

have been able to do that and make great strides in the State of Arizona and, indeed, Mr. Speaker, as I was riding out to catch the airplane very early this morning Arizona time to get back here prior to votes after 5 eastern time, we heard some of the new unemployment figures. And unemployment is down in metropolitan Maricopa County to points almost minuscule.

To be sure there are other problems, other places across the width and breadth of the Sixth District, but it shows what can happen when people are allowed to hang on to more of their own money. When they have it to save, spend and invest as they see fit and that can really be an answer because it actually, with economic growth, would create more revenue for the government.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, New Jersey cut taxes. Gov. Christine Todd Whitman made good on a campaign promise and cut taxes and as a result they have had growth. Massachusetts, under Dukakis, had high tax increases. Under Governor Weld they enacted an income tax rollback and as a result they have regained 150,000 jobs that were lost under the Dukakis tax increase. California, the same way, 1960, the legislature enacted a \$7 billion tax increase. It was the largest in the history of any State in the country. And income taxes went up. Everything went up and then there was a recession. Now they have turned it around.

In 1995, these tax hikes were repealed and since then California has gained over 150,000 jobs. Revenues have gone up to States because of tax cuts that they have enacted. Revenues have also gone up nationally. As a result of that, this Congress is very, very close to having a balanced budget. Our deficit has fallen from about over \$200 billion 3 or 4 years ago to now around \$23 billion. And it is because if we confiscate less of the people's money, they are going to spend more of their own money and when they spend money, business expands, jobs are created, more people go to work, less people are on welfare and tax revenues do go up.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the fact is, when it comes to the balanced budget, people like the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. NEUMANN], who came here to Congress has done a great job in championing reducing the deficit and balancing the budget. By balancing the budget, we have been able to reduce those interest costs for car loans, for mortgage payments, for education, those are key things to making people live the American dream. I have to thank the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. NEUMANN], for his leadership in moving us forward in that bipartisan debate and the bipartisan success.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Let me join the chorus of praise for our colleague from Wisconsin because we are moving actually beyond that notion where, yes, we realize we want to balance the budget, but it should not be a one-time curios-

ity. Indeed, now with responsible fiscal practices that allow people to hang on to more of their own money, with the growth we have seen in terms of jobs and economic opportunity, it now appears that we may really turn the corner, and as our colleague from Wisconsin has pointed out, we may be moving into an era of surplus and yet there is another public charge, if you will.

There is another requirement of those of us who serve here for future generations and that, of course, is to pay down the debt. So we really have a one-two punch. I am pleased that our colleague from Wisconsin has offered a National Debt Repayment Act as well where we take a look at codifying or putting into law a fairly significant observation that with those surpluses, one-third for tax relief, one-third for debt retirement, and one-third for Social Security to maintain that program so vital to our retirees.

I think there are a lot of things that we are working on in this Congress, building off the solid success of the first tax cuts in some 16 years, also balancing this budget, and then moving forward to define how best to serve as custodians of our children's future by working to pay down and eventually pay off this burdensome debt.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman is through, I am ready to yield back the time.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. I want to conclude by saying I appreciate the leadership of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON], and the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. HAYWORTH] for helping us lead the charge here for doing the three-part goal; that is, first, tax reductions for the American family; second, dismantling the IRS as we know it into a new successor agency that is taxpayer-friendly; and third, to change the Tax Code so it is more flat. And in my case, I would like to see it more flat, but certainly more fair to the American people.

We are moving to that goal and I support the legislation that these two individuals have introduced. Hopefully, it will be passed and under the gentleman's leadership in the Committee on Ways and Means, we are looking forward to it being a very happy day for the American people.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I just want to say, I thank those in the Sixth District of Arizona and those nationwide who join in this endeavor, in this crusade to make our tax laws fairer, to work to restore basic constitutional dignity and to restore fiscal sanity to this Nation.

Mr. KINGSTON. I know the gentleman in Arizona, Ms. MARY, is in the Sixth District, but you should always thank her.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Amen.

Mr. KINGSTON. I wanted to say this, the gentleman is blessed to have good family support, as I am and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX], and everyone else.

The initials, IRS, if we can change them to RAS, which would stand for

reduced taxes, change the attitude and simplify taxes, if we could do that, I think then we can all go home to these great families that we have and look our children in the eye and say, we have done something to make a difference.

□ 2000

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TESTING

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. SHADEGG] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. SHADEGG. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the time to speak on a topic that is of great concern to me this evening. It is a topic that is growing more and more important as we move into this week of the proceedings of the U.S. Congress. It is a topic that touches me very personally because I have two children.

The topic I want to talk about tonight, Mr. Speaker, is the President's proposal to impose on America a national test, that is so-called national testing. And by that, what the President means is that he wants to require all students in America to take a federally written national examination. His proposal is that we give this examination to all fourth graders in the subject of reading and to all eighth graders in the subject of mathematics. And, in fact, he is going to do that and has already gotten the basic test specifications written.

Right here we can see, in this document I am holding up, which says, the report of the national test panel, item and test specifications for the voluntary national tests in fourth grade reading and eighth grade mathematics.

This is, I think, a critically important topic for every Member of the U.S. House of Representatives and for every single American, and that is why I wanted to talk about it.

Let me first explain how I feel about the subject of education and where I come from. I am a Republican, and for that reason some of my Democrat colleagues like to say I do not care about education. They like to claim that for us Republicans education is not important.

Well, I am offended by that remark. I care deeply about education, and I not only care deeply about education, I care very deeply about public education because I got all of my education in public education.

I attended public schools from eighth grade through college. Excuse me, not eighth grade through college, from kindergarten through college, and I am proud of the education I got. I am also proud that my two children, Courtney and Stephen, who are home in Phoenix, AZ, tonight, are obtaining their education at public schools, at public schools that I am proud of. And I am married to a woman, the mother of those two children, who was herself a

public schoolteacher. So do not tell me I do not care about education or that I do not care about public education.

Now, the topic here tonight is not generally public education; the topic here tonight is voluntary national tests. Many in America cannot understand this issue. Indeed, they cannot understand why there would be a controversy around this issue. Indeed, many Americans kind of listening to the topic of Bill Clinton proposing here in this Chamber in his State of the Union a national test for every fourth grader in America and every eighth grader in America in reading and math say, well, what is wrong with that?

How is it that someone could oppose that? Why would, for example, the Family Research Council put out an extensive paper opposing it? Why would Lynne Cheney, a nationally syndicated columnist and former official of the Federal Government, write and oppose it? Why would a series of other experts speak out and speak out stridently against national testing? Why would 290-plus Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, this very body, vote to prohibit the President from going forward, at least unilaterally, on his own with just the aid of his Education Department? Why would over 290 Members of this U.S. House vote to deny the President one dime to spend on national testing?

Why am I here on the floor trying to educate other Members of this Congress? Why am I asking Americans across this country, from New Hampshire to Arizona, from Oregon to Florida, to speak out and join me in opposing the effort to impose on our children a federally written national mathematics test and a federally written national English test?

Well, let me explain that. Just today the Secretary of Education, Mr. Riley, took to the stump. "White House Campaigns for Education Agenda." And this is an article from today's Washington Times. In it the Secretary of Education, Mr. Riley, says that he is here to fight for national testing. He says, for example, citing a recent report that says, "The report, Mathematics Equals Opportunity, is a report released yesterday which shows that rigorous teaching of mathematics does a tremendous job in helping children get into the best colleges in America, and those children who get rigorous mathematics education do very, very well." There is a quote. Mr. Riley. "These courses demand discipline, they demand hard work and they demand responsibility."

In that regard, I totally agree with Mr. Riley. But, unfortunately, the national test that Mr. Riley advocates, the national test that Mr. Clinton wants to apply does not test mathematics skills. You say, well, wait a minute, how can that be true, it is a math exam? How can it possibly not test mathematics skills?

Well, let me just find for my colleagues a copy of the materials already

written. The report of the national test panel, October 1997, released this month, prepared for the national test panel by NPR Associates Inc., and it says here, "Item and test specifications for the voluntary national tests in fourth grade reading and eighth grade mathematics."

I have not had a chance to read every word of this report, but there is a fascinating section of it I want to call to my colleagues' attention. It says in here that on the eighth grade mathematics test, every single student will be allowed to have throughout the entire duration of the test a calculator. That is to say, at no point in the eighth grade math examination that is being proposed by President Clinton and that will, in fact, be implemented and be imposed on every single education department and every single school in America, if Bill Clinton and Mr. Riley have their way, that exam will not at any point in time require the eighth grade student to demonstrate his or her ability to do basic pen and pencil mathematical calculations without a calculator.

Now, my colleagues may be saying to themselves, well, maybe it is important to test higher skills. That might be true, and there is a national assessment test which is given in which a portion of the exam includes an examination of doing certain calculations with a calculator. But in the NAEP test, which is currently given to test or to evaluate performance from State to State across America, and to see how Arizona is doing as compared with Michigan, or how Wisconsin is doing in comparison with Louisiana, in that exam at least a portion of the test requires the students to do pen and pencil calculations.

But in the test Bill Clinton is proposing, in the test Mr. Riley wants, in the test that Mr. Riley is demanding this Congress agree to, on the front page of the Washington Times today he is demanding that we agree to a test to be given to every single student in America to test their math skill, in point of fact in that test, as the materials already prepared for the Department of Education, and this was written, by the way, if we turn the first page, it says this report was funded by the U.S. Department of Education. It was prepared for the U.S. Department of Education. And there will not be a single question on the test that requires an eighth grade math student to demonstrate that he or she can do multiplication, division, addition, or subtraction.

Now, my colleagues might say, well, why is my fellow colleague so concerned about that? Maybe the experts thought that was the right way to go. Maybe we will just assume that students by the time they get to eighth grade can do basic math. Well, I am not alone in my concern and in my objection, because at the back of this report there is a letter of dissent. It is one of several, but it is the only one I will talk about tonight because that is all I have time for.

This is the overall report. One of the gentlemen who was on this committee to write the exam, the actual test panel to which this report was given, was a gentleman by the name of Alan L. Wurtzel, W-U-R-T-Z-E-L. Mr. Wurtzel is an executive with a prominent company here in America, and he was invited to participate on the test panel, that is, to help write the exam.

He writes a letter raising the very point I am concerned about and that is, he says, "I disagree with your allowing the use of calculators on the entire test." And he writes, and I quote, in a letter written to Mr. Wilmer Cody, Commissioner of the Kentucky State Department of Education, a letter dated September 25 of this year, "The test assumes that by Eighth grade children can do basic arithmetic including addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division of whole numbers, decimals and common fractions by hand." But he goes on to say, "We shouldn't do that. We shouldn't make that assumption."

He says, "We already know that the NAEP test tests, at least in part, the ability of children to do basic math skills." And he says that he believes, in his letter of dissent, that the national test should include those basic math skills.

Interestingly, Mr. Wurtzel is with a large corporation in America that used to give an examination to people who run cash registers for his company, and he used to ask those people applying for a job as a cashier to do basic calculations. He writes in this letter that they gave up on that. They gave up on that because so few people applying for the job as a cashier could do basic calculations. And he, therefore, says that to assume that America's eighth graders can do basic math, basic math skills, is a mistake, and he pleads with the President's committee, this test panel, to include at least a part of the exam to be focused on basic math skills.

Now, this illustrates, I think, a larger issue of what is desperately wrong with this national testing proposal, and that is it puts all of the power and all of the focus and all of the authority in Washington, DC.

Now, I have to say a couple of different things. Mr. Riley may think strongly that this national test is a great idea, but I suggest that Mr. Riley has not done some reading he should have done. Because as a first basic argument there is not a word in the U.S. Constitution which calls upon the Federal Government to educate our children. Indeed, not a single American who has completed a civics class fails to understand that our Constitution gives certain roles to the Federal Government, like national defense, like trade with foreign governments and foreign countries, and trades between the States. But in the 10th amendment it reserves every single other power of government not expressly given to the Federal Government, it reserves those

to the States and to the people respectively.

Now, Mr. Riley has not read that part of the Constitution. I suggest he has not read the 10th amendment at all or he does not understand it. But the Founding Fathers had a good reason for writing the Constitution in that fashion, and that is the idea of Federalism.

Now, I do not want to get off on notions of Federal Government and government theory, but it comes down to this simple premise: I trust the teachers and the administrators and the parents at my daughter's high school, Thunderbird High School in Phoenix, AZ. I trust them. I know them. If I want my voice to be heard in the curriculum at the Washington school district or at Thunderbird High School, my wife or I can go to their curriculum discussions and have input. We can make our voice heard.

If they propose to radically alter the curriculum at Courtney's high school, at Thunderbird High in Phoenix, AZ, I can speak out and I can be heard. If at Lookout Mountain Grade School, where my 11-year-old son is in school, if the principal or the teachers or the other administrators or the parents want to alter the curriculum, Shirley and I can drive down there and we can talk about that curriculum change.

But in this examination we have no input. Indeed, we will see, and my colleagues can get a copy of this report, in this report even the people on the test panel lacked input. Because the gentleman who wrote and dissented and who said we are going to give an eighth grade math exam and we are going to assume as a nation that this is a valid test of the performance of all children across America in eighth grade math, which does not devote a single question to testing whether or not those eighth graders can do a basic math calculation without a calculator, even he could not be heard.

Yet that is what we are going to do. We are going to write this entire test in Washington, DC.

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I happen to trust, as I said, the local school officials in Arizona and the local school officials in Washington Elementary District and at Thunderbird High School to do a good job of teaching my daughter Courtney and my son Stephen. I do not happen to trust Mr. Riley and the national experts that will write a Federal test and dictate it all the way across the country. I think we would be making a grave mistake if we put all of our eggs into one basket of a national test.

Some people say, but what could be wrong with a test? After all, this is not a national curriculum in mathematics. This is not just Washington, D.C. deciding what will be taught in every school in America. This is just Washington, D.C. deciding what will be tested in every school in America. Let me suggest to Members that what is tested

is what will be in fact taught. Think about that one for a moment. If we as a Nation adopt a national test in mathematics and we say as a part of that national test as this report says and this is the test specification written for the national test panel, if we in that national test say we are not going to test 8th graders on any basic math skills, we are going to let them take a calculator and use that calculator on every single question, you have to understand, what is tested is what will be taught. What is tested is what will be taught. Courtney, my daughter, is a sophomore in high school. She cares very much about getting into the best possible college she can. Every one of her teachers has made sure that as a teacher he or she knew what Courtney would be tested on. And every one of her teachers having learned what Courtney would be tested on has made sure that in the classroom, in the classroom curriculum, Courtney was taught what she would later be tested on and therefore Courtney has done well on the tests that she has taken in her education to this point in time. Stephen's teachers are exactly the same. Teachers are caring people. They enjoy their jobs. They do not do it for the pay, I can tell Members that much. Both of my sisters are teachers today. One in North Phoenix and one in the Chandler School District. Both of my sisters, and I have two older sisters, are teachers today. Teachers care about their students' performance. They do not do it for the money. Go look at a teacher's salary anywhere in America. If they care about their students' performance, they are going to learn what is to be tested and they will make sure that they teach what is to be tested.

Therefore, if we write a national test, if we embrace as a Nation that there is one correct theory in mathematics, if we decide that in mathematics what we should do is not test 8th graders on basic mathematical computational skills, we ought to give every one of them a calculator because it is not a good idea to force them to do basic math skills without a calculator, then that will be the emphasis in America. I suggest that that is a grave error.

I want to in this discussion talk about one of the experts that helped write this point. I am talking now about the national math test because that is where I think this debate focuses at the moment. It seems that Lynne Cheney, who is an expert in this area, did some research. She discovered that one of the people who helped write the national math test and who serves on this test panel is a consultant to the Connecticut Department of Education. His name is Mr. Steven Leinwand. Mr. Leinwand is in fact a part of the National Association of Mathematics Teachers. Mr. Leinwand believes and has written an article in which he argues strenuously that it is, and I quote, downright dangerous to teach children, to teach students things like 6 times 7

is 42. Indeed, he argues that it is improper and, as I said in his words, downright dangerous to continue to demand that our children master basic pencil and paper computational algorithms. What he writes is that the problem with teaching those things and by the way, therefore, the problem with testing them, according to Mr. Leinwand, is that it sorts the some out from the many.

Lynne Cheney wrote an article on this, discussed Mr. Steven Leinwand, an article that appeared in the Wall Street Journal on September 29, 1997. She points out that Mr. Leinwand believes that such instruction, instruction in basic computational mathematics skills sorts people out. That is, it anoints the few who can do those pen and pencil calculations and it casts out the many, and that is a direct quote from Mr. Leinwand, casts out the many who fail to do them. I happen to disagree with Mr. Leinwand. I happen to think, first, that in America, the many are those who actually master those skills and do learn basic computational math. But I also disagree with his more basic premise, which is that he says it is wrong to sort out those who master those skills from others because it makes them feel bad. I suggest that if making children feel bad who do not learn basic math is the worst we are doing, we are not doing great damage, because the alternative proposal is to say to those children, "Don't worry about math. Don't worry about pen and pencil and computations. Don't worry about mastering those skills." If we say that to them, we condemn them to a lifetime of not being competitive in the world in which they live. We condemn them to living in a world where they can be taken advantage of by businesspeople, by unscrupulous people, by whoever wants to take advantage of the fact that they simply cannot do basic math skills.

I think Mr. Leinwand is dead wrong. But I want to make one last point on this. Let us assume that I am right and he is wrong. If we have a single test just in Connecticut where Mr. Leinwand is from, we can look at whether or not the children of Connecticut following Mr. Leinwand's, I would suggest, radical theories do better than the children in Arizona or whether they do not do better. If Mr. Leinwand turns out to be right and his system turns out to be better, Arizona can follow that, California can follow it, Florida can follow, and adopt his theories on their own. But if Mr. Leinwand is in fact wrong and he succeeds and Bill Clinton succeeds and Secretary Riley succeeds in imposing their one-size-fits-all Federal test following Mr. Leinwand's radical theory on every school child in America, I suggest to you, to all my colleagues in the Congress and to every American watching that we will be condemning a generation, maybe a generation and a half of America's children to living in a world where they are not competitive

with the rest of the children around the world. I suggest to you that children in Germany and Japan and France and England and in many other countries around this world are indeed being drilled on these skills, they are mastering them and they will beat our children if we adopt a one-size-fits-all program. But even if he is right, the States could follow suit later. But if he is wrong, the risk of handing over the control of all of our children's education to one single Federal test is I think an absolute disaster.

This is an issue which is going to be fought out right here in the Congress in the next few days. The President is proceeding with his national exam right now. The report I held up just moments ago is in fact the report on that national exam. There is only one way to stop it and that is by passing legislation stopping the President from spending Federal moneys which he wants to take from other parts of the Department of Education's budget and put it into his national testing program. If we do not stop him in a vote on the House floor and on the Senate floor within the next 2 or 3 weeks when this issue is resolved, it will be too late. I think there is no more time, no more urgent moment in our Nation's history if you care about education than to speak out on this topic.

I am joined by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. WELDON]. I hope he is interested in jumping into this topic. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WELDON of Florida. I appreciate the gentleman yielding. I want to commend him for rising this evening to speak out on this issue. I share his concerns about the President's plan to institute a national test. I want to just commend the gentleman for his actions here tonight and indeed I also want to commend him for his work in the whole area of education. I have had the opportunity to work with him on the Republican Policy Committee and he has exemplified the level of concern that I think many of the people who got elected with us in 1994 share about education in America and about the terrible decline in educational standards in America and the decline in academic performance. You cannot speak to any college professor in the United States without them lamenting the fact that over the past 30 years, the quality of math and verbal skills of incoming freshmen has deteriorated dramatically and many, most of our colleges now have to have rudimentary courses particularly in English skills, in writing skills.

I am a product of the public education system in the United States. My mother was a public school teacher. Not only did I go through the public school system K through 12, I also went to a public college and then I went to a public medical school. I am a medical doctor. My mother was a public educator. I understand the value and importance of public education. I think the debate that we should be having in this

city today, and the gentleman is touching right on it, is what can we really do to help education in the United States. Certainly I think one of the most important things we can do is we can make it more affordable for parents to send their kids to school and we are doing that with our tax relief package.

We also can help parents to have more choice, and this is critically important in our inner city schools where so many of those parents in those poor neighborhoods have no choice. Unlike wealthy people who can select the best academic environment for their kids, people like Bill and Hillary Clinton, they were able to send their child to a very prestigious private school, many poor Americans living in our inner cities have no choice and they are locked into some of the worst and most failing schools.

Also, one of the issues that we are debating in this city today, and the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. SHADEGG] is bringing it up, is should we have national testing. Let me just say, I have a 10-year-old daughter, we have chosen to home-school my daughter so that my wife and daughter can spend part of their time up here with me and part of their time in Florida when we are on recess and we consider testing extremely important. We test my daughter every year to make sure that she is meeting national standards or accepted standards. Actually our goal is that she exceeds standards and that is why we test her every year. I am very thankful to have my wife who bears the primary responsibility for educating my daughter and who makes sure that she gets the testing scheduled every year.

The question is, is it an appropriate role of the Federal Government to be instituting a national test? Just to point to Sweden, a country of 7 million people or some other little foreign country that has national testing and say they do it, therefore, we should do it is ludicrous in my opinion. This is a country of 260 million people, 50 different States, people of all kinds of diverse ethnic backgrounds. There is no way that a one-size-fits-all concept could be put on the United States. This is just a different country.

But the most important issue that the gentleman has brought up today and the biggest reason why I oppose national testing is because I do not have confidence in the Federal Government to do it correctly. This report that has come out clearly spells that out for every voter to see with their own eyes. They are going to give a math test and they are going to give the kids a calculator. Mr. Speaker, as far as I am concerned, I am not a lawyer, I am a doctor, but I know there is an expression in the legal profession, it says I think it is *res ipsa loquitur*. The thing speaks for itself. In other words, if you have got video footage of the perpetrator coming through the window with a TV in his hands, *res ipsa loquitur*. "I rest my case, your honor. We don't need to debate this in front of

the jury. The man is guilty. We've got him on tape." Ladies and gentlemen of the jury, Mr. Speaker, they want to give a math test and they want to give the kids a calculator. Do we think that the Federal Government can run a math test and run it properly?

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I say, no. I say it is fraught with hazard. I say it is destined to fail. I say it is inappropriate.

I agree with you that it is unconstitutional. What we need to be doing are the things that I spoke of earlier. We need to give parents choice, and the most crucial thing is we need to give poor, working-class families real choice.

Rich people in America today have choice. Doctors and lawyers have choice, wealthy businessmen have choice. The hard-working people in our poorest communities, they do not have choice.

Do you want to improve educational performance in the United States today? Give those people choice and get money to the classroom. Get money out of the hands of bureaucrats.

To say somehow by having this national test it is going to help educational performance, I think, is ludicrous. I, again, commend the gentleman for his speaking up, for coming to the floor tonight to talk about this issue. It is a critically important issue.

Mr. SHADEGG. Reclaiming my time, perhaps we could have a dialogue here. It seems to me, first of all, the most important premise is to establish the fact that for those of us who oppose national testing, our opponents on the other side, that is the President and Secretary Riley and the educational experts and bureaucrats in the Education Department, would argue that if we oppose national testing, it is because we do not care about education.

Let me ask the gentleman, you indicated you had a long history in public education. Do you believe that those of us who oppose a one-size-fits-all national test; that is, that a Federal Government mathematics test, written inside the Beltway, in Washington, D.C., is a bad idea. Do you believe those of us that think that is a bad idea do not care about education?

Mr. WELDON of Florida. Well, you know, you touch on a real fundamental issue of this city, in my opinion. Before I came here I practiced medicine in Melbourne, Florida, for eight years. Prior to that, I practiced medicine in the Army. I was an Army doctor. I was not really used to all the crazy stuff that goes on in this city.

But one of the things I have learned very quickly is if you, if the President or some of his colleagues here in the House or Senate have an idea, and they all think it is a great idea, everybody thinks their kids are beautiful and their ideas are brilliant, so they come up with an idea and they think it is a great idea, they are going to improve education in America by establishing

this national test. So, because you oppose it, then, oh, you must be anti-education.

We were trying to fix Medicare last year, trying to preserve it so it would be there for senior citizens, seniors like my dad. They did not like our plan, so, therefore, we suddenly hated seniors and we hated Medicare, and they ran around misquoting NEWT GINGRICH saying he said Medicare was going to wither on the vine. He was talking about the bureaucracy here in Washington that screwed things up.

Anyway, to get back to the issue, that is the theme always, always the attack. You do not like their agenda; therefore, you do not like education.

Mr. SHADEGG. Reclaiming my time, it seems to me their point is, well, if they are against our proposal for national testing, they must, by definition, be against education.

I will tell you, that argument makes me angry. I do oppose national testing. I think it is dead wrong for America. I think when the national testing would be a national math exam for eighth graders, that does not have a single question on it which requires the student to demonstrate he can do one math calculation without a calculator, I think I am right and I am demonstrating that I care about education.

In my view, more testing is not the answer. If the answer were more testing, we would not have a problem in education in America today, because American students are tested, and tested, and tested.

Now, what does the national test do? In this case, the national test that President Clinton is proposing is not only wrong on the merits, because it does not test basic math computational skills, thanks to Mr. Steven Leinwand and a handful of other radical theorists who do not want to test basic math skills, that say that will make students feel bad, but what does it do? It takes money away from education.

That is right, the Congress was not presented with a bill from the President saying let us fund a national test. Let us define it by legislation, and let us then fund it through appropriations, the way this government is supposed to work.

He is doing an end-run around the Congress, and his national testing program is going to be implemented without the approval of the Congress because the President just wants to do it, and he says he can do it.

But do you know what? He has got to have money to do it. What is he going to do? He is going to take money out of other pieces of the Federal Department of Education and give it to national testing.

Now, I think that is an abuse of this process, and it is dead wrong. Do you know what? As a House Republican, as a Member of this Congress who got public education and who believes to the depth of his soul in public education, I think it is dead wrong to steal

money from other parts of the Federal Department of Education to push national testing, at least when that national testing will not even test the basic math skills that America's kids cannot do now.

So am I playing politics with this, because I want to see the money already in the Department of Education spent for what it was supposed to be spent for? Am I anti-education, or is Bill Clinton anti-education because he wants to take that money away?

Mr. HOEKSTRA. If the gentleman will yield, as my colleague from Arizona knows, we came to Arizona, you were there when we did a hearing. We have been to 13 other States with my subcommittee and we have talked about testing, we have talked about charter schools, we have talked about vouchers, we have talked about innovation and improvement in public schools. We have really taken a look at the full range of education reforms that are going around and taking place in the country today. It is amazing. Testing is one of those issues. Testing is a very complicated issue.

We had a hearing in the State of Delaware where we talked about Delaware's experiment with testing. Delaware has done it right. Delaware did not go to Washington and say, hey, Washington, would you develop a test for us and we will implement it?

Delaware started at the grassroots level. They got parents involved, they got teachers involved, they got administrators involved.

Remember, Delaware is the size of what? One Congressional district. They have one very good Congressman. He was there at the hearing. They started at the grassroots level and talked about where are our kids, what do we want to test them on? After a three-year process they developed a test that they felt was appropriate.

This President wants to develop a test in six months?

Mr. SHADEGG. Reclaiming my time, he has already developed the test, as near as I can see. He proposed it here on the floor of the House in his State of the Union address in January, and now they already have, as I have talked about earlier this night, item and test specifications for the voluntary national test, and we ought to talk about whether or not they are voluntary, for fourth grade reading and eighth grade mathematics, the report of the national test panel.

So while that panel in Delaware included parents and teachers and local school administrators, and probably students from all over Delaware, and it took them three years to write what they felt was a good test, to make the model, and recognizing that States are, in fact, charged with educating their children, the President has done a one-size-fits-all, it is here, finished, done, he got it finished between January and October.

By the way, it says we are not going to test whether or not you can do any

math computations with a pen and pencil; we are going to give you a calculator for the whole exam.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. The gentleman is absolutely right. Delaware, three years, they still haven't figured out exactly how they are going to use it and what they are going to do with the test results. This President, in six or eight months, wow, he develops a test, no parental involvement, no local involvement, has not gone to the Governor of our State of Michigan, hasn't gone to California and said what would you like in a national test?

How will that integrate with what Michigan is doing in the area of testing? He has developed a national test, meaning he is going to drive national curriculum.

And he now believes that a test that a few people here in Washington have developed over a short period of time is going to work in Florida, is going to work in Arizona, is going to work in Detroit, is going to work in L.A., is going to work in New York City, Cleveland, Louisville, all of these places we went to, and the one thing we found in all of these places, there are tremendous things going on in education, but the problems and opportunities in the educational focus that they need to have in their schools varies, in some cases ever so slightly, in other cases dramatically, because the circumstances are different.

He is going to try to impose a one-size-fits-all test, and then he is going to come back and say, see, those kids in Cincinnati, those schools are not doing well because they did not do well on my test.

Those teachers and those school administrators and those kids may be doing great, depending on where and what their environment is. But he wants one-size-fits-all, and it will not work.

Mr. SHADEGG. Reclaiming my time, there is a great tendency in these discussions on the floor to focus on the partisan bickering and on the President wants this and I listened to the gentleman do that and reflected on it earlier in the evening. I was talking about the President's plan and his wants and his goal and he wrote this test.

I hope that people understand, this is not a partisan fight between a Republican Congress and a Democratic President. This is not a partisan attack on Bill Clinton, the person. For all I know, the President and the First Lady genuinely care about educating America's children. But this is a vitally important debate about that, that is, about educating America's children.

The gentleman mentioned we held a field hearing of your committee in my city, in Phoenix. I cannot tell you how proud I am of the strides that have been made in Arizona in the education field. We are doing new and innovative things. We are charting new ground. We are doing, I think, not a perfect job, but a yeoman's job in a workmanlike

fashion to try to craft for Arizona school children the best education possible.

In some regards we are failing. We have an education funding debate going on in the State that needs to be resolved. But this much I know: I trust the parents and the teachers and the administrators and the local school boards in Arizona to focus on my children's education and to adapt the education that is necessary in my community, and I know that a test written thousands of miles away in Washington, D.C., a test written deep in the bowels of the Federal Department of Education, a test written by a handful of Federal education experts, cannot reflect my input or the input of the parents and the principals and the school administrators and the school board officials and the other people in Arizona that care about Arizona kids.

You know, it is the point, can you say that Mr. Leinwand and Secretary Riley care more about my kids' education than I do? If so, I would like to ask them what their names are, because they do not know the names of my kids, but parents and teachers know their kids and care about their education. They do not want to have shoved down their throat a federally written Department of Education test.

I want to just ask the gentleman, either gentleman can comment on this, you mentioned that a national test will drive school curricula all across America. That is, it will take choice, it will take educational options about curriculum away from the parents in Michigan in your district, or the parents in Arizona in my district, or the parents in Florida. I would like you to explain that.

Mr. WELDON of Florida. I just want to comment on that, and maybe the chairman of the education subcommittee can add to this, but that is one of the very important issues that I think we need to get into tonight.

We all know that testing is extremely valuable. It gives parents an idea how their kids are doing. It gives parents an idea how good the school is doing. But when you have the Federal Government in charge of testing, that is a whole different situation. When a school decides they want to use Iowa basic or want to use SAT, that is one issue. But when you have the Federal Government promulgating a test that has all kinds of very complex political and economic ramifications associated with it, and I am sure the gentleman from Michigan can comment on this issue, that is one of the other reasons why I am extremely concerned about this.

The point you are alluding to, that suddenly you can have a scenario where everybody's academic program is tailored to meet the requirements in the Federal test, I am not sure that is a good thing for the United States of America. I am not sure it would be the best thing for the people of the State of Florida to adopt standards that would

allow them to do well on the Bill Clinton, Federal-promoted test. I am not sure that is good for our economy in Florida.

I have some very serious concerns. I think the President is definitely moving much too hastily on this issue, and it really needs to be debated within this body, and the Committee on Education and the Workforce needs to take this issue up. I would be happy to yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

□ 2045

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

What we have found, as we have gone around the country, and again, in the 14 States that we have been to, and I think we have had multiple hearings in a couple of States, so we have probably been in 16 different cities, we have seen tremendous things in education, tremendous things in public education, private education. That is really the good thing of all these hearings. We have seen some wonderful things. There are some common ingredients.

We go into these environments, we ask the teachers, we ask parents, we ask administrators, we ask the business community, what is working in your school district, or who is making a difference? Why are your schools improving? What is the catalyst? I have still yet to hear someone say, it is that new Federal program, or it is this Federal program.

The schools that are doing well are typically where a group of parents, administrators, and teachers have taken back their school and said, we are going to focus on these kids, and we are not going to focus on the bureaucracy and the red tape that either comes from Sacramento or comes from Lansing; but we know the kids' names, we know what their needs are. We are going to focus on our kids. We are going to take our schools back.

We are going to, and this is what they are trying to do in Michigan as well, and what we are trying to do here in Washington, DC, as well, we are going to debate it next week, we are going to focus on getting the dollars from the bureaucracy and getting them into the classroom.

When we do national testing, what is going to happen? We are going to spend a dollar on a national test, and the first 20 or 30 cents is going to be spent on bureaucracy. Only 65 or 60 cents will actually be spent on giving a test that they really should not be taking anyway. We are going to get dollars into the classroom and focus on basic academics.

Mr. WELDON of Florida. If the gentleman will continue to yield for a question, Mr. Speaker, as I understand it, one of the additional concerns of this test is that this will take time away from teachers and their students in terms of basic education, learning, that they will have to devote a week, they are proposing, or several days out of a week, to sitting down and taking a

test, when they could be educating those children in crucial issues that are important for them to learn.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. What we talked about earlier, Mr. Speaker, what happens in this process is, No. 1, our kids go through all kinds of tests already. This is one more layer on top. It is not only the time that is spent on taking the test, but if a school district is going to be evaluated on a national basis, and every child in a classroom is going to be evaluated against every other child in the country, we can bet parents are going to expect and teachers are going to want to prepare their students for that test. They are going to spend a week or 2 weeks teaching to the test.

That is not what we want. We do not want teachers teaching to tests. We want teachers teaching to basic academics, the basic skills we want our children to learn.

Then there are other ways to measure how they are learning. There is not a need for the Federal Government to come in and put one more overlay on things that are already being done at the State and local level.

Mr. SHADEGG. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, sometimes in these discussions we get a little esoteric and just talk theory. I want to bring this back home.

There is a woman who teaches at Arizona State University in Phoenix, AZ, and in Tempe, AZ, who is a scholar herself and quite an expert in education. Her name is Marianne Jennings. She has written a nationally syndicated column on this issue.

It turns out that 1 day her eldest daughter was doing some homework in her bedroom, and Marianne walked in and interrupted the child as she was doing the homework. She looked down, and what the child was doing was using a calculator to calculate what 10 percent of 470 was. Mrs. Jennings looked at that and said, what are you doing?

And she discovered that her daughter needed a calculator to calculate 10 percent of 470, and needed a calculator to calculate what 25 percent of a fairly simple number was, and did not fully understand that 25 percent equaled one-quarter.

She became enraged, and started to get involved in this issue, and in her daughter's education. She discovered that what was happening was that her daughter was being taught whole math or new, new math. She had to inject herself deeply into her own daughter's education, because the focus was in the wrong direction.

I want to make the point that it is not that we do not understand the goal of national tests. Perhaps it would be worthwhile to compare the performance of kids in Arizona with the performance of kids in Michigan. But there are already ways we can do that, and in this proposal, we would create a single national test. That single national test could embody radical theories inside the Federal Department of

Education like Mr. Leinwand's new, new math or whole math, where students are not taught basic computational skills because Mr. Leinwand believes it is downright dangerous to teach them those basic skills.

I want to read or I want to emphasize this issue of "voluntary." The President says and listeners tonight might think, what is wrong with a voluntary test? I have heard our colleagues on the other side of the aisle here defend the national test by saying, look, if you out in Arizona, if you do not want to participate in these national tests, if you think the Department of Education should not write a one-size-fits-all math test on which every eighth-grader should be tested, you may simply opt out.

I want to point out to those listening that that option, that claim that that is voluntary, is a hollow claim. It will not work. In point of fact, and this is pointed out by Lynne Cheney in her article "A Failing Grade for Clinton's National Standards," she points out that even if my State, Arizona, chooses not to participate in the national tests, or your school district in your hometown chooses not to participate in the national test, there are in reality in America only a handful of textbook writers.

The minute we adopt as a Nation a single test, the minute we give away from Phoenix, AZ, to Washington, DC, the authority to write one test, every textbook writer in America will be compelled to bring out their next edition in math for 8th graders or reading for 4th graders to meet that national test.

The curriculum will indeed have been written in Washington, DC, as a result of that test, and so my school department, my school board, the principal at Stephen's school or Courtney's school, will not have hardly any choices but to adopt a text, a textbook, written to teach to that national test. I think it is a disastrous idea that scares me a great deal.

I want to point out that in today's Washington Times Mr. Riley makes a point. I want to quote. Mr. Riley says that instead of being controversial, he believes the country will embrace national tests as a chance to show their support for education.

"We think it's going to catch on, and we think the people in this country are going to almost look at it," that is, national testing, "as a patriotic thing, to get involved in getting this country to read well, getting this country to do math well, and getting our children ready for college and important jobs." It is like do not dare challenge us, we in Washington, DC, know all the answers.

The gentleman mentioned earlier that in his field hearings across the country what he found was that those schools that were succeeding were schools where the parents and teachers and the administrators in that school took possession of their children's edu-

cation. They said, the heck with the State capitol, the heck with Washington, DC, we are going to make education better right here.

I would like to ask the gentleman, will a nationally dictated curriculum in the form of a national test, to top-down give this test and do it on these subjects because we think this is the way math should be tested, is that going to help those people and encourage them to take control of their schools?

I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOEKSTRA].

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

No, Mr. Speaker, what our hearings have shown, as we have talked with parents, teachers, and administrators, developing a test is a very personal and very important issue.

In the State of Michigan, we have made progress in developing a test, but if this test is not embraced at the local level by the parents and by the teachers, the American people will not rise up and embrace this test that they have had no input in.

Secretary Riley may be a bright person, but there is no way, without bringing that grass-roots support and involvement in at the beginning of the process, that we can expect that a bunch of bureaucrats here in Washington are going to write a test that is going to be embraced in Hawaii, Detroit, Holland, Phoenix, or in Florida. There is absolutely no way.

This is not about patriotism, this is about what works. This is a test that has to be developed at the grass-roots level up. If we issue a national test and we then test our kids, and that test is not a well-developed test and is not supported by the parents, we will not have Americans embracing this, we will have American parents in an uproar, because we will have tested their kids and given them a grade or score on a test that they do not believe in, and a test that has not been validated. It is the greatest disservice we could do to our local school districts, to our kids, and to their parents.

Mr. SHADEGG. It is a basic character of human nature to take possession of your own ideas. If you get involved in your own school and in your own children's education and you start working on making their education better, you are going to work at it and care about it.

If you get told, no, we do not need your input, we have gotten some experts in Washington, DC, to write the test, and those experts know what the right curriculum is, so do not bother showing up for the school board meeting where the curriculum is going to be discussed, that has already been decided in Bill Clinton's Washington, DC.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. If the gentleman will continue to yield, the question we really ought to be asking is why is the administration rushing to write a test? Why are they not involving Congress, why are they not involving the appro-

priate committees, why are they not involving the Governors, why are they not involving teachers and parents and school administrators? Why are they rushing to get this thing done without any involvement?

It is absolutely going to fail, and the question is why? Why do we need to rush through this, and why can we not involve different people in this process?

Mr. SHADEGG. I think it is an excellent question, and probably a great question on which to kind of end this discussion.

The reality is that we are on the verge of adopting a national test on which Congress will have had no input, on which local parents and teachers will have had no input. I simply want to make clear to everybody who might be listening tonight across America that this issue will be decided within the next few days to few weeks here in the U.S. Congress, in the House and in the Senate.

If they do not think a one-size-fits-all Washington, DC, exam written that is crammed down their throats without the chairman of the subcommittee in charge of this area having some input, without the local State superintendent of public instruction having the ability to have input, but most importantly, without them as parents or teachers of their children, or as a school principal, if they do not want that crammed down your throat, we need their support now to stop this, and stop it before it goes any further.

I think it holds the potential, as one of the articles that has been written suggests, of being a national calamity. I think it will be an absolute disaster if we turn the education of our children in America over to Washington, DC. We owe the children of America more than abdicating our responsibility to Washington, DC, and letting their education be dictated millions of miles from their homes and thousands of layers of bureaucrats from their own principal or their own teacher.

Mr. WELDON of Florida. If the gentleman will continue to yield, Mr. Speaker, I just want to add that what the gentleman says is critical. The future of our children's education, it is not just about them and their lives, it is about our whole Nation.

We have learned, we have discovered, that the future lies not only in our ability today to be innovative, but in the ability of our children tomorrow to compete, to be inventive. We need to be doing what we can to make sure we are making education better in America. This is an ill-advised scheme, in my opinion, that the President should shelve. I again commend the gentleman for his initiative.

Mr. SHADEGG. It may be well-intended, but it has the potential to be a disaster. If we write one test in Washington and it is bad, we will not be able to change it for decades to come. In a global economy, we will perhaps be handicapped.

I will yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOEKSTRA] to close, if he would like.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. What we have found as we have gone across the country is schools, where they are working, where they have done a good job with the children, are those where there is local parental control, not where Washington is dictating the agenda.

This is about where are education decisions for our children going to be made. Is the direction going to be at the local level, or is it going to be moved to Washington, DC? All we have to do is go around the country, take a look at the grass-roots level. We will be surprised at the wonderful things that are going on in all types of education, public, private, parochial, religious education efforts. But it is because of grass roots, not because of what we are doing here in Washington.

□ 2100

Moving to national testing is moving more decision making to Washington away from the very people that are making a difference in our kids' lives today. We need to begin a process of moving power and money back to parents and the local school districts, not continuing on this trend of moving it to Washington. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for this special order.

Mr. SHADEGG. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for joining me. I want to conclude by saying that national testing is one of those ideas where the proponents believe that Washington knows best and I suggest they are wrong. Washington does not know best how to educate your children in your school or my children in my school. You can do it better.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to help us to reject the idea of national testing, which would give too much responsibility to Washington and take too much away from the parents and their child's teacher.

PLUTONIUM POWER SOURCE PROVEN SAFE ON NASA PROBE TO SATURN

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. WELDON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WELDON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak on the recent Cassini mission to Saturn. This was a successful launch on a Titan launch vehicle that left Cape Canaveral a week ago tomorrow morning. Actually, it was 4 a.m. on Wednesday. It was a mission that garnered a lot of publicity, primarily because the probe, this deep space probe that was going to one of the moons of Saturn, it is a moon called Titan, it had a plutonium power source on it. The source of electricity to run all the computers and the sensors on this satellite, this probe, was

plutonium, and as everybody knows, plutonium is radioactive and it is dangerous.

Mr. Speaker, as soon as I heard about this mission 6 months ago or so and I knew it was going to be going off, I immediately had some of the leaders of the Cassini program from NASA come into my office and brief me, because I live in that area and I remember very well the controversy surrounding the Galileo mission. I am sure many Americans remember the Galileo mission, which was a mission to Jupiter, and we had a probe that went into the Jupiter atmosphere. It was a very successful mission and got a lot of publicity.

So 5 years ago when that mission was taking off, at that time there was a lot of controversy as well about the plutonium power source. I was also concerned because I live in the area, my wife and daughter live in the area, my father lives in the area, all of my friends live in the area. So I wanted to find out the facts on this issue, and I was actually very disappointed to see, they never really came out in any of the press coverage on the Cassini mission.

The plutonium that they use to power these vehicles is plutonium that has been solidified in a ceramic. It is encased in metal and it has essentially been tested and tested and tested so that it can withstand a disaster. And indeed I discovered on my research on this issue that actually at one point there was a mission that failed on the launch pad and the rocket blew up with the plutonium on board. It was out in California at Vandenberg Air Force Base. And not only did the plutonium power source, they call it an RTG power source, not only did it not break up and spill plutonium into the atmosphere, they were actually able to clean the thing up and put it on another satellite, it was constructed so well to withstand the blast.

The other issue that there has been some concern about is that this thing could reenter the atmosphere and in the process of burning up, that it would release all of this plutonium into the atmosphere. And they have also designed the plutonium power source so that if it does reenter the atmosphere, it has a casing around it and the casing absorbs the heat and it never actually burns up.

Indeed, I found out that plutonium RTG's were actually on the Apollo mission, and Apollo 13, when it reentered the atmosphere, there were plutonium RTG's on the Apollo 13, and they survived the reentry and there was no release of plutonium into the atmosphere.

The bottom line is here that the engineers, the men and women who designed this power source, and it has been used 26 times safely on various missions, and as well they use the same technology in Russia and they have used it on many missions. It is designed to withstand an explosion on the launch pad without releasing any

plutonium into the atmosphere, and it is designed to reenter if there were an accident and it were to fall back to Earth and not burn up and not release any plutonium into the atmosphere.

So, Mr. Speaker, the point is basically this. They have designed it so that it is safe and there is no way, if one talks to these scientists there is no way that we could send probes out to Jupiter, out to Saturn, to those outer planets, without this power source.

People will say, well we can use solar. The solar rays are so weak when probes get that far out from the sun that we would have to have a solar array as big as the State of New Jersey to drive this probe. It is impossible to do that.

Well, it turned out the mission went off successfully. It was a successful launch. Cassini is on its way to Titan and it is going to yield valuable scientific information. The news media did a disservice and the scare tactics did not work, and I congratulate NASA.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 97, FURTHER CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1998

Mr. MCINNIS (during the special order of the gentleman from New York, Mr. OWENS) submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 105-333) on the resolution (H. Res. 269) providing for consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 97) making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1998, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2247, AMTRAK REFORM AND PRIVATIZATION ACT OF 1997

Mr. MCINNIS (during the special order of the gentleman from New York, Mr. OWENS) submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 105-334) on the resolution (H. Res. 270) providing for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2247) to reform the statutes relating to Amtrak, to authorize appropriations for Amtrak, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1534, PRIVATE PROPERTY RIGHTS IMPLEMENTATION ACT OF 1997

Mr. MCINNIS (during the special order of the gentleman from New York, Mr. OWENS) submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 105-335) on the resolution (H. Res. 271) providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 1534) to simplify and expedite access to the Federal courts for injured parties whose rights and privileges, secured by the United