

country making that statement in that ethnic-torn part of the world. And I believe that America can cast that beacon, that sign of hope, that message of racial harmony, all over the world.

How do we plot the route to an interracial society over the next fifty years? Well, there are lots of ways. But on the map of racial progress, education is the name of almost every road. Almost all studies come to one conclusion: education is our best solution and our greatest challenge.

For one thing, the public schools right now have a racial or ethnic composition comparable to what the whole nation will look like in 2020. The school age population is 66 percent white, 15 percent black, 14 percent Hispanic, and 4 percent Asian. The future of diversity in this country will depend heavily on how well the schools work out the issues of full and equal inclusion.

In saying this, I am not shifting the burden onto teachers and school administrators. I am speaking to all of us as parents, to churches, to people, to the whole community. All of us have to pitch in and make our public schools second to none, up to the challenge of educating every child to the limit of his potential.

Which brings me to my last point. Americans need to realize that though we came over here on different ships, we are all in the same boat now. The burden of change should not rest on African-Americans alone. The burden should rest on all of us if we believe our creed.

In that connection, let me commend the City of Rock Hill, the Council, and Mayor Doug Echols, in particular, for sponsoring "No Room for Racism," and for your resolution on the Flag.

No Room for Racism may be mostly dialogue, but I believe it is dialogue that we need I believe that efforts like this can blossom, so that one day, ours is country where all sing America. And I believe it is God's purpose, Dr. King's dream, and our duty to make it just that.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Speaker, I rise today in recognition of Black History Month. I thank my colleagues of the Congressional Black Caucus very much for their leadership on this very special order and tribute to black history and appreciate tremendously these members who have joined me on the floor of the House to acknowledge this very special month.

I am thrilled to stand here on the House floor as an American and as an African-American Member of Congress. In the 211 years of congressional history there have been only 105 African-American Members of Congress. 101 African-Americans have been elected to the House of Representatives, and only 4 have been elected to the Senate. I am boldly able to stand here today, Madam Speaker, because other courageous and brave African-American pioneers stood valiantly before me. During Black History Week, but most importantly throughout the year, I am reminded of the legendary achievements that have paved the way for my colleagues and I.

This year marks the first Black History Month celebration of the 21st Century. Appropriately, the Association for the Study of African American Life and History has labeled "Heritage and Horizon—The African American Legacy and Contributions of the 21st Century" as the theme for this year's celebration. I think you will agree, African-Americans have played an integral part in the development and prosperity of our nation. Tonight, I would like my remarks to reflect the rich legacy of the Afri-

can-American experience, and its relationship to American history.

Seventy-four years ago, a bold and daring scholar had a vision to honor the Legacy of African-Americans. As you know, this legendary scholar, Carter G. Woodson founded what was then called "Black History Week." Now, our nation celebrates the entire month of February as Black History Month. And if I might quote my 14-year-old son Jason Lee, "we should not be regulated even by a month, for African American history is a history of a people and the history of America."

So I would hope that as we take to the floor of the House on the last day of this month, my colleagues will join me in additional days in which we will spend talking about African American history, and I would hope that we would begin to explain to the American people how intimately woven this history is with America. As we recall African-American history, we should not be afraid to say that it is American history, and we should not be afraid to recount it over and over again, not out of hatred or hatefulness, but out of the need to educate and to allow this country to move forward and to build upon the richness of its diversity and to solve some of the very problems that we confront today.

African-American history is rightfully recounting the contributions of great Americans. Americans who dared to change not only their individual community, but also their surrounding nation. As I recall the legacy of African-Americans, I remember the brave and bold leaders of our past. There is no shortage of articulate, influential African-American leaders in our nation's history. These individuals influenced both the African-American community and our society at large in powerful ways as they fought to win freedom, fair treatment, and better lives for all of America. For example, brave men like Nat Turner, Gabriel Prosser, and Denmark Vesey, who organized and led doomed but valiant slave rebellions against brutal slave owners. Abolitionists like Frederick Douglas and Sojourner Truth, who undermined the institution of slavery by speaking, writing, and lobbying against it—at considerable personal risk. And brave individuals like Harriet Tubman, who risked her life and her hard-won freedom to return to slave-holding states to lead other African-Americans north to freedom along the Underground Railroad. And the Civil War, where over 200,000 African-American men fought in the Union Army and Navy—to free their enslaved brethren, and prove that African-Americans too were committed to Democracy and the preservation of America.

And in the early 1900s, African-Americans like Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, and Mary Church Terrell shaped attitudes within the African-American community and won the respect of all Americans across the country. Also, Marcus Garvey led what was labeled the Black Nationalist movement and fought institutional racism in the United States.

In the 1920s, '30s, and '40s, A. Philip Randolph worked to organize African-American workers and end the division of the labor movement along racial lines. He also worked diligently to end discrimination in the military and the government.

And after World War II, African-American leaders like Charles Hamilton Houston, William Henry Hastie, A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., Thurgood Marshall, Martin Luther King, Adam

Clayton Powell, Jr., and Malcolm X made significant marks on American history—in our courts, our schools, our government, our politics, and in foreign affairs. African-American women like Fannie Lou Hamer, Shirley Chisholm, and Barbara Jordan, one of my personal heroes, broke old barriers and won the respect of millions of Americans for integrity, their intelligence, their dedication, and their professional accomplishments.

This recitation of African-American leaders is by no means all-inclusive! In fact, it touches upon only a few of the vast amount of African-American leaders who have shaped this country's history and added to the legacy of African-American accomplishments in America. I mention these names to merely observe the fact that African-Americans have always played an integral part in the history of the United States.

As part of this annual observation of Black History Month, it is vital to remind America that in the face of racism, discrimination, and violence, many African-Americans have changed the very fabric of this nation. I would like to stress that all of America can draw great satisfaction and strength from this history. It is important, because as we embrace this history, it provides not only inspiration for African-Americans, but also all of America on the dawn of the 21st Century.

Madam Speaker, I believe that we must speak about African-American history throughout the year, because there are still many barriers that America has yet to hurdle and face at the dawn of the 21st century. America has not accepted in a collective and collaborative fashion that African American history is a history of America. Issues that impact our communities such as increased funding for nutrition programs, affirmative action, the Voter's Rights Act, reparations for African-Americans, racial profiling, equitable funding for Historically Black College and Universities, equitable training and funds to children for access to the Internet, and a multitude of other critical issues are concerns that Americans must join together and combat. If America embraces African American History as American History, we would go so much further in solving these problems and many other critical problems.

In closing, I strongly feel that all Americans must have a better understanding of each other. Our rich diversity has been (at the same time) the reason for our continued struggles and progress. We must learn each other's history! African-American history must be the kind of history that is living; that is accepted; that is widespread; and that all people can understand. This great nation must embrace this rich history of the past and the present, and use it as a guide for reshaping America's future.

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Madam Speaker, I thank my colleagues for this opportunity to present issues with regard to Black History Month this year. Our theme again was Heritage, Horizons, Accepting the Challenges of the 21st Century.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND LEGISLATIVE AGENDA OF REPUBLICAN CONGRESS REGARDING EDUCATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. EMERSON). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the

gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee for the majority leader.

Mr. GOODLING. Madam Speaker, I rise today to talk about the accomplishments of the Republican Congress with respect to education and to address areas where we believe the administration is simply wrong in the proposals that they put forward for improving education in this country.

The recent budget submission by the President included the same old pattern of creating new programs where Washington is in control and the people who know best at the State and local level are left out of the decision-making process. Before I came to the Congress of the United States, I was a high school principal and then a superintendent of schools, and I was both during the time when the well-intentioned programs of the 1960s, coming from the Federal Government, back to local educators, were supposed to have closed the achievement gap.

It was very obvious that it was not going to happen. So when I came to the Congress, I knew what was wrong, I thought I knew how to fix it, but it was very, very difficult to talk about quality. It was very difficult to talk about giving flexibility to local districts who knew better how to make the changes than we did in Washington. And so for 20 years, not very much changed. Even though in the first 10 years, every Head Start study indicated that it was not doing what we had intended it to do. Instead of being a program to have preschoolers become reading ready and school ready, it turned out to be a poverty jobs program, it turned out to be a baby-sitting program. And it was so obvious because we were talking about quantity, how many children could we cover rather than quality, and every time I would say, "But if you're covering those children with mediocrity, you're not helping them at all."

First let me talk a little bit about what all Americans can agree upon in relationship to a basic education policy. All Americans agree that a high quality education for their children is important. All Americans agree that safe schools, good discipline, high academic standards, parental involvement and responsibility, well-prepared teachers, appropriate school buildings, access to higher education and training and assistance for children with special needs are certainly worthy objectives.

Most Americans agree that decisions on local school policy should be determined locally. Most Americans agree that equitable funding for our schools is ideal. Most Americans agree that the role of the Federal Government is limited but necessary. Now, where do we, the Republican majority, disagree with the administration? The problem begins when we talk about you how do we achieve these goals.

The President believes that the Federal Government should create a new program for every identifiable education problem. So in his State of the

Union address, he said, hire more teachers. This is the Federal Government speaking. Establish Federal accountability measures. End social promotion, provide afterschool and summer school support. Shut down schools that do not perform, require teachers to have majors in the subjects they teach, require local school report cards, offer parents a choice of public schools their children attend. It took him a long time to get to that point. Support more charter schools. Require consistent discipline policies, and provide funds to build or modernize local schools.

Now, we agree with many of the goals that the President has outlined. Where we disagree is that creating a new program every time you think you have an identifiable problem will not solve the problem, particularly if it is coming from Washington, D.C. with a one size fits all for the local school districts. So we agree with many of the goals the President has outlined, but we do disagree with the need to create new programs every year to address these goals.

Why do we disagree? First of all, we have to understand that States and local communities are so far ahead of us when it comes to school reform, way ahead of anything that we can even think about on the Federal level. So States and local communities are already taking action to build new schools, repair old ones, hire new teachers, close schools that do not work, raise standards for teachers, offer public school choice, open charter schools, hold schools accountable for academic progress. We believe that the best way to support local schools and communities is by providing flexibility in how States and local governments use Federal funds, increasing funding for special education and sending more Federal dollars directly to the classroom.

□ 1530

When we became the majority, we set seven key goals, and those seven key goals are reflected in every piece of legislation that we have put forward. Those goals are on this chart.

First of all, hopefully we have everyone now talking about quality instead of quantity; and as I said, it took 20 years to get that message across. The important thing was the quality of the program. It was very obvious in Head Start that you could not hire early childhood people, because there are not many, first of all, who are early-childhood prepared, at \$10,000. But the idea was let us see how many students we can get there, and we will use all the money to get the children there; and we will not worry about the quality of the program. In our last two reauthorizations of Head Start, with help from the Democrats, we have changed that; and we moved the programs toward quality.

Better teaching. I have tried to impress upon the President over and over

again, I do not care what he says about 100,000 new teachers. First of all, there are about 14,000 school districts, there are about 1 million school buildings, so 100,000 does not go very far. But it does not matter whether your pupil-teacher ratio is 30 to 1, 20 to 1, 10 to 1, or this famous figure, and I don't know where they got it, of 18 to 1. That does not matter unless there is a quality teacher in the classroom.

They went through this exercise in California, spent billions of dollars as a matter of fact, and what happened? They reduced the class size in the early grades; and in Los Angeles alone, 33 percent of all the new people they had to hire in order to put somebody in with these new classrooms they just created had no qualifications whatsoever to be teaching.

Local control. If you do not have the local people very much involved, that includes parents, that includes administrator, school boards, I will guarantee you, there is nothing from the Federal level that we will do to reform and improve education on the local level. That has to be done on the local level.

Accountability. Again, when I got two pennies from Washington D.C. as a school administrator, I had to make sure that even though it did not help at all it had to be spent according to the way the Federal Government said it had to be spent. So if I got \$15 for this program and \$1,000 for that program, do not ever commingle one of those programs or you are in real trouble with the Federal Government. Even though combining some of those programs would have produced outstanding programs, you just could not do it.

Accountability. The auditors did not come to see whether as a matter of fact anything good was happening. They came to see where you were spending the dollars. I thought well, gee, we ought to be able to do something about that. But, do you realize, I found for those 20 years the most important thing was the money is going to the right place. It did not matter whether we were accomplishing anything.

So accountability is one of our key goals. If we give you the flexibility in the local level, you have to show us that every child has improved academically. That is what it should be all about.

Dollars to the classroom. Again, every time we create a Federal program, we create a Federal bureaucracy; and then that goes out, and they must create a State bureaucracy; and by the time the money gets down to the local school district, there is not much left. So, of course, we have been saying over and over again that 95 percent of all dollars should get down to that classroom.

Then basic academics. We got carried away with so many fads, it was unbelievable, and got far away from basic academics. Now every piece of legislation that we bring forth to this floor includes the fact that we must return to basic academics.

Parental involvement and responsibility. The first and most important teacher has to be some adult in that child's home, whether it is a mother, a father, an aunt, an uncle. That is where it all begins, and that parent must be the child's first and most important teacher.

So we seek effectiveness; we seek results in all Federal education programs. Federal programs should result in increased student achievement, or they should be eliminated. The whole purpose of Title I, and we have already spent \$120 billion on Title I, the whole purpose of Title I was to close the achievement gap; and every study shows we have made no headway, after \$120 billion and all these years.

Let me then move on to what we have done in the 105th Congress and what we are trying to do in the 106th Congress. Of the many legislative accomplishments that occurred during the 105th Congress, I am proud of several bills that address those seven basic goals. Let me point those out.

First of all, in a bipartisan and bicameral fashion, as a matter of fact, we dealt with the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act, the amendments of 1997. Here again, we were so overly prescriptive that it was very difficult for the local districts to really do the kind of thing that they needed to do to help the children with special needs.

What we basically did as a matter of fact was take most of the other money that they had for all the other students and cause them to have to spend it on a program that we mandated and a program that we said we would send 40 percent of the excess costs, and we sent 6 percent by the time I became chairman. We will be up to about 15 or 16 percent this year. All that other money has to be raised locally and taken from every other program.

First of all, let me indicate what we have done with the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act. In that reauthorization, schools were made safer for all students by improving the procedure for quickly removing dangerous students from the classroom. Parent participation in key decision-making meetings was strengthened. Mediation was offered to resolve disputes. Sometimes millions of dollars were spent on attorney fees with nothing accomplished as far as giving the child a better education.

Costly referrals to special education were cut. Over-identification is a major problem. We will never get to 40 percent if they keep over-identifying special education students. It is a disaster for the child who is over-identified and put into a special education class, many times with a mere reading difficulty that could be handled without becoming a special education student for life. Costly referrals to special education were cut, schools were given more flexibility, and most importantly, education programs for children with disabilities were improved.

The Higher Education Act Amendments of 1998, I am very proud of those. With that enactment, students received the lowest interest rate on student loans in 17 years. The maximum student award under the Pell Grant Program was authorized at the highest level in history. The Work Study Program was expanded to address the literacy needs of the community. The Work Study Program would have been the ideal program without getting into AmeriCorp, which had to turn right around and set up a bureaucracy in Washington and several bureaucracies in every State, when all you had to do was say if you are going to get any work-study money, you will do community service and you will determine what the percentage of that community service will be. That bureaucracy is already set up. You did not need to create anything new in order to do that.

A performance-based organization was created within the Department of Education in order to improve, simplify, and streamline the cumbersome student aid process. This administration decided that 100 percent of student aid should be done through the Federal Government. Now, you tell me one program that we have done very well. I cannot name one, and I doubt whether you can.

Well, obviously we could not become the biggest bank in the world; and of course, they got into all sorts of trouble with only having about 30 percent of the loans. So we tried to improve that, because we indicated that this body will move in that department and see whether they cannot straighten out the problems that are there, people who know how to deal with student aid.

The enactment of the Head Start Amendments of 1998 I mentioned earlier. We spent \$53 billion, and we never expected quality in the program. So for year after year after year, the children most in need who needed an early childhood program, who needed a program to help them become reading ready, did not get it. Not only did they not get it, but we left the parent out altogether, and in many instances we had to improve the parent's parenting skill, we had to improve the parent's literacy skills so they could be the child's first and most important teacher.

We changed that with our Head Start bill. The first reauthorization 5 or 6 years ago, I was only able to get 25 percent of any new money going to quality. The last reauthorization, with the help of the Secretary downtown, we got up to 60 percent, saying that these programs must improve. The Secretary has also closed a lot of programs that, as a matter of fact, were not doing the job. We adopted new performance standards and new measures by which we determined whether they are meeting those performance standards, and we required that the majority of Head Start teachers have a college degree.

One of the problems we found in Title I, for instance, was that in one State, they used I think something like 60 percent of all that money to hire teacher aides, and that is no problem if they are doing things teacher aides would normally do. But do you realize that they did not even have to have a high school diploma? They did not even have to have a GED. In many instances they were actually doing the teaching.

The enactment of charter school legislation has been very important, because it gives some parents choice in the public education of their children. I can take you two blocks from the Capitol and show you an outstanding charter school. But in that charter school, everybody knows what the rules and regulations are, parents included. Everybody knows that you are going to be well disciplined, everyone knows you are going to do your homework, everyone knows that the parent must be involved. And it has changed things completely for all of those children, and they have a long waiting list.

Charter schools legislation signed into law increased the authorization level from \$15 million to \$100 million while curtailing the funds available to the Department of Education for national activities. We want the money to get out there where the local charter schools are. The legislation also encouraged more private capital investments into charter schools and ensured the charter schools received their fair share of the Federal education dollar.

We passed the A+ Education Savings Account legislation. Unfortunately, it got vetoed. What a tragedy. If it had become law, the legislation would have allowed parents, grandparents, friends, scholarship sponsors, companies, or charities to open an account for a child's educational needs for attendance wherever that child could get the best education. Unfortunately, it was vetoed. We will try again this year.

Prohibiting new Federal tests was very, very important. Again, it was a fast track effort put on by the administration to come up with a Federal test, which had to mean that there had to be a Federal program of what it is you are going to teach in order to use the Federal test. But where the administration was wrong, if you are going to test your students, first of all someone must determine what those standards are. If these are new, higher standards you are going to teach to, and certainly in the 21st century we have to do that, then you have to design those. Then you have to prepare the teacher to teach to the new standards. Then you have to test the teacher to see whether they are ready to teach to the new standards.

Now, after you have done all that, then you get around to testing the student. Otherwise, you spend the \$100 million that the President was talking about to tell 50 percent of our students one more time what they have heard all their lives; you are not doing very well. It would be so much better to

take \$100 million and help them do far better.

We enacted the Workforce Investment Act. The first thing I discovered was that we had at least 100 or 150 job-training programs coming from the Federal Government, from all departments, from all agencies, with no one having any idea what the other was doing.

□ 1545

So we consolidated 60 of those Federal training programs through the establishment of three block grants to the States for adult employment and training, for disadvantaged youth, and for adult education and literacy programs. We emphasized long-term academic improvement and occupational training while eliminating numerous Federal requirements, including duplicative and costly planning, paperwork, and reporting requirements.

We are not interested in the process. That is what they were interested in all the time before. We are interested in outcome. We are interested in accomplishments. We are interested in achievement. We are interested in results, not process.

We enacted the Vocational Technical Education Act, that provides approximately 7 to 10 percent of the funding for vocational technical education programs for secondary students, with more dollars going directly to the local level. Again, we emphasized strong academics and State and local flexibility in the use of funds.

Every time we talk about flexibility, we say to the local and State, show us how every child is going to improve academically and prove to us, and then we give them the flexibility to design the program to meet their specific needs at their local level.

Passing the Dollars to the Classroom Act, this legislation consolidated 31 programs top down from Washington down to the State and then to the local government, and we consolidated 31 of those top-down, Washington-based Federal education programs into a single grant to States, giving State and local decision-makers authority in how to distribute the money within each State. And we said, 95 percent of it must get to the classroom.

In the 106th Congress, as we started this 106th Congress, we began by reviewing the programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. For more than three decades, the Federal government has spent in excess of \$185 billion to the States through scores of Washington-based education programs. Has the enormous investment helped improvement student achievement? Unfortunately, we have no evidence that it has. After 30 years and more than \$128 billion, Title I has not had the desired effect of closing achievement gaps between those who have and those who do not.

That is why we must continue our commitment to quality teaching, greater respect for local control and in-

creased flexibility, bolstering basic academics, sending more dollars to the classroom, and fostering parent responsibility and involvement.

Our commitment to these goals was most clearly evident early in 1999, with the successful enactment of the Education Partnership Flexibility Act, known as Ed-Flex. Thanks to our efforts and with help from 50 Governors, the President decided that it was a good idea, after objecting to it early on.

Ed-Flex gives schools and school districts more freedom to tailor Federal education programs to meet their needs and remove obstructions to reform. It is designed to make categorical Federal programs work better at the local level. One size does not fit all. The local government knows best. But States will have to follow Federal priorities and requirements that may or may not address the needs of children in their State unless they have that flexibility.

It is time to modernize the Federal education funding mechanism investment so it reflects the needs of schools and school districts in the 21st century. With the passage of Ed-Flex, we turned our attention to teacher quality.

Let me just indicate that Ed-Flex was a possibility for 12 States for many years. When we passed a reauthorization years ago, we said to 12 States, if they can prove to us that they can have the flexibility to get waivers from the Federal requirements and use those Federal dollars and improve the academic achievement of all their students, they may have that flexibility.

A couple of the States really took advantage of that and did an outstanding job. Unfortunately, not all 12 took advantage, because it really takes a lot of ingenuity on the State and local level. They have to do the planning. No one is doing it for them. They have to determine how they are going to have every child improve their academic standing.

The State of Texas I believe got more than 4,000 waivers. They now can show that their Hispanic and black students are above the average of all their students because they made that commitment. They said, give us the flexibility and we will show you that we can improve the academic achievement of all of our students.

We all know that after parents, the most important factor in a child's academic success is the quality of the teacher in the classroom. We have passed the Teacher Empowerment Act, and it allows schools to find the right balance for teacher class size, not us, for teacher quality, not us, by giving schools flexibility in deciding how best to meet the needs of their teacher corps and enhance their professional skills.

With the first group of the 100,000 teachers, no requirements were made that they had to have anything other than the ability, I suppose, to get up in the morning and go and report to the

school, nothing else. So what they found in those first hirings, as a matter of fact, they found an awful lot of people who went into that classroom with no qualifications whatsoever.

This act allows schools to find that right balance, whether they need in-depth in service training, and not some of the nonsense that goes on where they take an afternoon off or an evening off and somehow or other they are going to improve the quality of teaching, but in depth.

I can give an example of how that works. I recently visited in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, an advanced physics-calculus combined program. That would not have been possible several years ago because they would not have had the teacher in that classroom that could possibly have handled that assignment. But because of the opportunity for a couple of those teachers to go to an in depth program two summers in a row for the entire summer, they have one of the most outstanding combined programs I have seen in advanced calculus and physics. Again, the quality of the teacher made the difference.

I like to remind all of my Congresswomen here in the Congress that 60 percent of that class were women. Only 40 percent were men.

The Teacher Empowerment Act holds schools accountable by ensuring that these funds are used to increase student achievement through high quality teaching, and ensures that parents are given information on the quality of their child's teacher.

When I was negotiating with the administration at the end of last year, as we were going through this budget process and got into this 100,000 teacher business, the very day we began negotiating a New York newspaper, the entire front page said, "Parents, you are being cheated. Do you recognize 50 percent of all the teachers are not qualified to teach in the subject area in which they are teaching?" That made it a little bit easier to get my point across when I was trying to make them understand that it is the quality of the teacher in the classroom, not necessarily the pupil-teacher ratio.

Most importantly, the Teacher Empowerment Act is not a Washington-knows-best program because it allows schools to spend these funds on what meets their individual needs.

The third piece of legislation that successfully passed the House was the Student Results Act. This legislation authorizes and reforms Title I. We are working at the present time on the whole reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Unlike the way we have done it in the past, in the past we usually said, we will just take this whole lump and just give it more money, and somehow something is going to happen that is going to be better. We said, we are going to look at each individual program in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. We are going to see how

well it is doing. If it is not doing well, we are going to get rid of it, or find a way to improve it so it does well.

In the Student Results Act, we reformed Title I education for the disadvantaged and many of the other categorical K through 12 programs by targeting at helping disadvantaged children.

The Student Results Act was put together with four overarching principles in mind: quality, accountability, choice, and flexibility. For too long we have maintained low expectations for Title I and the disadvantaged students it serves. We really do not expect enough from any student, unfortunately, but it is particularly true in the case of disadvantaged students.

We have spent nearly \$120 billion, as I said before, in Title I since its inception, yet it continues to be the subject of study after study pointing to its ineffectiveness. We failed to focus enough on quality reforms, and with enactment of the Student Results Act, we usher in a new era of high expectations for all children and for children served by this key program.

In many Title I schools, the most disadvantaged children are taught by the least qualified teacher and teacher aides. The Student Results Act makes it clear that disadvantaged children deserve the same high quality teachers and teacher aides as all other students.

The Student Results Act includes other quality reforms, like rewarding excellence by allowing States to reserve up to 30 percent of their new Title I funds to provide cash rewards to the schools if they are making substantial progress in closing that achievement gap.

Finally, the bill reduces bureaucratic overhead and ensures that more dollars reach the classroom than ever before. As the saying goes, we want to make sure more of this money gets into the hands of classroom teachers who actually know the names of the children in the classroom.

In order to ensure quality, we need to have accountability. We retain State and local standards and assessment provisions that are part of current law, and we applaud the efforts of States and localities to build strong standards-based systems. We build upon these important provisions by ensuring that vital information about the academic performance of Title I schools is provided to parents and the tax-paying public.

The bill does not provide for more accountability to the Federal government. It does insist upon more accountability to parents. We intend to shine a bright light on the Title I program and give parents real, understandable information about how their children and their schools are performing.

For those programs that do not meet the test of high quality and increased accountability, we have included new and innovative public school choice provisions in the bill. Why should chil-

dren have to go to a failing school when everybody is reporting that it is a failing school? The Student Results Act says that children attending schools classified as low-performing must be given the opportunity to attend a higher quality public school in their area. This enshrines in law a very simple commonsense concept: Children should not be forced to attend failing schools.

The Student Results Act sends a powerful message to failing schools throughout this Nation that enough is enough, they must improve or their children will leave to attend another school.

Finally, on October 21 the House passed a far-reaching education reform bill called the Straight A's Act. For those States or school districts that choose to participate, it is not a mandate, but if they choose to participate, Straight A's will fundamentally change the relationship between the Federal government and the State. Straight A's will untie the hands of those States that have strong accountability systems in place in exchange for meeting student performance improvement targets.

This sort of accountability for performance does not exist in current law. States must improve achievement to participate in Straight A's, and if their scores go down for the first 3 years, they get kicked out before the 5-year agreement that they thought they made with the Federal government. We are not going to wait 5 years. Currently, nothing happens to States that decline for 3 years.

Straight A's frees States to target all of their Federal dollars on disadvantaged students and narrowing achievement gaps. Under current law, States could not target more Federal dollars for this purpose. They could not combine any of the funds coming from the Federal level for different programs. This legislation will reward those States that significantly narrow achievement gaps with a 5 percent reward, an incentive that does not exist under current law.

With the enactment of Straight A's, all students, especially the disadvantaged students who were the focus of Federal legislation in 1965, may finally receive effective instruction and be held to high standards.

□ 1600

For too long, States and schools have been able to hide behind average test scores and to show they are helping disadvantaged children, merely by spending more money in the right places, and that must come to an end when States participate in Straight A's, if they so choose to participate.

States and school districts must focus on the most effective way of improving achievement, not on just complying with how the Federal Government says they have to spend their money. Schools should be free to focus on improving teacher quality, imple-

menting research-based instruction and operating effective after-school programs.

Federal process requirements have huge amounts of paperwork for people at the local level and distract from improving student learning. Madam Speaker, as I said before, we want to hear about results. We are not interested in process.

I would encourage everyone to listen carefully when people talk about accountability. Are they talking about accountability for process, making sure States and districts meet Federal guidelines and priorities, the checkoff system, or are they talking about accountability for real gains in academic achievement? Will achievement gaps close as a result, or will States just have to fill out a lot of paperwork about numbers of children served without any mention of improvements?

By giving States a choice to do so, the opportunity to build on their successes and improve the achievement of all of their students, the Federal Government can lend a helping hand rather than a stranglehold.

We started the year with Ed-Flex, which passed with overwhelming bipartisan majorities of both houses and is now law. As I said, Ed-Flex provides for flexibility to all 50 States to control how they design Federal programs and help them adapt to their own unique needs.

Next, we followed up with the Teacher Empowerment Act, which passed the House with bipartisan support. And the bill emphasizes the single most important factor in improving education in this Nation, which is the quality of the teaching force.

We then moved to the Student Results Act, a bill to extend Title I and other programs targeted at the disadvantaged, which also passed the House with overwhelming bipartisan support. That bill emphasized quality, accountability, school choice and increases local control and flexibility.

Finally, the House passed our Straight A's bill, that gives States and localities unprecedented flexibility in return for accountability.

How about the rest of the 106th Congress? Well, we will have to conclude our reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act with bills targeted at improving some of the major education programs beyond Title I; school technology, drug free school, impact aid and the Title VI block grant and a bill to improve the literary skills of all Americans.

One of the problems we have had over the years is we have not thought in terms of family literacy. We sort of put an adult literacy over here and a children's literacy over here. I will guarantee you we have learned you cannot break the cycle of illiteracy or functional illiteracy, unless you deal with the entire family. And you see, functional illiteracy today is not what it was 10, 15 years ago. Functional illiteracy today in our society in this 21st

century is if you cannot read, write, comprehend on a 12th grade level, and that is a functional illiterate.

We have to do much more, and we have to do it jointly with the entire family. Family literacy is what we need to talk about. Priority will be given to proposals that increase flexibility and the operation of Federal education programs.

We will attach a higher priority to support local schools in their effort to make their schools safe, drug free and orderly, as we streamline technology needs and applications.

Madam Speaker, we will work to promote literacy for children and their parents. We will expect quality research that will benefit local schools and improve the quality of education for all children. At the end of the reauthorization process, we will have a much improved Elementary Secondary Education Act. The programs we include will be those that ensure that our children will receive a quality education by, again, emphasizing those seven key goals that I originally outlined: Quality, better teaching, local control, accountability, dollars to the classroom, basic academic, parental involvement and responsibility.

Let me take a quick look at the President's budget. I have it up here. We have some real differences. Here on my chart is what we believe. Here is the President's side of this chart. I want to talk very briefly about this.

As I indicated, the Republican-sponsored Teacher Empowerment Act, which got bipartisan support, compared to the President's teaching to a higher standards initiative is the best example of our fundamental difference in philosophy.

We say quality first, highly qualified teachers in every classroom. The administration says quantity before quality, put more teachers in classrooms, no matter whether they are qualified or not.

We say flexibility with accountability. We give you the freedom if you show us that you produce results. The administration says reduce freedom, increase requirements. We say State-design standards and assessments. The administration says federally-designed, one-size-fits-all; the national test as an example.

We say State and local schools design school discipline standards. The administration says, discipline standards determined by Washington bureaucrats who probably were never in a classroom as an adult beyond higher education.

We say increase IDEA funding. As I mentioned before, when the Individuals for Disability Education Act was passed, the local school districts were led to believe that if they participate in that program and make sure that children with disabilities have an equal opportunity for a good education, the Federal Government will supply 40 percent of the excess funds to educate a special needs child.

Madam Speaker, we have to understand if a school district's average per pupil expenditure might be \$7,500, a special needs child may be \$15,000, may be \$20,000, may be \$100,000, the local school district has had to pick up most of that extra expenditure, even though we said we would send 40 percent of the excess costs.

Well, depending where you are, just in a small city, like I represent, in York, Pennsylvania, if we were sending them 40 percent of excess costs, they would get a million dollars extra every year. They could talk about teacher quality. They could talk about pupil-teacher ratio reduction. They could talk about improving their school buildings, because they would be getting what was promised.

And for 20 years I pleaded and pleaded and pleaded and pleaded and got nowhere. Finally, we started making some improvements. But not because of the President's budget, because the last 2 years he sent a budget up that reduced our spending on special education, if we consider the number of new students that come in and we include inflation.

Fortunately, by the time we were finished going through the authorization process and the appropriations process, we have dramatically increased that expenditure so that those local school districts then can get this money and spend it on the special needs children, without totally raising all of that money on the local level and taking it away from every other education program.

Our Teacher Accountability Act supports local decision-making, provides greater flexibility, reforming the tenure system, tests teachers, provides for signing bonuses or differential pay for teachers in high-needs subject areas, provides incentives to teachers with a record of success in helping low-achievement students improve their academic success, helps them recruit fully qualified teachers, rewards schools and local education agencies for reducing the number of unqualified teachers that are teaching in their schools, helps them hire quality teachers and provide quality professional development.

Now, contrast that, again, with what the administration would do. The new Washington control programs address many of the same issues that I just mentioned, but the programs will be directed by bureaucrats in Washington and not based on peculiar needs of each local school district.

Washington will decide who receives the funds. Washington will decide the amount of funds that are needed to address a specific problem. Washington will dictate how the funds must be spent.

We are moving in the right direction, and I am hopeful that by the time we finish reauthorization of the Elementary Secondary Education Act we, in the near future, will begin to see a closing of that academic achievement

gap. Something that was well intentioned with the legislation in 1965; unfortunately, it has not worked.

This is a chart indicating just what we have been able to do, what the President has said in relationship to the funding for special ed and what we were able to do in the House and the Senate in the appropriation process. Here we see 1997, and the yellow is the President's request. The orange is what we were able to do. We got up above \$3 million in 1997 for special ed money going back. In 1998, this was the President's request. This is what we were able to do in the Congress.

In 1999, we can again see we went up. And in the year 2000, the present year that we are in, we are now up to \$5 million that will go back to these local school districts.

IDEA funding is probably the most important thing we can do to help local school districts because it gives them, then, the opportunity to use the hard-earned tax money that they have to go out and get for their entire education program.

As I mentioned, my small city of York would receive a million dollars extra. Let me talk about a couple of the other areas.

Los Angeles, for instance, they actually receive \$23 million. If they got the 40 percent of excess costs, they would get \$118 million. That would free up \$95 million that they must raise locally to meet these Federal mandates.

Chicago, \$41 million. If they got their 40 percent they would get \$212 million. It would give them \$170 million. And they have taken great steps in Chicago to try to improve that school system to make sure that all of those children have an opportunity to achieve and get a piece of the American dream.

New York City, \$41 million. \$212 million, 170 million if they got the 40 percent.

In Miami, they receive \$10 million. With 40 percent, they would get \$55 million. That means a 44 million increase.

Washington, D.C., right where we are, they get \$3 million. If they got the 40 percent, they would get \$15 million. \$12 million locally in order to improve the academic achievement of all their students.

In St. Louis, they get \$2 million. If they got 40 percent, they would get \$10 million, and that is again a dramatic increase for them to use to improve their schools locally.

So large cities across this country would see a dramatic increase; and, therefore, we do not have to go out and tell them we want them to reduce the pupil-teacher ratio, we want them to have a qualified teacher, we want them to improve their school building. They would have the money to do it. We take that money from them with our mandate because we do not send what we promised we would send.

Again, I hope by the time we finish the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in the

near future, we will see that gap closed. It is tragic to see as many as 50 percent of our students not receiving the education they will need to compete in the 21st century.

□ 1615

Last year I had to cast one of the worst votes I had to cast. We needed to change our immigration laws so that we could bring qualified people in to do the jobs that exist in this country, in this high-tech 21st Century. What a tragedy. What a tragedy. I hope no one will ever have to cast a vote of that nature in the future, because I hope we will do something about making sure that that 50 percent that are not getting an opportunity to get a part of this 21st Century American dream will get that opportunity.

The answers are at the local level with State efforts. We are here to add assistance. We should not be here to complicate the problems that they have on the State and local level. I think by the time we pass the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and it becomes law, we will be on the right road to ensure academic achievement for all students no matter where they live, who they are, no matter what their disability may be. All will have an opportunity for a quality education.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WELDON of Florida). Pursuant to clause 12 of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until approximately 6 p.m.

Accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess until approximately 6 p.m.

□ 1801

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. PEASE) at 6 o'clock and 1 minute p.m.

INDIAN TRIBAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CONTRACT ENCOURAGEMENT ACT OF 1999

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The pending business is the question of suspending the rules and passing the Senate bill, S. 613.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SHERWOOD) that the House suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill, S. 613, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 406, nays 2, not voting 26, as follows:

[Roll No. 26]

YEAS—406

Abercrombie	Dingell	Kasich
Ackerman	Dixon	Kelly
Aderholt	Doggett	Kennedy
Allen	Dooley	Kildee
Andrews	Doolittle	Kind (WI)
Archer	Doyle	King (NY)
Armey	Dreier	Kingston
Baca	Duncan	Kleczka
Bachus	Dunn	Klink
Baird	Edwards	Knollenberg
Baker	Ehlers	Kolbe
Baldacci	Emerson	Kucinich
Baldwin	Engel	Kuykendall
Ballenger	English	LaFalce
Barcia	Eshoo	LaHood
Barr	Etheridge	Lampson
Barrett (NE)	Evans	Lantos
Barrett (WI)	Everett	Largent
Bartlett	Ewing	Larson
Bass	Farr	Latham
Bateman	Fattah	LaTourette
Becerra	Filner	Lazio
Bentsen	Fletcher	Leach
Bereuter	Foley	Lee
Berkley	Forbes	Levin
Berman	Ford	Lewis (CA)
Berry	Fossella	Lewis (GA)
Biggert	Fowler	Lewis (KY)
Bilbray	Frank (MA)	Linder
Bilirakis	Franks (NJ)	Lipinski
Bishop	Frelinghuysen	LoBiondo
Blagojevich	Frost	LoBiondo
Bliley	Gallegly	Lowey
Blumenauer	Ganske	Lucas (KY)
Blunt	Gejdenson	Lucas (OK)
Boehler	Gekas	Luther
Boehner	Gephardt	Maloney (CT)
Bonilla	Gilchrest	Maloney (NY)
Bonior	Gillmor	Manzullo
Bono	Gilman	Markey
Borski	Gonzalez	Martinez
Boswell	Goode	Mascara
Boucher	Goodlatte	Matsui
Boyd	Goodling	McCarthy (MO)
Brady (PA)	Gordon	McCarthy (NY)
Brady (TX)	Goss	McCollum
Brown (FL)	Graham	McCrery
Bryant	Granger	McDermott
Burr	Green (TX)	McGovern
Burton	Green (WI)	McHugh
Buyer	Greenwood	McInnis
Callahan	Gutierrez	McIntosh
Calvert	Gutknecht	McIntyre
Camp	Hall (OH)	McKeon
Canady	Hall (TX)	McKinney
Cannon	Hansen	McNulty
Capuano	Hastings (FL)	Meehan
Carson	Hastings (WA)	Meek (FL)
Castle	Hayes	Meeks (NY)
Chabot	Hayworth	Menendez
Chambliss	Hefley	Metcalf
Clay	Heger	Mica
Clayton	Hill (IN)	Miller (FL)
Clement	Hill (MT)	Miller, George
Clyburn	Hilleary	Minge
Coble	Hilliard	Mink
Coburn	Hinchee	Moakley
Collins	Hinojosa	Mollohan
Combest	Hobson	Moore
Condit	Hoeffel	Moran (KS)
Conyers	Hoekstra	Moran (VA)
Cooksey	Holden	Morella
Costello	Holt	Myrick
Cox	Hooley	Nadler
Coyne	Horn	Napolitano
Cramer	Hostettler	Neal
Crane	Houghton	Nethercutt
Crowley	Hoyer	Ney
Cubin	Hunter	Northup
Cummings	Hutchinson	Norwood
Cunningham	Hyde	Nussle
Danner	Inslee	Oberstar
Davis (FL)	Isakson	Obey
Davis (IL)	Istook	Olver
Davis (VA)	Jackson (IL)	Ortiz
Deal	Jackson-Lee	Ose
DeFazio	(TX)	Packard
DeGette	Jefferson	Pallone
Delahunt	Jenkins	Pascarell
DeLauro	John	Pastor
DeLay	Johnson (CT)	Payne
DeMint	Johnson, E. B.	Pease
Diaz-Balart	Johnson, Sam	Pelosi
Dickey	Jones (NC)	Peterson (MN)
Dicks	Jones (OH)	Peterson (PA)
	Kanjorski	Petri
		Phelps

Pickering	Scott	Thompson (CA)
Pickett	Sensenbrenner	Thompson (MS)
Pitts	Serrano	Thornberry
Pombo	Sessions	Thune
Pomeroy	Shadegg	Thurman
Porter	Shaw	Tiahrt
Price (NC)	Shays	Tierney
Pryce (OH)	Sherman	Toomey
Quinn	Sherwood	Towns
Radanovich	Shuster	Trafficant
Rahall	Simpson	Turner
Ramstad	Sisisky	Udall (CO)
Rangel	Skeen	Udall (NM)
Regula	Skelton	Upton
Reyes	Slaughter	Velazquez
Reynolds	Smith (MI)	Visclosky
Riley	Smith (NJ)	Vitter
Rivers	Smith (TX)	Walden
Rodriguez	Smith (WA)	Walsh
Roemer	Snyder	Wamp
Rogan	Souder	Watkins
Rogers	Spence	Watt (NC)
Rohrabacher	Spratt	Watts (OK)
Ros-Lehtinen	Stabenow	Waxman
Rothman	Stark	Weiner
Roukema	Stearns	Weldon (FL)
Royce	Stenholm	Weldon (PA)
Ryan (WI)	Stump	Weller
Ryun (KS)	Stupak	Weygand
Sabo	Sununu	Whitfield
Salmon	Sweeney	Wickler
Sanchez	Talent	Wilson
Sanders	Tancredo	Wise
Sandlin	Tanner	Wolf
Sanford	Tauscher	Woolsey
Sawyer	Tauzin	Wu
Saxton	Taylor (MS)	Wynn
Scarborough	Taylor (NC)	Young (AK)
Schaffer	Terry	Young (FL)
Schakowsky	Thomas	

NAYS—2

Chenoweth-Hage Strickland

NOT VOTING—26

Barton	Kilpatrick	Roybal-Allard
Brown (OH)	Lofgren	Rush
Campbell	Millender-	Shimkus
Capps	McDonald	Shows
Cook	Miller, Gary	Vento
Deutsch	Murtha	Waters
Ehrlich	Owens	Wexler
Gibbons	Oxley	
Hulshof	Paul	
Kaptur	Portman	

□ 1825

Mr. STRICKLAND changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the Senate bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, I regret that I was not present for rollcall vote No. 26 because I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes."

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, due to a previous commitment in my district, I was absent for rollcall vote No. 26.

Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably absent from the Chamber today during rollcall vote No. 26 on S. 613. Had I been present I would have voted "yea."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. BALDACCI. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, February 16, 2000, I was traveling in my district with Energy Secretary Bill Richardson, examining the devastating impact that high fuel and heating oil prices are having on Maine people. As a result, I missed four