Doggett	Kim	Pitts
Dooley	Kind (WI)	Pombo
Doolittle	King (NY)	Pomeroy
Doyle	Kingston	Porter
Dreier	Kleczka	Portman
Duncan	Klink	Poshard
Dunn	Klug	Price (NC)
Edwards	Knollenberg	Pryce (OH)
Ehlers	Kolbe	Quinn
Ehrlich	Kucinich	Radanovich
Emerson	LaFalce	Rahall
Engel	LaHood	Ramstad
English	Lampson	Rangel
Ensign	Lantos	Redmond
Etheridge	Largent	Regula
Evans	Latham	Reyes
Everett	LaTourrette	Riggs
Ewing	Lazio	Riley
Farr	Leach	Rivers
Fattah	Lee	Rodriguez
Fawell	Levin	Roemer
Fazio	Lewis (KY)	Rogan
Filner	Linder	Rogers
Foley	Lipinski	Rohrabacher
Forbes	Livingston	Ros-Lehtinen
Fossella	LoBiondo	Rothman
Fowler	Lowe	Roukema
Fox	Lucas	Roybal-Allard
Frank (MA)	Luther	Royce
Franks (NJ)	Maloney (CT)	Ryun
Frelinghuysen	Maloney (NY)	Sabo
Frost	Manton	Salmon
Furse	Manzullo	Sanchez
Galleghy	Markey	Sanders
Ganske	Martinez	Sandlin
Gejdenson	Mascara	Sanford
Gekas	Matsui	Sawyer
Gephardt	McCarthy (MO)	Saxton
Gibbons	McCarthy (NY)	Scarborough
Gilchrest	McCollum	Schaefer, Dan
Gillmor	McCrery	Schaffer, Bob
Gilman	McDade	Scott
Goode	McDermott	Sensenbrenner
Goodlatte	McGovern	Serrano
Goodling	McHale	Sessions
Gordon	McHugh	Shadegg
Goss	McInnis	Shaw
Graham	McIntosh	Shays
Granger	McIntyre	Sherman
Green	McKeon	Shimkus
Greenwood	McKinney	Shuster
Gutierrez	Meehan	Sisisky
Gutknecht	Meek (FL)	Skaggs
Hall (OH)	Meeks (NY)	Skeen
Hall (TX)	Menendez	Skelton

Slaughter	Talent	Wamp
Smith (MI)	Tanner	Waters
Smith (NJ)	Tauscher	Watkins
Smith (OR)	Tauzin	Watt (NC)
Smith (TX)	Taylor (MS)	Watts (OK)
Smith, Adam	Taylor (NC)	Waxman
Snowbarger	Thomas	Weldon (FL)
Snyder	Thompson	Weldon (PA)
Solomon	Thornberry	Weller
Souder	Thune	Wexler
Spence	Thurman	Weygand
Spratt	Tierney	White
Stabenow	Torres	Whitfield
Stark	Towns	Wicker
Stearns	Trafciant	Wise
Stenholm	Turner	Wolf
Stokes	Upton	Wynn
Strickland	Velazquez	Yates
Stump	Vento	Young (AK)
Stupak	Visclosky	Young (FL)
Sununu	Walsh	

NAYS—1

Paul

NOT VOTING—21

Ballenger	Hastings (FL)	McNulty
Brown (FL)	Hilliard	Rush
Buyer	Inglis	Schumer
Cubin	Kanjorski	Smith, Linda
Eshoo	Kennedy (MA)	Tiahrt
Ford	Lewis (CA)	Woolsey
Gonzalez	Lewis (GA)	
	Lofgren	

□ 1732

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof), the rules were suspended and the Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). Pursuant to the provisions of clause 5 of rule I, the Chair announces that he will reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the period of time within which a vote by electronic device may be taken on the additional motion to suspend the rules on which the Chair has postponed further proceedings.

SENSE OF THE HOUSE THAT SOCIAL PROMOTION IN AMERICA'S SCHOOLS SHOULD BE ENDED

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The pending business is the question of suspending the rules and agreeing to the resolution, House Resolution 401, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. RIGGS) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the Resolution, House Resolution 401, as amended, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 405, nays 1, not voting 27, as follows:

[Roll No. 233]

YEAS—405

Abercrombie	Allen	Army
Ackerman	Andrews	Bachus
Aderholt	Archer	Baesler