

the majority leader said one time, "We need to reform welfare, not because people on welfare are abusing the system but because the system is abusing people on welfare."

Let me just say, Mr. Speaker, that that bill should be a model of what we try and do and in fact have done in other areas. We have reformed substantially the incentives in the criminal justice system. We have made a start in changing the tax system. We need to continue linking once again the law to responsibility, linking once again the responsibility that people normally have for the decisions that they make. That is the way to rebuild America. That is what we are trying to do here. That is the new consensus that is emerging in Washington. Mr. Speaker, it has been a pleasure to declaim on this subject for a few minutes.

Mr. ARMEY. I thank the gentleman again. Mr. Speaker, here we are. We have had a pretty decent, as we like to say, truck driver's review of a lot of the things very important to the American people. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PITTS) came in earlier and talked about the founders of this great Nation, how they were governed by faith, born mostly from our Judeo-Christian traditions; how serious were such words as honor, duty, dignity, respect, decency, morality, ethics, truthfulness, and how much that was the foundation on which this great Nation was built. We have had some look at the character and the nature of the American people. For all our foibles, Mr. Speaker, we really have not as a Nation strayed that far from those wonderful, courageous, devoted, dedicated people that founded this great Nation. We are still fundamentally good people, and we are still fundamentally people that depend upon rules of law and rules of governance around which we might organize ourselves and our personal lives and our relationship to one another. We do look to the government. Then it comes to some of us to be part of the government.

I was struck today, I had for me an incredible privilege. I actually was able to substitute for the Speaker of the House today in the business of swearing in a new Member of our body, 435 people, all of whom are given a trust, a sense of responsibility, a certain amount of confidence and faith and expectation placed in each and every one of us. I suppose maybe we do not stop and think back about how big a deal that is in our lives and how big it can be in the lives of others who have trusted us. I am sure the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. CAPPS) did today on this day of her first day of work as a Member of the Congress of the United States, charged with the responsibility of writing law.

I think what we must do is ask ourselves, what is our responsibility? Who are we and what are we doing here? We look for examples. We in Texas, for example, like to cite our favorite Speaker Sam Rayburn, a man of great sage

advice. We read the history books and we know of other great Speakers. We know of other great Members. We have read Profiles in Courage and we all hope that someday we might be included in the same way. But how do we decide the model that will govern us? What a difficult thing to reconcile the authority and the responsibility placed in us with the fact that what it is we are responsible for is to writing the law by which a Nation of free people will govern itself.

It begins, I believe, with our first knowing the goodness of the American people and first committing ourselves to represent the best of the American people, not their fears and not their doubts and not their reservations or their jealousies or their envies or their angers, but what is truly the best of their hopes and their dreams, their abilities, their contributions, their citizenship and, yes, indeed, their faith. So we look for examples. It is not enough, I believe, for us to be here and be satisfied that the work we do is good. I think we must go beyond that and conduct ourselves in our own personal life either on the job or off such that others that look to those of us that were given this responsibility and this privilege and yes, this authority, will see in us an example of someone that is good, that is at once an example that can be held up before your children and at the same time an encouragement to those children to live out in their lives the best of all that goodness that was placed in each and every one of those precious children by a wonderful God and Creator who had the generosity to create us after His own image.

So where do we look? Let me suggest that we look to that Creator, that most wonderful Creator who must have had his frustrations, do you not suppose, with the children of Abraham, as we read in the Old Testament, as they wandered and they struggled and they were serving and they vacillated between faith and doubt? How many times do you suppose they let their God and their Creator down with their inability to understand or their inability to accept or their inability to practice in their own lives a disciplined faith? Yet He never left them. How many times have we said, you and I, in our own childhood and we have heard it from our own children, have we not, "Well, if God is so powerful, why doesn't he just stop me from doing those things?"

□ 2045

So if I was bad, it must be his fault. But that is what freedom is all about, is it not, giving us both the freedom to do, to choose, and the responsibility that goes with it.

As I read in the Old Testament about the struggle and the search of the children of Abraham and the expressions of hope by their God and their Creator, our God and our Creator, I am struck by something. The Lord God Almighty

looked down on these people searching for a way, and He said, I hope My children will know My laws and obey them so things will go well for them. He did not say, so that they would know My power and know My authority and know I am in command here. His hope was about His children, that they would know His laws and obey them so things would go well with them.

Lord God Almighty did not give us many laws, Mr. Speaker. He gave us a lot of helpful suggestions, many of which can be found in Proverbs, my favorite book of the Bible. So many helpful suggestions, but very few laws. It should not be hard for us to remember them. But Lord God knew His people. He knew the goodness that was in these people. He knew their needs, and He wrote only those laws that were necessary so that a free people, knowing his laws and obeying them, would find that things would go well for them.

Maybe, Mr. Speaker, as we practice the authorities and the responsibilities and the privilege granted to us by people that have elected us to these positions, maybe someday if we are successful, we can draw from that model; we can look back on our careers, we can look at the way we have conducted ourselves as an example before others, and hopefully, as an encouragement before others, and look at our legislative record, and maybe we can say, I hope my children know and obey my laws so things will go well for them. And perhaps, if we can have any confidence, we might in some way emulate that wonderful kindness and great charity given to us by a God who is of such generosity that He would create us humble beings in His own image.

It is a serious matter we have discussed here this evening. We have not done justice to it. We find ourselves leaving this hour's discussion, even after the wonderful contributions given by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PITTS); the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. HAYWORTH); the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. TALENT); and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), and my own meager offering here, probably with more questions than answers. But are they not great questions, Mr. Speaker? Questions about the goodness of a people in a land that was created by people to do honor to the greatest gift of all, the gift of freedom from Lord God Almighty, our Creator.

#### CONTINUING STATE OF EMERGENCY IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN EDUCATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BURR of North Carolina). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from New York (Mr. OWENS) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I want to talk about the continuing state of emergency in African American education. I have come here many times to

talk about education, and I may seem repetitious, but I only come because I do not see enough movement among the decisionmakers at any level to deal with the emergency that we confront in the African American community. I do not see enough movement at the Federal level, I do not see it at the State level, I do not see it at the local level either, and I think that it sort of contradicts the intense feeling of the American people about education. They really want us to make some movements in a more rapid and a more positive way toward resolving some of the problems that our schools face.

Despite the fact that the polls continually show that the American people rank education as a priority problem, there is this slow movement, and the problem faced by the mainstream community is serious enough. However, the problem faced by the African American community, where most of our young people who are school age are concentrated in the big cities of America, in the inner-city communities, they are staggering. The schools in many of our big cities are literally basket cases, and that is no exaggeration.

I do want to punctuate my remarks before I go into a more thorough discussion of the emergency in the African American community, the education emergency, I want to punctuate my remarks with some good news. There is some good news that I would like to share with the people out there whose common sense has helped to make this happen. The common sense of the American people keeps bubbling up and getting to some of our top decisionmakers, and I think that it is finally breaking through to our top decisionmakers that construction, school construction, is at the heart of any effort to improve our schools.

School construction and school repairs and things related to the simple matter of physical safety, and adequate equipment in the schools, those matters are central to any improvement efforts we make. One cannot really seriously talk about reducing class sizes and having a better ratio of students to teachers unless we also build additional classrooms. These are common-sense matters, but there are people who want to move on to reduce the sizes of classes, but they do not want to talk about construction. That costs too much money. They want to deal with a nonsolution.

If we do not have the classrooms, and we talk about funds for more teachers, then that is a nonsolution. More teachers cannot decrease the ratio of students to teachers if they do not have a classroom to go into to teach those students.

So the good news is that at the meeting this afternoon, Vice President GORE announced that on April 8 there will be a national forum on the whole issue of school construction, a national electronic forum. We are going to have a big event here in Washington that

will be broadcast all across the country, and various groups will be meeting, and satellites will tie in some of the discussion.

It is a very important development because it means that as far as the President is concerned, as far as this administration is concerned, they are not slacking, they are not hesitating to go forward with their push to get something accomplished that is significant in school construction in this year.

I was disappointed that it fell off the radar screen last year. Somewhere the negotiations between the President and the majority party in the Congress, construction got lost and was taken off the table. It is quite clear that the President does not intend to take it off the table this time, and one indication of the commitment of this administration to a construction program is the fact that on April 8 there will be a national forum, a national discussion.

Everybody is invited to do something at their own local level. I think Congress at that time will be on recess, but we are invited to do things back in our district, and I certainly plan to make certain that we do something of high visibility in my district to link up with the administration's effort to put construction, school renovation and things related to providing safe physical facilities for our children on the front burner in everybody's mind.

We need to raise the level of awareness still of the voters and the average citizen, but I think they may already be ahead of the decisionmakers in our city councils and the decisionmakers in the State legislature and some of the decisionmakers here in Congress who are still not aware of the fact that this is crucial. Construction and everything related to physical facilities is crucial.

The President's proposal is for \$22 billion in loans. The loan program that was proposed last year has been made better by the fact that the last year's proposal talked of low interest rates and the Federal Government subsidizing so that those low interest rates would be there for the districts that chose to borrow to build schools. This time, the proposal says that there will be no interest rates. In other words, no interest will be charged. The principal is all that the locality will have to pay back. They are going to subsidize through tax credits. The lending institution, a variety of institutions that are going to participate in this process, the lending institution will receive a tax credit which will cover what they would normally be charging in interest, and the Federal Government will be responsible for that tax credit.

This is a proposal that still has to pass. It has the support of the administration and in large part of the Congress, certainly the Democratic Members.

I hope that we can keep a focus on this common-sense agenda. It is a simple matter on the one hand; it does not take a Ph.D., a very high IQ, to under-

stand that we cannot improve education unless the place where the children come to learn is properly equipped, it is safe, conducive to learning, the laboratories have equipment for science courses that are held; there is a library. There are all kinds of things that need to happen.

We need to also consider educational technology, telecommunications equipment, computers and video equipment. All of that is not a luxury anymore. That should be integrated into the whole process of improving our instruction, and those are capital items that ought to be in the fiscal facilities' budgets. Let us keep the common sense on target.

Let us support the effort on April 8 and use it to further pressure our elected officials to move on school construction. They can move in New York City. They have more than \$1 billion surplus. They expect \$1 billion surplus from this year's budget. That surplus should be dedicated partially, certainly, to some aspect of school construction. Maybe New York can show that it cares about its children by first dedicating part of that available \$1 billion surplus to the elimination of coal-burning furnaces.

We have almost 300 schools that have coal-burning furnaces, and we could move to eliminate those coal-burning furnaces. Maybe on April 8 in New York City, we need to highlight this whole matter of the coal-burning furnaces as a way to get it started. New York State has more than \$2 billion in surplus, and that surplus, some part of that could be dedicated to the elimination of the coal-burning schools. There is no reason why the combination of the city surplus funds and State surpluses could not be used right away to eliminate the coal-burning furnaces.

We do not have to wait for the Federal Government, but I am grateful that the Federal Government, under the leadership of President Clinton, is going to remain on target. I hope that out of shame the localities like the State of New York and the City of New York, local governments and State governments all over the country will be shamed into getting out there and taking the lead before the Federal Government comes to our rescue, and I hope that the Federal Government's insistence that something must be done will certainly wake up the citizens to push and pressure and demand that we get some action on this matter of school construction.

□ 2100

School construction is at the heart of any improvement, but there are many other things that have to happen.

Tonight I do want to talk about some of the other things that must happen in order to really improve education in general and, specifically, education in the African American schools, schools where most of our African American students are educated.

They still are, by and large, segregated in big cities in the North and

far West. The patterns of housing are such and the dwindling commitment to integration is such that most of them are still going to school in segregated schools.

I do not plan to deal with the virtues of segregation versus the evils of segregation, or the virtues of integration versus the evils of integration. I do not care to deal with that tonight. I think that the fact is that the way things have developed, we have large numbers of African American youth in inner city schools, and those schools are in terrible shape.

I want to talk tonight from the base of a lecture that was given by an expert on this subject. I want to use excerpts from that lecture to pinpoint the kinds of things that are happening in African American education across the country.

I heard a presentation by the author of this lecture. I heard the presentation on February 25 at Howard University, where we had a breakfast forum sponsored by the National Commission for African American Education and CRESPAR. CRESPAR is a program funded to help students placed at risk by OERI, the Office of Education, Research and Improvement.

A combination of CRESPAR and the National Commission for African American Education sponsored this forum. This is the first of three forums. There is one each month; and one is going to be held on March 25, also at Howard University; and another will be held in April.

The subject was the state of African American education, and the presenter was Dr. Antoine M. Garibaldi, who is the provost of Howard University. Dr. Garibaldi had previously given a lecture, the annual Charles H. Thompson lecture, on November 5 of last year. This lecture was used as the basis of his excerpts and his summary presentation at the February 25 breakfast forum sponsored by the National Commission for African American Education and CRESPAR.

The contents here, what I am about to read some excerpts from, this total presentation will appear in the *Journal of Negro Education* in the spring of 1998. I do not know, they do not give the exact publication date, but the contents of this presentation will be there in full. The *Journal of Negro Education* will have this lecture entitled, "Four Decades of Progress and Decline: An Assessment of African American Educational Attainment." So I am going to read some excerpts from this presentation, which I think is a very good summary.

I also want to utilize the recently published test results from the New York City school system. The New York Times and the Daily News and some other papers carried the results of the reading and math tests for the elementary schools, and this past week they had the results from the middle schools and the high schools also. I have with me the results. I am going to

confine my remarks to the elementary schools and the test results and what that means.

I think New York City and the education system in New York City is an excellent place for case studies, or one big case study. We have a system with 1,100 schools and 1,100,000-plus students, more than 60,000 teachers. It is a fantastic laboratory for education. All kinds of things are going on there. It is a central-policy-making body, but it only makes general policy.

They have 32 community school boards, and they differ in the policy-making bodies that they have. Therefore, the policies and the emphases differ, even though they are under one basic chancellor and one board of education. These differences are very interesting to behold. There are patterns that apply throughout the city to communities that are similar in terms of income and demography, and there are patterns sometimes that are broken, suddenly.

When you see schools that break out of a pattern, it seems to me a good example to go study and find out why you have a high-performing school in an area of great poverty, when most of the schools in areas of great poverty in New York perform very poorly.

The results of the reading and math tests, the test scores, in summary say to me that we have a basket case of a system in many of our districts. Many of our district's education has almost ceased to take place. The scores are so low that you cannot say you are educating anyone. Too many of the districts have those kinds of reading and math scores.

I think that I could venture safely to say that the school system of New York City today, in 1998, is much worse than the school system of New York City was 10 years ago, in 1988. In 1998, it is much worse than it was in 1988. Ten years have been 10 years of decline.

One major reason for this, an obvious reason, is that we pulled the leadership out of our schools. Responding to budget emergencies in the school system, we encouraged the most knowledgeable people, the people with the most experience, to leave the system. To save money, we wrecked the system. No corporation when it downsizes is as foolish as the New York City school system was.

I will not say the school system was foolish. I do not think the teachers and administrators who made those decisions were foolish. It was the city hall and the budget crisis that motivated and pressured the system into taking these tremendous cuts by encouraging the most experienced staff to leave because they had the highest salaries. They had advanced up the ladder and those were the highest salaries.

You can save a lot of money if you get rid of high-salary people and you bring in brand-new people to start at entry level. The problem with people starting at entry level, they have no experience as to how to run schools, as

to how to teach. They need people with experience on top.

That one action, which was really driven by budget considerations, it was the wrong decision. They should have done something else, somewhere else in the budget. The last thing that should have been done was to encourage the leadership to leave the schools.

So we have schools that were not good 10 years ago that are far worse now as a result of many forces, but the major factor is the fact that they pulled out the leadership. They pulled out the best teachers and the best administrators.

We cannot blame this on the top administrator, because we have had three or four top administrators in the position of chancellor in the last 10 years. The present one has been there 2 years, and we cannot really hold him accountable for what has happened. A chancellor in New York City would have to be around for 5 to 10 years before we could really hold him accountable. I hope we can maintain some kind of continuity and the present chancellor will be around long enough to see if that leadership has some continuity and will be able to stabilize the system and stop it from going down more rapidly and also to improve the system.

I also want to speak about some observations that I have in the pending markup of the Higher Education Assistance Act tomorrow. I want to talk about the impact of higher education and what is happening in our colleges, on what is happening in our African American elementary and secondary schools.

I am talking about the state of emergency in African American education. The emergency goes right through with higher education. The number of students in higher education is nothing to brag about. We have an increase, and I am going to talk about that number of African American students in higher education, the number who have graduated, the number getting masters' degrees and Ph.D.s. Those are increasing, but far too slowly.

The number who are going into teaching, who come out of college, is decreasing. The number of African Americans who go into teaching and the percentage of African American teachers in the schools where the greatest number of African American students attend has declined over the years. It has gone down. That is part of the problem.

I want to make some observations about the fact that we are considering the reauthorization of the Higher Education Assistance Act in a markup tomorrow in the Committee on Education and the Workforce. The Committee on Education and the Workforce will be considering this piece of legislation, which is only reauthorized once every 5 years, so it is a critical piece of legislation.

As we go into the 21st century we are making a statement about the role of the Federal Government in higher education. I am not pleased with the kind

of openness of this discussion up to now. I am not pleased with the breadth of the inclusiveness of this discussion.

I have been here in Congress, this is my 16th year. I have gone through two reauthorizations of the Higher Education Assistance Act, and the other two were under our former colleague from Michigan, Representative Bill Ford, who later became the chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, and Bill Ford was noted for his inclusiveness in the decision-making.

The way he approached the reauthorization was a whole year in advance he began the process. He started the process by sending out the old bill, the existing law, and asking for comments on existing law. A widespread request went out to all the people in the higher education community, asking them to give us their input as to how they would like the existing law changed. He started this process a whole year in advance of the markups.

We had a process where people were involved. We had hearings at the regional level. We had hearings in Washington. We had all kinds of discussions going on in the higher education community, and when we finally came to the process of markup, there was a thorough understanding of what the issues were, a thorough understanding of what was being proposed.

Then the markups went on sometimes for quite a long time. The higher education markup never concluded in one day. It is too great a burden to bear to rush through this process, and I hope we do not rush through it tomorrow.

I think as we approach the year 2000, given the fact that the country now is enjoying one of the greatest eras of prosperity that we have known in this century, given the fact that we do not have to worry about deficits anymore, given the fact that there is no Cold War, given the fact that there are places where there are large numbers of vacancies, job vacancies, especially in the telecommunications and information technology area.

The information and technology area requires higher education beyond high school, generally; and there are a great number of vacancies. They estimate there are as many as 300,000 vacancies. I get a different number every day, but it keeps climbing. There are 300,000 vacancies now, and the projection is that this is going to go on for the next 10 years.

We are going to need more and more people who are trained and well-educated with respect to information technology. We are going to need people who are not so well-trained. For every genius, we are going to need some assistance. For the designers for web sites and computer systems and software, we are going to need their helpers.

We are going to need technologists, mechanics, aides in the schools. We are going to need a whole bevy of people to make educational technology work. If

you saddle a teacher with the burden of having to take care of her own educational technology program with no help, the likelihood is they are going to be overwhelmed. So they need technologists in the schools. They need aides in the schools. They are going to need all kinds of people.

I do not think that they have taken into consideration all of the places we are going to need technology workers. It is one item that should be considered as we consider a Higher Education Assistance Act. I will be offering an amendment tomorrow which deals with this.

Finally, I want to end my comments on the continuing state of emergency in African American education by discussing a situation in New York City at another level. We had a problem with our elementary and secondary schools. We now have a problem with our higher education institutions.

The City of New York, CUNY, the City of New York University system, the CUNY system has more than 200,000 students. There are all kinds of junior colleges, senior colleges. It is a huge enterprise; and a large number of the colleges, community colleges and senior colleges, have remedial education programs.

For some reason, the mayor and the Board of Higher Education has declared war on remedial education. Suddenly, remedial education is being treated with great contempt. They have remedial education courses all over the country. I do not know why suddenly in New York remedial education programs are being treated with such great contempt. It is a great mistake.

There is a crusade against remedial education, blindly lashing out and saying it does not belong in the schools and threatening to extract them and put them at the institutes. There is a whole lot of heat being generated about something without very much light. I am going to talk about that as part of my total discussion on the continuing state of emergency in African American education.

I am pleased to see that I have been joined by my colleague, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD), who I yield to for a statement.

□ 2115

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. I thank the gentleman so much. When I heard the gentleman speak about the emergency state that our education system is in, I had no other recourse but to come to this floor. Let me first thank the gentleman for his unwavering, tireless efforts on behalf of the children of this country because he comes to this floor every night to talk about the conditions of education in this country and until we do something about that, I am sure he is going to continue to come and he is going to pull some of us out. Because we recognize what the state of emergency the education system is in, as I serve on

the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, I was pleased to hear the President's education initiative that he brought on the night of the State of the Union. And there are two very key components of that education initiative. One is the 100,000 new qualified teachers. We must have qualified teachers to teach our students if they are to engage in this global work force beyond the year 2000.

The second part of that initiative is school construction. We can ill afford to talk about the infrastructure of our roads and bridges and not talk about the infrastructure of our schools. You are absolutely right. They are dilapidated. They are the worst things that we can provide for our children when we talk about environments that are conducive to learning.

I have gone to a lot of schools, the majority of the schools in my district, but a lot of other schools across this Nation. It is absolutely deplorable that we want to talk about educating our children when we do not put our money where our mouths are in, putting up the funds for the school construction to build the infrastructure for educating our children. It is absolutely unconscionable that we sit in this House and those on the other side of the aisle speak about education and speak about productivity when it comes to businesses but they do not see that it starts in the classrooms. When children have to run for cover when it rains because of leaky roofs, when they are sitting in classrooms and the plaster falls from the walls and from the top of the classroom and they have to run, that is lost productivity in a sense because they are not being trained. Therefore, they are not learning and it impedes those students.

So what you are talking about is absolutely the number one issue in this country. If we are going to talk about education and the quality of education, we must first put our children in classrooms and facilities that are conducive to learning.

I brought some statistics along and I want you to just hear me out here for a second. One-third of all elementary and secondary schools in the United States serving 14 million students need extensive repair or renovation. Now this is what we are talking about.

Mr. OWENS. I am pleased that the gentlewoman has brought these statistics. You are talking about all students. We are talking about the mainstream. I am going to focus on just the African American community, but it is bad in many other places outside the African American community, suburbs and rural as well as in the inner cities.

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. Absolutely. I come from inner city so I am talking about the schools in the Los Angeles Unified School District, in the Compton School District, in the Long Beach School District. These are urban school districts that I am talking about, with the majority minority students. As we look at the work force in

the year 2000 and beyond, it will be a majority minority. But we cannot educate kids in these dilapidated schools. That is what we are talking about.

Minority students, African American students, Latinos, Asians and others, they will not be able to move into the 21st century because they will be behind having been impeded by the lack of infrastructure in these schools.

Let me give you some more statistics. Over 60 percent of the Nation's 100,000 public and elementary school facilities need major repair. We are talking about schools across the strata but we are really talking about a lot of the urban schools because that is where the parents are not able to put money into the schools to help, whereas in suburban schools, some suburban schools and some is rural schools. Rural schools and urban schools are pretty much in the same boat. They, too, are witnessing a decline in school facilities that will not be conducive for children and their learning. In 1996, an estimated \$112 billion was needed to repair and upgrade school facilities into a good condition, not excellent condition, which means that the child might come in and something, plaster might fall on them. So when you talk about our African American children, you are talking about schools that are absolutely dilapidated and we should feel badly, we should really feel, talking about feeling ungodly, we should when we ask kids to go to these types of schools to learn. We do not come to this House where the roof is leaking and the plaster is falling. Why should we ask the 50 something million children in this country to be put in that type of environment.

So I am happy tonight that you have come to talk about that and to talk about all of the things that are impeding the quality education, public education that is sorely needed in this country. Public education must be the tool that helps African American children, other minority children to get the head start that they need if we are going to cross this bridge into the 21st century with students and ultimately workers to be prepared for this global work force.

I will defer to the gentleman.

Mr. OWENS. I think you have said public education. I just wanted to make a note here that large numbers of parents in the African American community, when they are interviewed for polls have been indicating that they want to send their children to private schools. The majority party, the Republicans are offering vouchers and scholarships, et cetera, to go to private schools as an answer, a solution to this problem. However, I have no problem with parents who want to send their children to private school if they can get them in. We have the mayor of New York with a scholarship program which provides spaces in private schools for 1000 youngsters. There are 1,120,000 plus youngsters who go to school in New York. So when they put out the indica-

tion that they want applications for the 1000 places, they got 22,000 applications, 22,000 applications for 1000 places. Here in Washington I understand they had a situation where they put out the same thing. There is a scholarship fund that has been set up by the private sector and they got 7000 applications for 1000 different places. Suppose they had more money and could give more tuition scholarships, how many private schools are there that can absorb the youngsters who are attending our public schools? How many are there and how quickly will they run out of space? Many of them have waiting lists for people who can afford to pay. They do not have room for them, let alone people who are coming in on the scholarship basis. So most of our children are going to be educated in public schools. I am all in favor of charter schools and experimenting with charter schools, but the reality is that in the next 10 years most of the children of America, certainly 95 percent of the children who live in the inner city who are African American are going to be educated in public schools. We have to improve public schools. That is the only real solution that is going to help African American students and parents.

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. And the one real solution to keep America strong, we must invest in public education. Vouchers are not the answer. I can tell you that unequivocally, because when you give the vouchers, you are only giving X amount of dollars, supposedly, for the tuitional fee or tuitional cost of the student going to a private school. But you do not take into consideration the transportation that the parent has to provide for that student to go over there. If that student gets ill, the means by which or the inability of parents to go, to find their way to the school to take the child to what we perceive now, not really any health care facilities at all. The kids are not networking in the community of which they live. As a former educator, I will say to you, I fought the voucher in California and will fight it again because vouchers are not the answer. I am for charter schools, for those experimental types of schools that will allow the local control to be in control of their schools and that is because parents are involved in that process. That is why I am open to that concept. But never to the one that suggests that vouchers will be the answer when vouchers have not and will not be the answer to quality education for students. You are taking them out of their neighborhood environments. You are putting them oftentimes in environments that are more hostile because they do not know anyone and it becomes an isolated environment and then the parents are ill prepared to go and get the child if the child is sick. And so the voucher system is not a system that will work. I submit to you that a lot of our Presidents went to public schools, finished public schools.

Mr. OWENS. We share the same sentiments, but I think you are aware of what is taking place in the African American community, that there are large numbers of parents who have given up on the system and they want, they say they want vouchers. The polls show this. What is happening is our Republican colleagues, by the way, they know that in their districts their constituents do not want vouchers. Their constituents want continued improvement in public schools and they think they have good public schools so their own constituencies are not interested in vouchers. They are going to go out and advocate for the African American parents that they should have vouchers and they are using them as guinea pigs, they are whipping up all of these false promises about what vouchers may produce. And as I pointed out before, when you come to the point where you have the places in the private schools that are all too few and nevertheless they keep pushing the idea that vouchers are the answers to school improvement in America. It is a dogma. They seem blind to the reality and to reason. They go right ahead. But they are parading, there are parading African American parents out to support that argument. Our first duty is to get to the African American parents and leaders, and it is hard to tell them not to give up on the public school system because they have gone through so much and, as I said before, New York, things are getting worse in the public school system. But we have no choice. We have to drive it home. We have no choice. Most of our children are going to be educated in the public school system. We must improve the public education.

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. Absolutely. I am a product of the private schools, but my father paid for the tuition, not, he did not strip public education funds for me to go to a private school. And so I submit to you for parents who want to pay for the private tuition, so be it. But we can ill afford to have anyone in this body strip the funds from public education to trick parents into going to schools whereby the parents will not be able to continue, first of all, the tuition fee. Tuition fee as we looked at this a couple of years ago when we had that as a proposition on the California ballot was beyond the amounts of money that the voucher system would entitle them to have. So consequently, they would not have enough money to even pay for the tuition, let alone the transportation and all other factors that are embedded in this whole notion of transferring kids from public schools to private schools. I will say to you that I am not for that, but a lot of my parents are not for that; they are African American parents. Maybe it is because we have drilled them quite a bit. We have had sessions with them, and they do understand the ramifications of the issue if in fact they would choose to do that. And they do not choose to have a voucher system.

Mr. OWENS. Maybe it is because they have excellent leadership in an educator like you. They understand better.

Ms. MILLENDER-McDONALD. We are trying to educate the masses because I think it is important that we do that. I think we as CBC Members should really do the network and the cross to the school board Members and others to educate our constituencies to let them know that stop before you pick up the wrong plum because that might not be the plum, that might be the plum with the worm in it.

□ 2130

We must be careful of folks coming in sheep clothing because it may not be the right thing that is applicable to our child getting a quality education.

I think we can do that. We can do that and should do that expeditiously so that we can provide the type of leadership that African Americans and other minorities need when it comes to this voucher program. We must just turn off from that and start looking at the number of children who must be educated by public schools and get the type of school facilities that will be conducive to these kids and a quality education.

I am just appalled at us still hammering out and staying on this one issue of vouchers and not looking at the crumbling schools, the inferior types of classrooms and schoolhouses that we are asking our children to go to, and yet we are talking about the 21st century and this global work force.

This is why businesspeople are coming now to me asking what can they do to help create the climate in public schools whereby our children can learn and have a quality education. And that is the road that I am going to journey, not this other road.

Mr. OWENS. I think the gentleman might be aware, because, after all, she is from California, and that is where Silicon Valley is, she must be aware of this tremendous shortage of information technology workers. And she has probably heard we are going to have on this floor a proposal to amend the immigration bill by the people who were so harsh on immigrants and wanted to keep out immigrants. They are now going to have proposals here asking us to amend it, to bring in more immigrants who have high-technology experience, information technology workers.

They are going to try to solve the problem of the shortage of information technology workers not by increasing the educational opportunities for the people in this country, they are going to bring in immigrants to do that. These anti-immigrant Republicans are going to be leading the fight to get more people in here to take those jobs instead of educating people here already to enable them to qualify for the jobs.

Ms. MILLENDER-McDONALD. The gentleman is absolutely right, I have

heard of that. I think again it is unconscionable that we are talking about bringing folks into a country that has so much to offer and a people who are thirsty for this type of education that we cannot educate our own to provide them the jobs that will be sorely need in the Silicon Valley to all other places where high tech is booming.

So I submit to the gentleman that I hope that we come to our senses before this bill comes and goes off of this floor. What type of message are we sending to our students? I have a science academy with very bright kids coming from low-income families. It is not the top 1, 2 and 5 percent, it is the middle level who are very sharp kids who are going to this academy. They are looking for these jobs in the future. What am I to tell them when they are making the A's and B's and wanting to go to MIT and others; that I am sorry someone from overseas might come and take their jobs?

I cannot do that, and, therefore, I will be fighting against that bill.

Mr. OWENS. Well, I think we are going to have that opportunity. I thank the gentlewoman for her comments.

Ms. MILLENDER-McDONALD. We thank the gentleman so much for this tonight. I am happy to have had an opportunity to come and share with him my feelings. Again, I thank him so much for being just absolutely a stalwart person in bringing this education issue to the people across this Nation so that they can write us and let us know that they agree with us. They applaud what the gentleman is doing, and I hope he will continue his great work for all our children.

One-third of all elementary and secondary schools in the United States, serving 14 million students, need extensive repair or renovation.

Over 60 percent of the Nation's 110,000 public elementary and secondary school facilities need major repair.

In 1996, an estimated \$112 billion was needed to repair and upgrade school facilities to a "good" condition.

Many schools do not have the physical infrastructure to take advantage of computers and other technology needed to meet the challenges of the next century.

I am a former school teacher for the Los Angeles Unified School District in California.

In California, 87 percent of the schools report a need to upgrade or repair on-site buildings to good overall condition.

Seventy-one percent of all California schools have at least one inadequate building feature, and of these building feature problems: 40 percent are the roofs; 42 percent are exterior walls and windows; 41 percent are plumbing; 41 percent are heating, ventilation, and air conditioning; and 37 percent of schools do not even have sufficient capability to use computers.

Currently, 25 percent of schools are too small or overcrowded and the Department of Education predicts that the Nation will need 6,000 more schools by the year 2006.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman. I think most people

understand that I am not a fanatic. I am not an extremist. I am not coming repeatedly talking about the same subject because I have some kind of mental infirmity. I just think that our children, our grandchildren will be very disappointed in us if we do not take advantage of this opportunity we have at this moment in American history.

We have no evil empire to fight. We have the highest prosperity levels that we have had in this century. If we do not invest in education now, when will we do it? Are we going to let these opportunities that are opening up go by without making an effort to have a match between the opportunities and the youngsters who are in this country right now?

I am going to hasten on, and instead of doing the entire set of excerpts that I was going to do from Mr. Garibaldi's presentation, I am going to just read his abstract and go on to the other points I want to make.

As I said before, this is a presentation to deal with the "State of African American Education." I am reading from Dr. Antoine M. Garibaldi, Provost, Howard University, who gave this lecture on November 5th, 1997, at the 18th annual Charles H. Thompson lecture, and it is going to be published in the Journal of Negro Education. I heard him give his summary comments at a breakfast forum sponsored by the National Commission for African American Education at Howard University.

To quote from Mr. Garibaldi, "Even though significant progress has been made in attendance and degree attainment in elementary and secondary schools, college, graduate and professional schools, data shows that there has also been a pattern of regression with respect to African Americans' educational attainment and achievement over the last four decades. This mixed assessment, however, must be placed in an appropriate context and be used to improve further those conditions that are impairing the performance of African American students."

"Additionally, the presentation will highlight positive trends such as high graduation rates from high school, improved performance on selected tests on educational measures, successful school programs, successful students, the continued contributions of historically black colleges and universities to baccalaureate, graduate and first professional degree production, and to the preparation of African American teachers, to name just a few."

"Specific recommendations are also offered to raise the level of student performance, i.e. more rigorous curricula, higher educational standards and higher expectations for students, higher expectations by teachers, increased involvement by parents and the vigorous support of communities and non-profit organizations."

"Many challenging issues and questions are also cited to demonstrate

that serious work is needed to reduce the many inequities that still exist in the schools attended by African American students."

Now, Mr. Garibaldi is an ex-professor. He was a professor at Xavier University at one time. He has been in the field for a long time, and he has accumulated quite a bit of firsthand experience, but he also uses very good sources, as he demonstrates in this presentation, in his thorough knowledge of the state of African American education.

I am going to ask a lot of this be introduced into the RECORD without my reading it all, because the time is going rapidly. But I do want to begin by just pointing out that under elementary and secondary educational attainment, Mr. Garibaldi notes the following: "Over the last four decades, African Americans have made tremendous gains in elementary and secondary educational attainment, and significant increases in high school completion rates began in the 1970s. In 1975, high school completion rate for 18- to 24-year-old African Americans was only 64.8 percent compared to 83 percent for whites and 80.8 percent overall. In 1995, however, 18- to 24-year-old African Americans' high school completion rate was 76.9 percent, which was a 12 percent increase over the 20-year period. But the high school graduation data for African Americans are even better for 25- to 29-year-olds between 1975 and 1995; in 1975, 71 percent graduated from high school compared to 86.5 percent in 1995."

He goes on in a later passage to say, "While African Americans' high school completion rates provide one barometer of educational attainment, performance on national assessments are needed to determine how much learning has been actually achieved. Thus, the best collection of national comparative data is the National Assessment of Educational Progress, NAEP, a congressionally-mandated project of the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics. Since 1969, NAEP has periodically assessed students' proficiency in academic achievements in science, reading, mathematics and writing in public and nonpublic schools, with the specific purpose of evaluating the condition and progress of education in the Nation."

He goes on to talk about performances in mathematics and reading and writing of African American students and students overall, showing that there have been some impressive gains by African American students, but they still fall far short, especially when we come to the SAT scores over the years. There is still a great gap between the achievements of white students and African American students who take the SAT test.

There is a section which I think is important to bring to my colleagues' attention in this presentation which talks about the impact of poverty on

urban schools: "Earlier in this article great concern was expressed about the increasing segregation of many of the Nation's public schools. Of special significance here is the fact that most of the schools attended by nonwhite youth are located in urban areas. While this has been known for some time, numerous perceptions about the quality of these schools are fueled by unsubstantiated anecdotal comments. But a July 1996 report by the U.S. Department of Education on how poverty relates to the characteristics of students in urban, rural and suburban schools in the 1980s has made several notable comparisons in describing the students' school experiences, their school achievement, the expectations of their parents and other related factors.

"In this study, which is entitled *Urban Schools, The Challenge of Location and Poverty*, the methodology controlled for the extent of poverty and three types of school locations. The school locations that were examined included urban, suburban and rural areas, and the level of poverty in each school was defined by the percentage of students who received free or reduced-priced lunches. Thus, more balanced comparisons were able to be made on each factor even though more low-income students attended urban schools.

"The following highlights of the study's major findings show more clearly how factors of school location and the level of poverty in those schools directly and indirectly affect school performance. Urban, suburban and rural public schools with high poverty concentrations, 40 percent or more, were more likely to have larger minority student populations than schools with low levels of poverty. Additionally, urban public schools with higher concentrations of poverty enrolled larger numbers of minority students than high-poverty rural and suburban schools.

"Sixty-nine percent of students who attended high-poverty urban public schools, for example, were minorities, compared to enrollment of 26 percent minorities at low-poverty schools. Similarly, at suburban schools, 56 percent of the students in high-poverty schools were minorities, but only 10 percent of students at low-poverty suburban schools are minorities. Additionally, high-poverty rural public schools enrolled 35 percent minority students compared to only 9 percent at low-poverty schools.

"Thus, most African Americans and other minority students not only attend urban schools, but the schools also have the highest concentrations of students from families with low economic backgrounds."

In other words, to summarize, no matter where African American students go to school, they are usually attending schools with a large poverty population. There is a correlation. The percentage of African Americans who are poor is quite great. It is much

greater than the percentage of the overall population who are poor.

I am not going to read any further, but I do want to submit for the RECORD additional pages from this lecture, which is entitled *Four Decades of Progress and Decline in the Assessment of African American Educational Attainment*.

In the section that I just read, they mentioned poverty as a correlation with low achievement. I want to take a few minutes to talk about the scores of the students in the public schools of New York City, the elementary schools. There was a report, as I said before, in all the newspapers. The New York Times did something which was unusual. They took the poverty level of the school in the same manner in which the study that was cited here in Mr. Garibaldi's presentation. They chose the number of students who received school lunches as an indicator of the poverty of the school.

Therefore, the prosperity of the school is indicated by just the reverse, the number who do not qualify indicate the income level. They chose that figure, and in their presentation of the results of the reading and math tests for New York City Schools, they added the income for each school, the income level, meaning the number of students who do not qualify for school lunches.

If the income was 2.5, that meant that all of the other students did qualify; 97.5 percent qualified for school lunches.

□ 2145

So the income level after 2.5 means that 97 percent of the students were poor, and in certain districts you have this tremendous concentration of poverty.

The New York Times also went one step further and they chose to measure the performance of schools with a certain poverty level in New York City with schools who would have the same poverty level than the rest of the State, the same income level, not just poverty but those with high income were measured, too; and they have put another column in here called Reading Performance. And just certain quick observations.

One of the highest income areas in the city, Staten Island, happened to be one the lowest performing areas. When you compare the performance of the students in Staten Island, which has an overall level of 58.9 million, meaning 58.9 percent of all of the students in Staten Island have incomes which disqualify them for school lunch programs, many of the schools have income levels which rate as high as 84 and 85 percent, I think 86 percent, very high income levels; and, nevertheless, it was one of the areas that scored lowest when you compared the performance of the students in those schools with the performance of students at the same income level in other parts of the State.

So Staten Island I might note, as I have before, has a serious problem. And



this barometer is a very interesting one that brings out the fact that we may have some serious problems in the way administrators and teachers and the system is conducting itself beyond poverty.

However, poverty is still the major problem in the majority of the districts in New York City. The correlation between the reading scores and poverty is there in school after school except, in every district, one or two schools, despite the low poverty level, they stand out as having extraordinary performance. Which means that despite the fact that there is a close correlation between poverty and low performance, it can be overcome. And it is important that an attempt be made to overcome it and pinpoint at the schools that are performing well, we should pinpoint what factors allow them to overcome the poverty.

I am going to just deal with District 23, which is one of the school districts. We have 32 districts in New York. District 23 is located in Brownsville, a large concentration of low-income housing projects. The overall income level in District 23 is the lowest in the City, just about, 8.3. Only 8.3 of the students have incomes so high that they do not qualify for school lunch programs. That means that 91 percent of the students are poor, they qualify for the school lunches, and a great deal would have to be done to overcome that.

Finally, I am running out of time so I want to mention that, in dealing with the problems faced by areas like Brownsville District 23, we are going to need teachers in large quantities. We are going to have to do something unusual. The Higher Education Assistance Act that we are discussing tomorrow needs to focus on teacher training and ways to deal with that problem, just as it needs to focus on information technology workers.

We have a TRIO program which has been over the years a program that works very well. The TRIO program produces students from low-income areas who were able to qualify for college admission, and they have a record of outstanding achievement. We need to look at the TRIO program in terms of the authorization level. We need to double, go so far as to double the authorization. Because from one end of the spectrum to the other, both sides of the aisle agree that the TRIO program, which consists of upward-bound programs, talent search programs, and some others, they work. If they work, we need to consider doubling the amount of appropriations and doubling the size of those programs in order to deal with the problem of poverty and the poverty relation to education if we are going to get students come out of the poverty areas and able to go to college and qualify to get the jobs that are available.

Finally, we certainly do not want a crusade against remedial education in our colleges in New York. Education

adds value to everybody who gets it, and remedial education as a part of the process will add value to the people who are in our City and enable them to go on to qualify for some of the jobs that are available and become productive in our society, thus lessening the kind of expenditure you have to make to support them.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the following for the RECORD:

[Pre-publication manuscript to be published in the Journal of Negro Education, Spring 1998]

(Antoine M. Garibaldi, Ph.D., Howard University)

THE STATE OF AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATION—A PRESENTATION TO THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATION

(By Antoine M. Garibaldi, Ph.D., Howard University)

#### ABSTRACT

This presentation<sup>1</sup> is based on an assessment of African American educational attainment—from the elementary grades to first-professional degrees—over the last four decades. Even though significant progress has been made in attendance and degree attainment in elementary and secondary schools, college, graduate and professional schools, data show that there has also been a pattern of regression with respect to African Americans' educational attainment and achievement over the last four decades. This mixed assessment, however, must be placed in an appropriate context and be used to improve further those conditions that are impairing the performance of African American students. Additionally, the presentation will highlight positive trends such as higher graduation rates from high school, improved performance on selected tests and educational measures, successful school programs, successful students, the continued contributions of Historically Black Colleges and Universities to baccalaureate, graduate, and first-professional degree production, and to the preparation of African American teachers, to name just a few. Specific recommendations are also offered to raise the level of student performance, i.e., more rigorous curricula, higher educational standards and expectations for students, higher expectations by teachers, increased involvement by parents, and the vigorous support of communities and non-profit organizations. Many challenging issues and questions are also cited to demonstrate that serious work is needed to reduce the many inequities that still exist in the schools attended by African American students.

These "re-segregated" enrollments have not occurred by accident; rather, they are partly the result of the out-migration of whites from urban to suburban school districts and the ineffective implementation of court orders designed to increase school integration in the late 1960's and 1970's. In spite of the 1954 Brown decision, it is disconcerting to realize that in 1997 many of the schools attended by African Americans are still "inherently unequal."

#### ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Over the last four decades, African Americans have made tremendous gains in elementary and secondary educational attainment; and significant increases in high school completion rates began in the 1970's. In 1975, the high school completion rate for 18- to 24-year old African Americans was only 64.8 percent,

compared to 83 percent for whites and 80.8 percent overall. In 1995, however, 18- to 24-year old African Americans' high school completion rate was 76.9 percent, a 12 percent increase over the twenty year period.

TABLE 3—HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION RATES FOR 18- TO 24-YEAR-OLDS: 1975 AND 1995

| Year       | African-Americans | Whites | Overall |
|------------|-------------------|--------|---------|
| 1975 ..... | 64.8%             | 83%    | 80.8%   |
| 1995 ..... | 76.9%             | 81.9%  | 80.8%   |

Source: Carter, D.J. and Wilson, R. (1997). Minorities in Higher Education: Fifteenth Annual Status Report, 1996-97. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

But the high school graduation data for African Americans are even better for 25 to 29-year olds between 1975 and 1995: in 1975, 71 percent had graduated from high school, compared to 86.5% in 1995 (Carter and Wilson, 1997).

TABLE 4—HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION RATES FOR 25- TO 29-YEAR-OLDS: 1975 AND 1995

| Year       | African-Americans | Whites |
|------------|-------------------|--------|
| 1975 ..... | 71%               | 84.4%  |
| 1995 ..... | 86.5%             | 87.4%  |

Source: Carter, D.J. and Wilson, R. (1997). Minorities in Higher Education: Fifteenth Annual Status Report, 1996-1997. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

Not only are these gains remarkable, but the data also confirm that more African Americans have obtained an education over the last three decades as a result of expanded educational opportunities and a variety of special programs (such as Head Start, Title I/Chapter 1, etc.) for African American and other disadvantaged students.

While African Americans' high school completion rates provide one barometer of educational attainment, performance on national assessments are needed to determine how much learning has actually been achieved. Thus, the best collection of national comparative data is the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)—a congressionally mandated project of the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics. Since 1969, NAEP has periodically assessed students' proficiency and academic achievement in science, reading, mathematics, and writing in public and nonpublic schools, with the specific purpose of evaluating the condition and progress of education in the nation. This national database assesses student performance in reading, mathematics and the sciences at 9, 13 and 17 years of age, and in grades 4, 8, and 11 for the writing assessment. More recent assessments since 1990, however, use grades 4, 8, and 11 as the baseline of comparison. Before presenting the twenty-eight year trend data for African American and white students, it is useful to cite NAEP's recently released summary statement of all students' overall performance since the tests were first administered in 1969.

"In general, the trends in science and mathematics show early declines or relative stability followed by improved performance. In reading and writing, the results are somewhat mixed; although some modest improvement was evident in the trend reading assessments, few indications of positive trends were evident in the writing results" (Campbell, Voelkl, & Donahue, 1997).

#### TRENDS IN NAEP MATHEMATICS SCALE SCORES: 1973-1996

On the NAEP mathematics test, 17-year old white and black students had declining scores between 1973 and 1978, but both increased their performance between 1978 and 1996, with black students showing the most

<sup>1</sup>Footnotes at end of article.



growth. The mathematics scores of white and black 9- and 13-year old students also consistently increased throughout the assessment period. However, while black and white students' mathematics scores increased between 1973 and 1996, the scores of white students were at least 25 points higher than their black counterparts in each age group.

TRENDS IN NAEP READING SCALE SCORES: 1971-1996

The NAEP reading scores for each of the three age groups of white students increased slightly during the 1971-1996 assessment period. African Americans' scores also increased between 1971 and 1988, but fluctuated between 1988 and 1996. Thus, while both groups' performance showed modest improvement on this key educational measure, white students' scores averaged 30 points higher than those of their black counterparts in each age group.

TRENDS IN NAEP WRITING SCALE SCORES: 1984-1996

On the NAEP writing tests between 1984 and 1996, both white and black students performed poorly. The scores of white students who were in the 11th-grade decreased consistently over the assessment period; and eighth-grade and fourth-grade white students' scores fluctuated over the twelve year period. Black students' writing scores also fluctuated at all grade levels. Fourth-grade black students' 1984 score was identical to the 1996 score, while both 8th and 11th-grade black students' 1996 score was slightly lower than their 1984 score. White 11th-grade and 8th-grade students and black 11th-grade students demonstrated an ability to write clearly. But black 8th-grade students and white 4th-grade students demonstrated vague and unclear writing skills. As was the case in the previous assessments, white students' average scores in writing were at least 22 points higher than their black counterparts in each age group.

TRENDS IN NAEP SCIENCE SCALE SCORES: 1969-1970

The average NAEP science test scores for 17-year old black and white students decreased from 1969 to 1982, but steadily increased from 1982 through 1996. The scores for white 9- and 13-year old students decreased slightly from 1969 to 1977, but increased moderately from 1977 through 1996. African American students' scores for this group also declined during the early 1970's, but increased noticeably through 1996. Even though the scores of African American 9- and 13-year old students increased more over the duration of the assessment period, the scores were not higher than that of their white counterparts in 1996. Between 1969 and 1996, the average score of white students was 47 points higher than that of black students.

1997 ACT/SAT PERFORMANCE

The preceding NAEP data indicate that there have been both trends of progress and decline in all American students' performance in the four core subject areas of reading, math, science and writing. And those less than proficient signs of performance are unfortunately, but expectedly, reflected on other national educational measures, such as the verbal and mathematical scales of the College Board's Scholastic Achievement Test, and on the English, mathematics, reading, and science reasoning sections of the ACT, Inc.'s American College Test. In 1997, for example, the average SAT score of all students was 1016 on a total scale of 1600. Asian American students obtained the highest average score of 1056; White students were next with a score of 1052; American Indian students had an average score of 950; Hispanic students had a score of 934, followed

by Mexican Americans with 909, and Puerto Rican students with an average score of 901. African American students had the lowest average score of 857.

Table 5—1997 Average SAT Test Scores

|                                 |      |
|---------------------------------|------|
| Asian-American students .....   | 1056 |
| White students .....            | 1052 |
| National average .....          | 1016 |
| Hispanic students .....         | 934  |
| African-American students ..... | 857  |

Source: The College Board, 1997.

The patterns of performance were similar on the ACT: average overall performance was 21.0 (out of a total score of 36); Asian American and White students had the same average score of 21.7; American Indian and Hispanic students had scores of 19; Mexican American students scored 18.8; and African American students had the lowest average score of 17.1 (Selingo and Fiore, 1997).

Table 6—1997 Average ACT Test Scores

|                                 |      |
|---------------------------------|------|
| Asian-American students .....   | 21.7 |
| White students .....            | 21.7 |
| National average .....          | 21   |
| Hispanic students .....         | 19   |
| African-American students ..... | 17.1 |

Source: ACT, Inc. 1997.

While one of the signs of progress with respect to these tests is that there have been increasingly more test-takers, especially among minority groups<sup>2</sup> staff from both organizations that develop and administer these tests have expressed their concern about the lower standardized test performance of students who cite that they have high grades in high school. To this issue, Donald M. Stewart, President of the College Board, has emphatically stated that:

"Educators who give high grades for average or below-average performance promote a hollow, 'just good enough' attitude that is detrimental to students and society" (Selingo and Fiore, 1997).

Grade inflation and social promotion are unconscionable practices that should be eliminated at every school site to assure that students have a realistic assessment of both their abilities and performance. Additionally, schools must assume more responsibility and require students to take more academic and college-bound courses in junior and senior high schools. The latter recommendation is a necessity for schools with large numbers of African American and other non-white students given the evidence which shows that many of these students are more likely to take lower level courses in the core subject areas (i.e., English, Mathematics, Sciences, etc.) rather than college prep courses (Braddock, 1990; Oakes, 1985, 1986; Irvine, 1990).

THE IMPACT OF POVERTY ON URBAN SCHOOLS

Earlier in this article, great concern was expressed about the increasing segregation of many of the nation's public schools. Of special significance here is the fact that most of the schools attended by non-white youth are located in urban areas. While this has been known for some time, numerous perceptions about the quality of these schools are fueled by unsubstantiated anecdotal comments. But a July 1996 report by the U.S. Department of Education on how poverty relates to the characteristics of students in urban, rural and suburban schools in the 1980's has made several notable comparisons in describing the students' school experiences, their school achievement, the expectations of their parents, and other related factors. In this study, Urban Schools: The challenge of location and poverty (U.S. Dept. of Education, 1996), the methodology controlled for the extent of poverty in the three types of school locations. The school locations that were examined included urban, suburban and rural areas, and the level of

poverty in each school was defined by the percentage of students who received free or reduced price lunches. Thus, more balanced comparisons were able to be made on each factor even though more low income students attended urban schools. The following highlights of the study's major findings show more clearly how factors of school location and the level of poverty in those schools directly and indirectly affect school performance.

RACE, POVERTY LEVELS AND SCHOOL LOCATIONS

Urban, suburban and rural public schools with high poverty concentrations (i.e., 40 percent or more) we more likely to have larger minority student populations than schools with low levels of poverty (i.e., 5 percent or less).<sup>3</sup> Additionally, urban public schools with high concentrations of poverty enrolled larger numbers of minority students than high poverty rural and suburban schools. Sixty nine percent of students who attended high poverty urban public schools, for example, were minorities, compared to enrollments of 26 percent minorities at low poverty schools. Similarly, at suburban schools, 56 percent of the students at high poverty schools were minorities; but only 10 percent of students at low poverty suburban schools were minorities. Additionally, high poverty rural public schools enrolled 35 percent minority students compared to only 9 percent at low poverty schools (U.S. Dept. of Education, 1996). Thus, more African American and other minority students not only attend urban schools, but the schools also have the highest concentrations of students from families with low economic backgrounds.

STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT, POVERTY LEVELS AND SCHOOL LOCATIONS

The level of poverty at schools was an important variable when examining students' academic achievement. Students who had the lowest levels of achievement on standardized tests were more often enrolled at high poverty public schools, while students who performed at higher achievement levels attended schools with lower levels of poverty. However, when the schools' poverty levels were controlled for, the results percent of the graduates of the nation's public schools had taken a geometry course.<sup>4</sup> At suburban schools, 73 percent of students had enrolled in a geometry course, compared with 57 percent of urban students. And 60 percent of students who attended high poverty schools had taken geometry compared with nearly 74 percent of students at low poverty schools. However, when the study controlled for the level of poverty, there was no statistical difference among urban, rural or suburban students who had enrolled in a geometry course. To raise the educational achievement of all students, advanced placement as well as college-prep courses such as Algebra and geometry, biology, chemistry, three years of English and other core subjects must be offered so that students will be prepared for college even if they elect not to attend a four-year college or university.

AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLEGE ENROLLMENT AND ATTAINMENT

Given the increases in African American high school graduation around the 1970's, it would not have been unreasonable to expect a larger share of African Americans to attend and graduate from college. In 1975, the college-going rate for all Americans was 36.2 percent, compared to a rate of 32.8 percent for African Americans (Carter and Wilson, 1997). But in 1995, the proportion of African American high school graduates who were enrolled in college decreased by almost two percentage points to 34.4 percent, compared to a national average that increased six percent to 42 percent.

TABLE 8—COLLEGE-GOING RATE OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES: 1975 AND 1995

| Year       | Overall | African-Americans |
|------------|---------|-------------------|
| 1975 ..... | 36.2%   | 32.8%             |
| 1995 ..... | 42%     | 34.4%             |

Source: Carter, D. and Wilson, R. (1997). *Minorities in Higher Education*. Fifteenth Annual Status Report, 1996–1997. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

While college enrollment statistics have fluctuated since the peak year of the mid 1970's when slightly more than one million African American students (1,033,000) were attending college, almost one and a half million (1,400,000) African Americans were enrolled in college in 1995 (Hoffman, Snyder and Sonneberg, 1996). Despite the increase of almost four million more African American students in college between 1976 and 1995, the ratio of those attending four-year and two-year institutions did not change; 59 percent attended four-year institutions compared to 41 percent who were enrolled at two-year colleges and universities.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the larger number of black students in college in the 1990's cannot be viewed as a major gain since a significant amount are enrolled in two-year institutions. Furthermore, much of the growth in postsecondary attendance by blacks over the last twenty years is due to a sizable increase of African American women who enrolled in college.

TABLE 9—1994 AND 1995 COLLEGE ENROLLMENT OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS BY GENDER

| Year       | Males   | Females | Total     |
|------------|---------|---------|-----------|
| 1994 ..... | 550,000 | 899,000 | 1,449,000 |
| 1995 ..... | 556,000 | 918,000 | 1,474,000 |

Source: Carter, D. and Wilson, R. (1997). *Minorities in Higher Education*. Fifteenth Annual Status Report, 1996–1997. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

## POSTSECONDARY DEGREE ATTAINMENT

The best way to determine whether any gains in college access have been realized for African Americans over the last two decades is by reviewing the amount of degrees received during this period. Regrettably though, the data show that there has not been consistent annual increases in some of the degree categories since 1976. More African Americans, for example, received baccalaureate degrees in 1976 and 1981 than in 1985. In 1976 and 1981, African Americans received an average of slightly more than 59,000 bachelor's degrees (59,122 and 60,673 baccalaureate degrees, respectively), or about 6.5% of the total degrees awarded, compared to 57,473 undergraduate degrees in 1985, or 5.9% of the total (Carter and Wilson, 1989). Thus, the 1981 and 1985 totals for African Americans at the baccalaureate level showed a decline in both the number and percentage of degrees awarded when compared to 1976. In the 1990's, however, the percentage increased from 6% of the total awarded in 1991 (65,341 degrees) to a high of 7.2% in 1994 (83,576).<sup>6</sup>

TABLE 10—BACCALAUREATE DEGREES AWARDED TO AFRICAN-AMERICANS FOR SELECTED YEARS: 1976–1994

| Year       | African-American baccalaureate degrees | Percent of total degrees awarded |
|------------|--|----------------------------------|
| 1976 ..... | 59,122                                 | 6.5                              |
| 1981 ..... | 60,673                                 | 6.5                              |
| 1985 ..... | 57,473                                 | 5.9                              |
| 1991 ..... | 65,341                                 | 6                                |
| 1994 ..... | 83,576                                 | 7.2                              |

Source: Carter, D.J. and Wilson, R. *Minorities in Higher Education*: Eighth Annual Status Report, 1997. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

As has been mentioned earlier, the gains by African Americans at the bachelor's degree level are primarily attributed to the significant increases by black women who

completed their undergraduate studies. In 1976, for example, the number of African American women who received baccalaureate degrees was 33,489, compared to 25,026 that were awarded to African American men—a difference of almost 8,000 degrees. Ten years later, African American women received 34,056 undergraduate degrees compared to 22,499 that were awarded to African men—or roughly 11,000 more (Gordon and Brown, 1990). In 1994, the gap was even wider as 22,000 more African American women received baccalaureate degrees (52,928 versus 30,648) than did men. This pattern of almost 20,000 more bachelor's degrees awarded to African American women has been consistently occurring since the early 1990's.

TABLE 11—1976, 1986 AND 1994 BACCALAUREATE DEGREES AWARDED TO AFRICAN-AMERICANS BY GENDER

| Year       | Black male baccalaureate | Black female baccalaureate | Difference |
|------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------|
| 1976 ..... | 25,026                   | 33,489                     | 8,463      |
| 1986 ..... | 22,499                   | 34,056                     | 11,557     |
| 1994 ..... | 30,648                   | 52,928                     | 22,280     |

Source: (1) Gordon, P. and Brown, P. (1990). Degrees conferred in institutions of higher education, by race and sex: 1976–77 through 1986–87. National Center for Education Statistics and (2) Carter, D. and Wilson, R. (1997). *Minorities in Higher Education*. Fifteenth Annual Status Report, 1996–1997. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

Overall increases of black baccalaureate recipients were partly due to the rising number of undergraduate awards made by historically black colleges and universities. In 1985, HBCUs awarded 16,326 bachelor's degrees; between 1991 and 1994, HBCUs awarded an average of almost 21,000 degrees to African Americans.<sup>7</sup> Thus, HBCUs annually accounted for approximately 28% of all undergraduate degrees to African Americans between 1985 and 1994, compared to the late 1970's and early 1980's when they accounted for between 35% and 32% of all black bachelor's degrees.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, this is still a favorable sign that HBCUs, which represent barely three percent of all American colleges and universities, continue to enroll and graduate a significant number of students even though African American students have much more access to other institutions of higher education.

TABLE 12—Baccalaureate degrees awarded to African Americans by HBCUs for selected years: 1985–1994

| Year       | HBCU baccalaureates |
|------------|---------------------|
| 1985 ..... | 16,326              |
| 1991 ..... | 17,930              |
| 1992 ..... | 19,693              |
| 1993 ..... | 22,020              |
| 1994 ..... | 23,434              |

Source: Hoffman, C., Snyder, T. and Sonneberg, B. (1996). *Historically Black Colleges and Universities: 1976–1994*. National Center for Education Statistics.

TABLE 15—FIRST-PROFESSIONAL DEGREES AWARDED TO AFRICAN-AMERICANS FOR SELECTED YEARS: 1977–1994

| Year       | First-professional degrees awarded | Percent of total awarded annually |
|------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1977 ..... | 2,536                              | 4                                 |
| 1979 ..... | 2,836                              | 4                                 |
| 1981 ..... | 2,931                              | 4                                 |
| 1985 ..... | 3,029                              | 4.3                               |
| 1991 ..... | 3,575                              | 5                                 |
| 1993 ..... | 4,100                              | 5.5                               |
| 1994 ..... | 4,444                              | 5.9                               |

Source: Carter, D. and Wilson, R. (1997). *Minorities in Higher Education*. Fifteenth Annual Status Report, 1996–1997. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

## CONCLUSION

Based on all of the data that have been presented—from the elementary grades to first-professional degrees, it is fair to say that there has been both progress and regression with respect to African Americans' educational attainment and achievement over the last four decades. This mixed assess-

ment, however, should not be viewed as a sign of discouragement; rather it should be used as a source of motivation to improve further those conditions that require immediate attention. Additionally, it is imperative that positive trends such as higher graduation rates from high school, improved performance on selected tests and educational measures, successful school programs, successful students, the continued contributions of Historically Black Colleges and Universities to baccalaureate, graduate, and first-professional degree production, and to the preparation of African American teachers, to name just a few signs, must be constantly emphasized. At the same time, however, it is necessary that those negative indicators which can be improved are addressed; more rigorous curricula, higher educational standards and expectations for students, higher expectations by teachers, increased involvement by parents, and so forth.

It may not be as easy to change the segregated composition of the public schools where so many African Americans are currently enrolled, or the numbers of students who come from poor backgrounds in those schools, but it is possible to exercise our civic duty and inquire what can be done to reduce class sizes, to sustain reading and mathematics performance beyond the fourth grade, to offer more college prep and advanced placement courses, and to provide comprehensive career counseling for students. Furthermore, it is our responsibility to find out why there are few gifted and talented programs in public schools, why African Americans account for almost 30 percent of all students in special education classes, and why more students do not achieve at higher levels of proficiency on various subject matter tests. It is also our obligation to resolve why 41% of African American college students are attending two-year institutions, why 350,000 more African American women than men are attending college today compared to a difference of 200,000 up to 1984, and why little, if any, gains are being made at the doctoral level. These are indeed challenging issues and questions which signal that serious work is needed to reduce the many inequities that still exist in the schools attended by African American students. Change and real growth are possible, but hope must be supported by commitment to standards, carefully designed educational programs, systematic action and the realization that success is within reach. With the belief and conviction that the glass of "educational opportunity" is half full, we can help to fulfill the dreams of those numerous African American parents who expect their children to attend college and be productive citizens in the 21st Century.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>This presentation is based on the 18th Annual Charles H. Thompson lecture—Four Decades of Progress... and Decline: An Assessment of African American Educational Attainment—delivered at Howard University in November 1997. The lecture will be published in the Winter 1997/Spring 1998 issue of *The Journal of Negro Education* (Vol. 66, No. 1-2).

<sup>2</sup>Minority students accounted for 32 percent of those who took the SAT in 1997 compared to 22 percent in 1987. And 60 percent of the 1997 freshmen (959,301 students) took the ACT, compared to 817,076 in 1990.

<sup>3</sup>In this study, 40 percent of urban students attended schools with poverty concentrations of 40 percent or more, and only 12 percent of urban students attended low poverty schools. However, only 10 percent of suburban students and 25 percent of rural students attended high poverty schools; and 36 percent of suburban students attend low poverty schools.

<sup>4</sup>Geometry was chosen by NAEP because the patterns for students who had enrolled in this course were similar to those for students who had taken science, foreign language and other advanced courses.

<sup>5</sup>In 1976, almost 604,000 African American students attended four-year institutions, and a little more than 429,000 attended two-year institutions. In 1995, almost 834,000 African American students attended four-year institutions and 614,000 were enrolled at two-year institutions.

<sup>6</sup>African American baccalaureates rose to 72,346 in 1992, or 6.4% of the total, and 77,782 in 1993, or 6.7% of the total.

<sup>7</sup>The annual number of bachelor's degrees awarded to African Americans by HBCUs for 1991, 1992, 1993 and 1994 were 17,930, 19,693, 22,020, and 23,434, respectively.

<sup>8</sup>In 1977 and 1981, African Americans received 58,515 and 60,673 bachelors degrees, respectively. HBCUs awarded 20,754 and 19,556 degrees to African Americans, respectively, or 35% and 32% of the total (Gordon and Brown, 1990).

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. CRANE (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for today, on account of official business.

Mr. RUSH of Illinois (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today, on account of official business.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today, on account of official business.

Mr. YATES (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today, on account of physical reasons.

Mr. TURNER (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today, on account of official business in the district.

Mr. MARTINEZ (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for today and Wednesday, March 18, on account of an unexpected emergency.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for today, on account of illness.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HINCHEY) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mrs. TAUSCHER, for 5 minutes.

Ms. NORTON, for 5 minutes.

Ms. DELAURO, for 5 minutes.

Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, for 5 minutes.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. UPTON) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. ISTOOK, for 5 minutes, today.

Mrs. MORELLA, for 5 minutes, March 18.

Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, for 5 minutes, March 18.

Mr. MICA, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, for 5 minutes, March 18.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HINCHEY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. KIND.

Mr. KILDEE.

Mr. RAHALL.

Mr. TRAFICANT.

Mr. STOKES.

Mr. KANJORSKI.

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ.

Mr. HAMILTON.

Mr. PAYNE.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois.

Mr. KLINK.

Mr. MANTON.

Mrs. LOWEY.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas.

Mr. CARDIN.

Mr. TOWNS.

Ms. MCCARTHY of Missouri.

Mr. STARK.

Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York.

Mrs. DEUTSCH.

Mr. FARR of California.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. UPTON) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. SOLOMON.

Mr. OXLEY.

Mr. SUNUNU.

Mr. FAWELL.

Mr. LEWIS of California.

Mr. GINGRICH.

Mr. SAXTON.

Mr. RILEY.

Mr. GOODLING.

Mr. MCKEON.

Mrs. MORELLA.

Mr. COLLINS.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. OWENS) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. SABO.

Mr. HALL of Ohio.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey.

Mr. LANTOS.

Mr. ROEMER.

Mr. KANJORSKI.

Mr. HINOJOSA.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 45 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, March 18, 1998, at 10 a.m.

#### OATH OF OFFICE OF MEMBERS, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, AND DELEGATES

The oath of office required by the sixth article of the Constitution of the United States, and as provided by section 2 of the act of May 13, 1884 (23 Stat. 22), to be administered to Members, Resident Commissioner, and Delegates to the House of Representatives, the text of which is carried in 5 U.S.C. 3331:

"I, A B, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will

well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God."

has been subscribed to in person and filed in duplicate with the Clerk of the House of Representatives by the following Members of the 105th Congress, pursuant to the provisions of 2 U.S.C. 25:

Honorable LOIS CAPPS, Twenty-second District, California.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

8050. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a report on Detargeting Russian Strategic Missiles, pursuant to Public Law 105-85, section 1301; to the Committee on National Security.

8051. A letter from the Assistant to the Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, transmitting the System's final rule—Electronic Fund Transfers [Regulation E; Docket No. R-1002] received March 16, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

8052. A letter from the Director, Regulations Policy and Management Staff, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting the Department's final rule—Code of Federal Regulations; Authority Citations; Technical Amendment [Docket No. 97N-0365] received March 17, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

8053. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; California State Implementation Plan Revision, South Coast Air Quality Management District [CA-169-0065; FRL-5974-6] received March 16, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

8054. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—National Emission Standards for Hazardous Air Pollutants and Control Techniques Guideline Document for Source Categories: Aerospace Manufacturing and Rework Facilities [AD-FRL-5978-4] (RIN: 2060-AE02) received March 13, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

8055. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Technical Amendments to Clean Air Act Interim Approval of Operating Permits Program; Commonwealth of Virginia; Correction of Effective Date Under Congressional Review Act (CRA) [FRL-5983-7] received March 16, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

8056. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plan; Illinois [IL167-1a; FRL-5978-8] received March 16, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

8057. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of State Plans for Designated Facilities and Pollutants; Kansas; Control of