

Ce Andy

ROBERT HOLLAND

Pity the poor teachers unions. What? The National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, those outfits with millions of members and zillions in compulsory-dues funds and PAC accounts? Those big-footed dancers of—a merger minuet who are described routinely as “powerful” by quaking foes? Yep, them. Every day, they begin to resemble the “pitiful helpless giant” Richard Nixon conjured during the Vietnam War days.

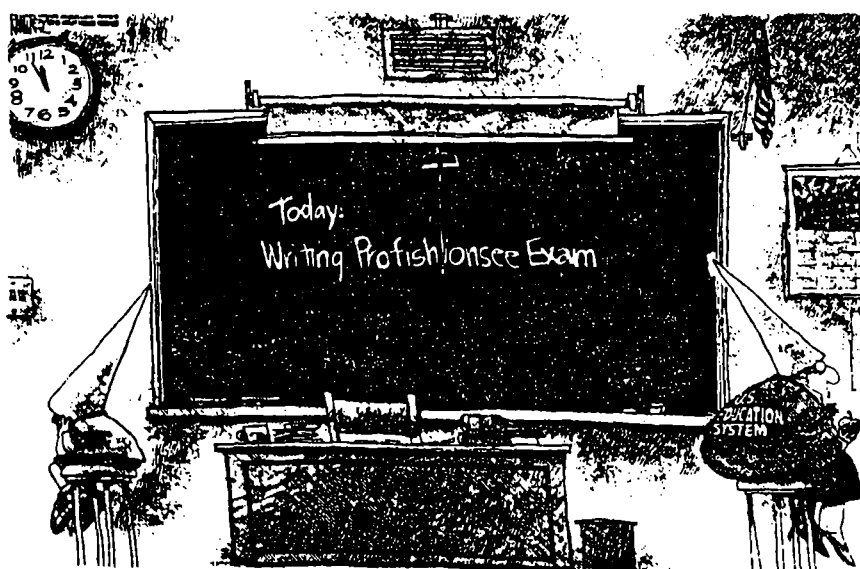
Their problem is they are on the wrong side of the fight for parental choice. With every new Supreme Court decision leaving vouchers undisturbed, every new piece of research showing students freed by choice are prospering, every new defection by liberals suddenly realizing this cause of liberation should be their own, the NEA and AFT become more like hard-core defenders of an untenable status quo.

Because as every good PR flack knows, you can’t “beat something with nothing,” the big cheeses of both unions are rolling class-size reduction out to do battle with vouchers. The “vouchers vs. small-classes debate is being played out in Milwaukee,” NEA President Bob Chase opined in a September op-ed piece. The AFT was ahead of him: It asked in an April 1998 paper, “Which approach — vouchers or lower class size — represents the wiser use of scarce taxpayer dollars?” Of course both unions assert that small class size beats vouchers, which they claim (falsely) aren’t raising pupil achievement.

Because of the popularity of small classes, the teacher-union play may seem every bit as expedient as President Clinton’s push for almost \$13 billion in federal funds over seven years to “help” local schools hire more teachers and cut elementary class sizes to 18. But their bellicose approach has serious flaws.

To begin, there is no overwhelming evidence that spending billions to trim class sizes automatically yields higher achievement. Well-respected University of Rochester economist Eric Hanushek reviewed 277 separate studies of class-size

Class-size card in school debate



cuts, and found only 15 percent of them documented achievement gains. Almost three-fourths found no effect at all. And in the Tennessee STAR project touted by the NEA, AFT and Clinton administration, results came only when classes were reduced to 13 to 17 pupils, and then only for kindergarten — not the higher grades. As for the SAGE class-reduction experiment in Wisconsin, even a U.S. Department of Education report concedes there are other factors — such as implementation of a “rigorous curriculum” — at work in boosting results.

Of course, whatever the studies say, most students, parents and teachers no doubt prefer small classes to large, all else being equal. But, then, contrary to the NEA/AFT battle cry, there is no necessary conflict between vouchers and reduced class size.

Consider:
The most recent U.S. Department of Education data show public-school teachers face larger classes, on average, than do private-school teachers. That was true at both the elementary (24 pupils vs. 22) and secondary (24 vs. 19)

levels. If vouchers or tuition tax credits empowered more families to choose private or parochial schools, that could mean fuller use of underutilized private classrooms — and reduced class sizes in the public classrooms. So a community could have vouchers and smaller classes.

True enough, for this to happen school boards would have to decide not to lay off teachers as a result of voucher students’ departure. But it is plausible that to meet the competition created by school choice, the public schools would want to feature smaller classes. They would be more likely to cut administrative deadwood than to slash the teacher corps.

But there is another route to reduced class size, and, again, one that happily dovetails with increased choice. Government statistics show teachers in large schools (more than 750 pupils) face larger classes, on average, than do teachers in small schools (fewer than 150 pupils). This is true at both the elementary (26 pupils vs. 18) and secondary (25 students vs. 15) levels.

The answer here is the charter

school. These are small schools (rarely enrolling more than a few hundred) that families freely choose. And they are public schools — no voucher bogeyman lurks in the boiler room. Teachers and parents — or universities or other groups with a progressive or traditional vision for education — may seek to start a school. If approved for a charter, they receive leeway to innovate but on the clear understanding that if they fail to produce results they can lose their charter.

Clearly there would be smaller classes if a city or county authorized 10 charter schools (which often use existing facilities like museums or vacant business space) in preference to issuing bonds to build one consolidated warehouse of a school. But the NEA and AFT don’t like charter schools — not unless they remain bound to all the rules of the regular public schools. And that includes all the union rules instituted through collective bargaining. That’s what rankles the NEA and AFT about charter schools. Their teachers become free agents; they are no longer union shop hands.

It all comes down to maintaining monopolistic control. That’s dearer to the union bosses’ hearts than small classes, and it’s certainly more important to them than the right of all parents to direct their children’s education. The dinosaurs will not budge from their turf — and never mind that meteor heading their way.

Robert Holland is a senior fellow at the Lexington Institute in Arlington.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1999

cc Andy
File: Education:
Teachers

Certification hurdles trip talented teachers

By Patrick Welsh

The Alexandria, Va., school system, where I teach, certainly knows how to save money. I wonder how many other school systems could boast of having a dedicated, dynamic Yale graduate, who is loved and respected by students and parents, teaching 141 kids for \$90 a day — the pay of a long-term substitute.

That's what my colleague Anne Peacock got paid for her services last month. And she's supposed to feel lucky, because if the personnel office had its way, she wouldn't have a job at all.

Peacock's problem: As of the beginning of the school year, she hadn't been officially certified by the state of Virginia, even though this past summer she finished all of the education courses required. So after three years of stellar teaching under a provisional certificate, Peacock was told by our assistant director of human resources that she couldn't be rehired. She was advised to take a job she was offered in the District of Columbia schools and sent an official letter of termination. Were it not for the intervention of our principal, we would have lost Peacock. She finally received her official certification this month and was put on the regular pay scale.

For me, Peacock's case is just another maddening reminder of how the education bureaucrats in my school district — like others across the country — are so wedded to their phony credentialing systems and so

blind, or even at times indifferent, to the highly talented prospects who want to teach. The myth that people who are "uncertified" shouldn't be allowed to teach is turning away many of the brightest, most idealistic young people.

At the heart of the obsession with certification is a misunderstanding of what constitutes good teaching.

Take David Keener, perhaps the most highly respected of about 1,000 Alexandria teachers. Last year, Keener was the Virginia winner of the Presidential Award for Excellence in Mathematics and Science Teaching. On last year's Advanced Placement test in biology, 74% of his students — 39 out of 47 — received grades of 5, the highest possible. The national average for 5's on the biology test is 17%.

But Keener's notion of what goes into good teaching is at odds with that of the gatekeepers at the state and local level. To Keener, who first taught for 10 years in Catholic schools without being certified, "the most crucial thing is to have people who know and love their subjects ... who can communicate that love and excitement to their students ... who care about young people. We should hire those types, whether they are certified or not, and then have experienced teachers within the school train them."

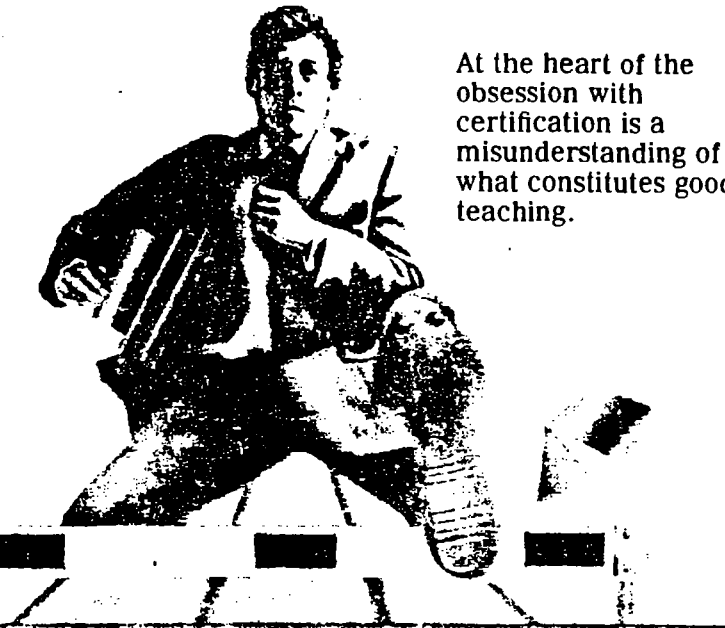
Though our school bureaucrats like to boast about the test scores Keener's students achieve and the awards he has won, they don't get his idea about teaching.

Anne Peacock is just the kind of teacher Keener is talking about. When she was hired three years ago, Peacock wasn't sure if teaching was for her. But after two very successful and happy years as a social studies teacher and coach of softball and basketball, she became hooked, as many bright young people do once they are given the chance to teach.

The way this talented young woman was treated makes me wonder whether school bureaucrats prefer to hire unthreatening graduates of mediocre colleges — the same kind of institutions many of them come from — instead of top minds from the best universities.

The treatment of Caitlin Riley only supports my suspicion.

Riley is a 25-year-old woman with a bachelor's degree in urban sociology from the University of Pennsylvania and a master's in education from Harvard. Like Peacock, she didn't go to college with the idea of being a teacher. But in her senior year at Penn, she got a Ford Foundation grant to study school reform in Philadelphia. After visiting many inner-city schools, she decided that teaching was for her. Her Harvard program got her certified to teach in Massachusetts, and Alexandria hired her, saying that the state would inform her during the year whether she had to take any extra courses for Virginia certification. In the middle of the year, the state



At the heart of the obsession with certification is a misunderstanding of what constitutes good teaching.

told Reilly that she needed 33 credits to be certified in Virginia.

After arguing back and forth with state officials, to no avail, Riley wrote Gov. James Gilmore, explaining her educational background and making it clear that if Virginia insisted on 33 hours, she was going to another state

to teach or to a private school. A few weeks later, she got a letter from the state certification "experts" cutting the requirements from 33 hours to six.

"It breaks my heart to see so many talented prospects turned away because of these bizarre requirements

and the lack of flexibility and understanding," Riley says.

The experiences of Riley and Peacock illustrate what I've long believed: that administrators see teaching positions as just slots to be filled with a warm body — a certified body, of course. The disrespect of administrators for teaching is obvious when one of them gets demoted. There is no worse fate for a bureaucrat than to be "sent back to the classroom." Many choose retirement rather than suffer that indignity.

It would be wonderful news for kids and parents and American education in general if school systems went out and tried to lure the brightest and most dynamic young people into teaching, regardless of certification, and then, as David Keener suggests, trained them in individual schools. The most promising prospects could be given signing bonuses in return for a commitment of at least three years.

But don't expect that to happen too soon. The gatekeepers on the state and local level have too much invested. So do many of the minor-league education schools, which would have to shut down. Until their stranglehold is broken, we will see more and more talent turned away from public education, and the mediocrity of our schools only deepen.

Patrick Welsh is an English teacher at T.C. Williams High School in Alexandria, Va. He also is a member of USA TODAY's board of contributors.

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National/World News : Friday, October 16, 1998

Congress OKs Murray plan to add teachers

by **Danny Westneat**
 Seattle Times Washington bureau

WASHINGTON - Some say Patty Murray is lucky. Others say she has an uncanny intuition. She says she's just persistent.

Whatever the explanation, the Democratic senator this week scored the biggest legislative victory of her political career: Congress has agreed to begin paying for her new federal program aimed at hiring 100,000 teachers during the next five to seven years.

Costing \$1.1 billion in its first year, the program dwarfs in size and reach anything proposed by a Washington state politician in recent years. It's estimated the money would hire and train 15,000 new teachers next year for kindergarten through third-grade classes around the country. Washington state school districts would get about 275 new teachers next year.

"It's a truly historic commitment to education," said President Clinton, who first proposed the idea in his State of the Union address in January, after which Murray sponsored it.

"I'm so proud of this accomplishment," said Murray, who was campaigning yesterday in Clark County, and was roundly criticized by Republicans for not being at the Capitol. "This is real money. These are new teachers that will reduce class size. This is exactly what people want us to do with their money."

Ambitious program

The deal on teachers was announced yesterday as the most ambitious new program in a \$500 billion budget that finances the federal government, not counting entitlement programs

such as Medicare and welfare. Congress is expected to approve the spending plan today or tomorrow, then adjourn until January.

The budget votes will bring to a close a session dominated thoroughly by the president's sex scandal. Most major legislative proposals never made it out of Congress, including far-reaching attempts to reform the campaign-finance system and to curb tobacco advertising.

In action with local repercussions, Congress agreed to launch an effort to revive declining Puget Sound salmon runs and begin paying for the Sound Transit light-rail system. It also will execute the largest land trade in the Northwest in 50 years, a swap of 79,000 acres in the Cascade Mountains along Interstate 90 with Plum Creek Timber (see box).

A plan to tear down one dam on the Olympic Peninsula has faltered, however, as Republican Sen. Slade Gorton said yesterday he was refusing to let the Senate approve the money. The Clinton administration would not agree to repeated proposals by Gorton that sought to prevent federal agencies from modifying or tearing down dams on the Columbia and Snake rivers. As a price for that, Gorton would not release \$22 million toward tearing out the Elwha River dam, which blocks salmon runs.

The impasse means the dam-removal project will be delayed further. It was first approved by Congress in 1992, but has been fought over ever since, mostly by Gorton and environmentalists.

As Gorton got bogged down in squabbles with Clinton, and the tax-cut plan of Rep. Jennifer Dunn, R-Bellevue, was shelved by senators in her own party, two other members of the delegation emerged as legislative players for perhaps the first time: Murray and Rep. Rick White, R-Bainbridge Island.

White got legislation passed

White became extremely adept at passing laws, many of which he has worked on since he entered Congress in 1995. In the past two weeks, Congress approved a series of measures co-authored by White, including a three-year ban on taxes levied on Internet commerce and a bill that cracks down on software piracy, the high-tech industry's No. 1 priority.

White also wrote and pushed through a bill designed to shield smaller companies from class-action lawsuits by stockholders, and is likely to be successful on a measure that would require cars that were totaled and then rebuilt to be identified as such on the title.

"I feel like I personally came of age this year as a legislator," White said. "I finally feel I have learned how to get things done around here."

White said that if re-elected, he would try to craft a comprehensive Internet policy for the United States.

For Murray, the breakthrough with the teacher program comes at a most opportune time. She is in a tight race for re-election, and the major question hanging over her is whether she is effective at her job. Even her staff admits that until this success, Murray's Senate resume was mostly filled with small accomplishments.

What's more, her opponent in the Senate race, U.S. Rep. Linda Smith, R-Hazel Dell, began airing television ads this week deriding Murray's ideas on education, even as Smith's Republican colleagues in Congress were agreeing to them.

Smith downplayed Murray's success, saying the senator has not been at the Capitol to negotiate the details in the past week and that the teacher program is fiscally irresponsible because it spends money from the Social Security trust fund.

"She's like the mother at Christmas who's talking to each of the kids and saying, 'I'm giving you more, more, more, more,'" Smith said. "She never backs up and says, 'This is how I'm going to pay the bill.'"

The story of how Murray came to sponsor the 100,000-teacher program, and then succeeded in passing it through a combination of luck and doggedness, may sound familiar to anyone who has followed her 15-year political career.

Took charge of issue

The day after Clinton first announced the idea of hiring 100,000 teachers last January, Murray told her staff: That's our issue. We are going to take it and push it as long as it takes, she said.

The proposal Murray drafted was not modest. She wanted to hire enough teachers so that no kindergarten through third-grade class in the nation would have more than 18 kids per teacher. Over the life of the program, five to seven years, it was estimated to cost anywhere from \$7 billion to \$10 billion.

When she offered the idea on the floor of the Senate without a way to pay for it, she was ridiculed. Gorton called it an "empty and disingenuous" measure, and it was defeated by a 46-52 vote. A few weeks later, she offered it again, and Republicans again blasted it.

"I laugh at that," said Sen. Don Nickles, R-Okla., in a Senate speech. "Are you going to get one of these teachers? Is your school going to get a teacher? Who is going to be lucky enough to get a federal teacher? I don't think it makes any sense."

Again it lost, though this time by only one vote, 49-50.

Gorton said yesterday that during this time, he quietly tried to persuade his colleagues that Republicans should take the idea and run with it because it would be enormously popular. They refused.

But Murray persisted. She introduced a revised bill. At the same time, she launched plans to try to wiggle the proposal into the overall budget. Clinton, who had wanted to pay for the teachers with a new tax on tobacco, appeared to have dropped the proposal when the tobacco measure was defeated in the Senate.

Last week, Murray, Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., and other Democrats persuaded Clinton to rejuvenate the idea. The Republicans would never kill it, they reasoned, because the voters would punish them in the November elections.

"We've been sitting in our foxhole for months, just waiting for the budget endgame," said Ric Ilgenfritz, Murray's top legislative staff member. "We knew we would have a lot of leverage. The Republicans know they are weak on this issue. They had to agree to it."

They did. The plan is for only one year, not five, but Republicans said it very likely will be reauthorized next year. Even Gorton said yesterday that Republicans had made a mistake in ignoring the teacher plan. He also acknowledged that Murray deserved credit for tenacity.

"Senator Murray is going to be able to say that there is more money in this budget for teachers," he said. "She will. And she will be accurate in that statement."

Longtime Murray-watchers were reminded of the time when, as a state senator, she essentially shamed Republicans into voting for a law that allows workers to take up to 12 weeks off to care for a sick child. Or when she was snickered at for saying she could win the U.S. Senate race, only to dominate the election of 1992 in a year that was unusually favorable to women candidates.

Murray lucked out?

Gorton would not say yesterday that Murray had lucked out with the teacher program. But he implied it by saying that she only "truly deserved credit" on some other issues, such as the land trade with Plum Creek.

He also criticized her for not being at the Capitol all week to negotiate the details because she was back in the state campaigning. "My one-liner is: If you're not here, things get done to you. If you are here, things get done by you."

A clearly jubilant Murray laughed when she heard about the

sniping. Her top education aide, Greg Williamson, accompanied Kennedy to every negotiating session, and Murray said she was in constant phone contact with Kennedy and the White House, speaking with the president three times in the past five days. Kennedy himself said it was Murray's bill.

"I was a presence in that negotiating room," she said. "This is how you work hard as a U.S. senator 2,500 miles away. I worked and worked on this diligently for months, and now it has all come together.

"This is absolutely the biggest thing I've ever done, and I know in my heart that this will do more to help schools than anything we've done in quite some time."

Background and Related Info.

- [Murray-Smith debate postponed until tomorrow](#)

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View Related Topics

October 14, 1998, Wednesday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1419 words

HEADLINE: NEWS ANALYSIS;
A BRUISED CLINTON PREPARES TO GRAB LEGISLATIVE VICTORY;
POLICY: **REPUBLICANS** IN CONGRESS HAVE SCRAPPED A TAX CUT AND ARE ABOUT TO
APPROVE MUCH OF THE PRESIDENT'S AGENDA.

BYLINE: RONALD BROWNSTEIN and JANET HOOK, TIMES STAFF WRITERS

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

It's not the ending anyone would have predicted to a season of turmoil in Washington. But just days after the House voted to begin an impeachment inquiry against him, President Clinton is closing out the legislative year with a chance to claim victory on his top domestic priority--and to deny **Republicans** success on theirs.

Republicans, faced with staunch opposition from Clinton, recently abandoned hopes for the tax cut many in the **GOP** had expected would be a cornerstone of their fall campaign. And now, the **Republican** Congress appears poised to include in the government's final budget package new money for several of Clinton's key domestic initiatives--including more than \$ 1 billion in funds for hiring teachers to reduce classroom sizes, Clinton's top goal.

The jockeying between Clinton and **Republicans** continued Tuesday, as White House and congressional negotiators sought agreement on a budget that would keep the government running for the coming year and allow lawmakers to adjourn for the year. As the talks dragged on, **Republicans** began to suspect that Democrats were deliberately slowing the pace because they saw political advantage in staying in Washington and battling the **GOP** over policy rather than returning home to answer questions about Clinton.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), who Monday had said that an agreement was within reach, was grim as he emerged from negotiations late Tuesday afternoon. "I am much less optimistic than I was this morning," Gingrich said.

Despite Gingrich's comments, the two sides had narrowed so much ground this week--and **Republicans** appeared so leery of allowing Clinton to precipitate another government shutdown--that an accord still appeared inevitable by week's end.

Aside from showing the enormous leverage even a weakened president can exert in legislative showdowns, the **GOP's** generally conciliatory approach in the talks underscores an electoral strategy generating growing controversy inside the party.

GOP Reluctant to Engage in Policy Fights

Confident that their own voters are motivated to register their disgust at Clinton's behavior with Monica S. Lewinsky, **Republicans** have become extremely reluctant to provide the president with any policy conflicts that might increase turnout in the Nov. 3 election among otherwise disillusioned Democrats. In that way, **Republicans** hope to gain seats and strengthen their hand for policy confrontations with Clinton.

But some conservatives fret that a backlash against impeachment by Democratic partisans may already have rendered this strategy obsolete--while leaving **Republicans** with few issues to trumpet to their own base.

"It all comes down to who goes to the polls," said Marshall Wittmann, director of congressional relations at the conservative Heritage Foundation. "That is the ultimate judgment on whose strategy was accurate."

The flurry of **Republican** concessions in the budget talks marks a distinct turn from the **GOP's** approach since the summer of 1997 when the two parties reached a sweeping deal to balance the federal budget. After conservatives loudly complained that the deal yielded too much ground to Clinton, **Republicans** systematically stymied the president's initiatives through most of 1998.

Earlier this year, congressional **Republicans** voted down Clinton's proposals to build more schools and subsidize more after-school programs, rejected his call for sweeping anti-smoking legislation and an increase in the minimum wage, killed campaign finance legislation that he supported and shelved without serious consideration his plan to open Medicare to the near elderly. Just five days ago, the Senate officially voted down another of Clinton's top priorities: the so-called "patient's bill of rights" legislation that would increase regulation of health maintenance organizations.

In turn, Clinton has vetoed several of the **GOP's** priorities, including proposals to test school vouchers in the District of Columbia, ban "partial-birth" abortions and create tax-favored accounts that parents could use to help pay private-school tuition.

Clinton's successes this week are not sweeping enough to change the basic verdict on this Congress as a session in which defeats substantially outnumbered victories for both sides.

But he has gained enough ground to generate considerable hand-wringing among conservatives. They did not expect a month that began with a House vote to investigate impeachment to end with Congress agreeing to the president's demands for billions of dollars in new spending for **class size reduction**, after-school programs, charter schools, summer jobs, housing vouchers for welfare recipients and the International Monetary Fund.

"If conservatives around the country were not so preoccupied with casting a vote against Clinton on Nov. 3, they'd be pretty upset about what is going on this week in Washington with the **Republican** Congress," said Bill Kristol, editor of the Weekly Standard, a conservative magazine.

Education is one of the issues sticking in the throats of conservatives. After spending most of the year opposing Clinton's proposal to provide \$ 1.1 billion to reduce class size by hiring 100,000 new teachers, **Republicans** have agreed to match his proposal dollar for dollar in a counterproposal that differs only in giving schools some flexibility to use the money for special education or purposes other than hiring teachers.

"**Republicans** are for schools," Sen. Slade Gorton (R-Wash.) said Tuesday in formally unveiling the **GOP** proposal. "The debate now is over who gets to spend that money."

That difference remains perhaps the most stubborn disagreement in the final talks. Still--after months of insisting that reducing class size was a state and not a federal responsibility--an argument about who controls new federal money is far from the debate the **GOP** anticipated at this point.

On taxes, too, **Republicans** now find themselves on unexpected terrain--trying merely to salvage a \$ 9.2-billion extension of existing tax breaks. And even that modest measure, approved by the House, may die in the Senate.

For most of the year, **Republican** tax-cutting hopes had ascended step-by-step with the growing estimates of the federal budget surplus. When new budget surplus estimates reached \$ 1.6 billion over 10 years, House **GOP** leaders offered plans to cut taxes by \$ 700 billion.

But faced with lukewarm Senate support and continuing Clinton threats to veto any tax cut that drew on the budget surplus--which he has proposed to reserve until Congress reforms Social Security--House tax writers settled for an \$ 80-billion tax cut package in September. Yet even that proved too much for the Senate **Republican** leaders, who quietly shelved the proposal last week.

"People were afraid of the Clinton rhetoric on Social Security," said Sen. John Ashcroft (R-Mo.).

Fear, Confidence Within the **GOP**

In fact, the decision to shelve the tax cut proposal--like the spending concessions to Clinton in the final budget negotiations--reflects both fear and confidence inside the **GOP**.

The confidence derives from the belief that **Republicans** will enjoy a turnout advantage that produces gains in November--so long as they do not allow Clinton to rock the boat with a galvanizing policy argument.

Yet, many conservative observers noted, buried inside that calculation is an underlying fear about the **GOP's** capacity to win policy disputes with the president. The most immediate problem is fear of reprising the government shutdown of 1995-96, which revived Clinton's presidency. But Kristol, among others, sees a broader dilemma at work in the **Republican** reluctance to confront Clinton on education and other issues.

"Clinton's weakness over the past year has masked a real problem on the **Republican** side--which is that they **GOP** leaders haven't developed a coherent governing philosophy or strategy," Kristol said.

For that reason, many conservative activists do not expect a more energetic agenda from congressional **Republicans** next year, unless they make gains next month much larger than now predicted. And with Clinton facing a potentially protracted impeachment inquiry, few Democrats expect him to breathe much life into the parts of his policy agenda that he could not disinter in the final hours of this legislative session.

"Barring an absolute blowout by **Republicans** in November," said the Heritage Foundation's Wittmann, "I think we are in for two more years of relative inaction."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: House Majority Leader Dick Armey (R-Texas), left, Rep. Jennifer Dunn (R-Wash.) and Sen. Slade Gorton (R-Wash.) discuss the budget and education with reporters. **Republicans** have agreed to match President Clinton's education proposal, with only minor differences over how the money can be spent. **PHOTOGRAPHER:** Associated Press

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: October 14, 1998

Republican Support For 100,000 New Teachers

On October 15, 1998, President Clinton and Congressional budget negotiators reached agreement on a spending bill for 1999. Among the programs included in that agreement was a \$1.1 billion investment to hire 100,000 teachers to reduce class sizes across America. Here is how Republican leaders described the 100,000 teachers legislation at the time.

Former Speaker Newt Gingrich:

- ☐ "We said the local school board would make the decision, no new federal bureaucracy, no new state bureaucracy, not a penny in the bill that was passed goes to pay for bureaucracy; all of it goes to the local school districts...." [The American Spectator, December, 1998]
- ☐ House Speaker Newt Gingrich, Georgia Republican, called it "a victory for the American people. There will be more teachers, and that is good for all Americans." [Washington Times, 10/16/98]

House Majority Leader Dick Armey:

- ☐ Asked "what would [you] say are the key Republican achievements in this bill?" -- Armey responded:

...Well, I think, quite frankly, I'm very proud of what we did and the timeliness of it. We were very pleased to receive the President's request for more teachers, especially since he offered to provide a way to pay for them. And when the President's people were willing to work with us so that we could let the state and local communities take this money, make these decisions, manage the money, spend the money on teachers as they saw the need, whether it be for special education or for regular teaching, with a freedom of choice and management and control at the local level, we thought this was good for America and good for the schoolchildren. We were very excited to move forward on that. [The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, 10/15/98]

Rep. Bill Goodling, R-Pa, Chairman of the House Education and the Workplace Committee

- ☐ "It is a huge win for local educators and parents who are fed up with Washington mandates, red tape and regulation." [The San Francisco Examiner, 10/15/98]

Wt Bulletin
October 15, 1998, Thursday

LENGTH: 1184 words

HEADLINE: Negotiators Reach Agreement On Budget Deal.

BODY:

President Clinton interrupted a White House conference on school safety this afternoon to proclaim that Administration and Congressional Republican negotiators had concluded an agreement on a Federal budget for FY 99. Speaker **Gingrich** announced today he expects the House to vote on the \$500 billion bill either late tonight or tomorrow. Negotiators apparently agreed to disagree on the census, contraception, and some environmental provisions.

After praising the Democratic negotiating team during an afternoon press conference today, Clinton said a few kind words about the Republicans, but then quickly added that the budget negotiations did not even begin until the budget year had concluded. And, said Clinton, if Republicans had been as productive during the rest of the year as they were over the last eight days, much more would have been accomplished. During the joint press availability with Democratic congressional leaders, Clinton highlighted the Federal money being redirected to the local levels for education. "This 100,000 teachers, this is truly historic," said Clinton, adding: "This is the educational equivalent of what we did when we put 100,000 police on the street, and I would remind you that we now have the lowest crime rate in 25 years." As for redirecting even more money back to the local levels for school construction, Clinton said, "Those are things I would like to have, but we can debate those and work for those in the election."

Congressional Democrats also put their announcement in political terms for November's elections, claiming they won in the negotiations, but if more Democrats are elected this fall, the public will get even more next year. For example, House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt said, "The President sent us a State of the Union speech about nine months ago that asked the Congress to get 100,000 new teachers into the schools and to repair and expand the school buildings so that we could get smaller **class size** so that we could get better educated children. Well, today we got the teachers, and now we must come back with a new Congress and get the buildings."

Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle credited the President for the agreement, saying, "We're here because the President had a veto pen. And he was determined to use that veto pen unless, as Democrats, we were able to ensure the Republicans understood the depth of feeling we had about critical policy agenda items."

Republicans Claim Victory Too.

Republican leaders extolled the virtues of the concessions they won in the budget negotiations. House Majority Leader Dick **Armey** said, "These have been rigorous negotiations. They have gone on for a long time. And I suppose from my point of view, I would say that the time that we spent on that is a reflection of the magnitude of what it is we've accomplished here and the timeliness of it. And I'm particularly excited about the timeliness of it. For us to wrap up this year in such a way as to vindicate the good work of Chairman **Goodling** and Slade **Gorton** and Joe Pitts in terms of honoring the parents and the local communities as they administer their schools to take resources and especially to take resources home to America so that they can provide teacher and teacher-training for all our children, but that especially important group of youngsters that are found in special education." **Armey** also lauded GOP accomplishments on military readiness and new conditions for IMF loans, and praised Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott for his insistence on holding the line on extra spending in the face of Administration demands. **Armey** said, "And I can tell you, Mr. and Mrs. America, for the most part, your surplus is still intact. And next year when we come back we can begin the process of using that surplus as we should: to restore and guarantee retirement security for all Americans and at the same time get tax **reductions**."

Lott announced that the negotiators had also agreed to include the package of tax provision extenders in the omnibus spending bill.

10! ~~Robert~~ Fredrick
from Liff



**COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION & THE WORKFORCE
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Oct. 14, 1998**

**CONTACT: Jay Diskey
or Bill McCarthy
202/225-4527**

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WHITE HOUSE ACCEPTS REPUBLICAN EDUCATION FUNDING PROPOSAL

***GOP Proposal Sends 100 percent of Funds
to Local Schools - Not Washington Bureaucrats;
Emphasis Placed on Special Education***

WASHINGTON - The White House today dropped its demands for new federal education mandates and accepted a House Republican proposal to send \$1.1 billion directly to local school districts to help reduce class size and to train, test, recruit and hire new teachers.

"The Clinton Administration has acknowledged that local control is the name of the game," said Chairman Bill Goodling (R-PA), who designed the GOP proposal. "President Clinton has acceded to our proposal to bypass the U.S. Department of Education and to send 100 percent of the funds directly to the local level.

"This is a real victory for the Republican Congress, but more importantly, it is a huge win for local educators and parents who are fed up with Washington mandates, red tape and regulation," Goodling said. "We agree with the President's desire to help classroom teachers, but our proposal does not create big, new federal education programs. Rather our proposal will drive dollars directly to the classroom and gives local educators more options for spending federal funds to help disadvantaged children."

Speaker Newt Gingrich and Chairman Goodling gave the proposal to White House Chief of Staff Erskine Bowles Tuesday. Today's agreement removes one of the final stumbling blocks to final approval of the federal budget for fiscal year 1999.

House Republicans also stood fast on the existing prohibition on the President's proposed federal tests in 4th grade reading and 8th math. "And, we did not agree to the President's request to create a massive federal school construction program that would ultimately lead to the U.S. Department of Education acting as a national school board determining local school construction and maintenance issues," Goodling said.

While the Administration's initiative centered primarily on the hiring of new teachers, the Republican proposal would allow funds to be used not only for reducing class size, but also for the recruiting, hiring, training and testing of regular teachers, special education teachers and teachers of special needs children.

###

Votes

freedom of choice and management and control at the local level, we thought this good for America and good for the schoolchildren. We were very excited to move forward on that."

About Class Size:

Republican Congressman Bill Goodling, Chairman of the House Education Committee, declared that the Class Size Reduction Act was "...a real victory for the Republican Congress, but more importantly, it is a huge win for local educators and parents who are fed up with Washington mandates, red tape, and regulation. We agree with the President's desire to help classroom teachers, but our proposal does not create big, new federal education programs."

Senator Slade Gorton said the same thing about the Class Size Reduction Act, "On education, there's been a genuine meeting of the minds involving the President and the Democrats and Republicans here in Congress...It will go directly through to each of the 14,000 school districts in the United States, and each of those school districts will make its own determination as to what kind of new teachers that district needs most, which kind should be hired...We've made a step in that direction that we like. We never were arguing over the amount of money that ought to go into education. And so this is a case in which both sides

genuinely can claim a triumph."

We should maintain that bipartisan support. The Senate should not turn its back on our promise to help communities reduce class size in the early grades.

We should meet our commitment to parents and students, to schools and communities, and we should meet it now.

We need to act now, so that communities can plan effectively for the full seven years. No school can hire teachers one year at a time. That makes no sense. Communities want to reduce class size — and they need to be sure that Congress will do its part to help them over the long term, as we promised.

The goal of ED-Flex is to improve the federal-state-local partnership. We should prove to the nation that we will not undermine that partnership by breaking our promise to help communities reduce class size over 7 years. What sense does it make to take one step forward by passing ED-Flex, and take two steps backward by breaking the class size commitment.

It makes no sense to short-change schools trying to give students a good

An Open Letter to Republicans in Congress

Dear Colleagues & Friends:

The Republican Main Street Partnership was founded in 1998. Our goal is to demonstrate that the Republican Party can govern and achieve our goals of bipartisan cooperation in enacting centrist policies. We are focused on speaking out, setting the agenda and demonstrating a new discipline for reaching consensus on difficult issues; without that, we believe that we will not be a Majority Party by the close of the Year 2000.

Immediately, the rhetoric of partisan hostility must stop. Our language too often has been heard as mean, judgmental and partisan. That "the other side does it" is no excuse. We need Republican unity to replace division or our statistical majority will never become a governing majority. We must restore dignity to our debate, civility to our conversations and compassion to our perspective. We need a new language and a new voice.

Our agenda must be positive; it must be an agenda for governance. On education, we should champion communities and parents, reducing class size and increasing accountability. On Social Security, we should press for personal choice, not 100% governmental custody of our retirement funds. On health care, Medicaid and Medicare we must legislate with compassion as well as prudence. On taxes, we must work to reduce the burden on hardworking middle-class American families. And when we discuss our agenda, we must do it in terms that dispel the fears and inspire the hopes of American families and businesses.

Both governance and civility will demand discipline. Challenges will rise from partisan and ideological quarters. That is when we must stay the course with unity, courage - and discipline.

If we can stand tall within our own tradition - if we can bring to the 106th Congress Lincoln's urgency for justice, Roosevelt's commitment to the environment, Eisenhower's vision of public education - then the finest elements of our party's legacy, the tone of our speeches, the content of our legislation and the discipline of our behavior will make this a season of triumph for the Republican Party, and for the nation!

Sincerely,

The Republican Main Street Partnership Board of Directors

Gov. John McKernan
Hon. Mike Castle
Hon. Arno Houghton
Hon. Rick Lazio
Hon. Fred Upton
Mr. Allan Cors

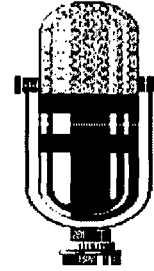


Republican Main Street Partnership; Steve Gunderson, Executive Director;
1601 N. Kent Street, Suite 1003, Arlington, VA 22209; Ph: 703.527.6388 Rx: 703.243.8377

Roll Call - 2/22/99



Conference Call



October 15, 1998

White House Accedes to Republican Education Plans

"President Clinton has acceded to our proposal to bypass the U.S. Department of Education and to send 100 percent of the funds directly to the local level... Rather, our proposal will drive dollars directly to the classroom and give local educators more options for spending federal funds to help disadvantaged children."

Education and Workforce Chairman Bill Goodling (R-PA)

Dollars to the Classroom & Local Control:

- * \$1.1 billion additional funds for next year and no new paperwork.
- * Control of the money remains at the local level to reduce class size and to hire and train teachers.
- * 100 percent of the funds are controlled locally. No money may be used for federal or state administration and no more than 3 percent of the funds may be used for local administration.

Flexibility of Uses:

- * Money must be used to reduce class size with quality teachers including:
 - Recruiting, hiring, training, and testing regular teachers, special education teachers and teachers of special needs children.
 - Hiring qualified teachers through state and local alternative certification routes.
 - Professional development of regular teachers, special education teachers and teachers of special needs children.

Accountability:

- * Each school must produce an annual report to parents and the public on student achievement.

Additionally, the President acceded to Republican demands to eliminate the President's

proposed national testing and massive federal school construction programs.

For More Information:

www.house.gov/eo/Press/pressindex

1010 Longworth House Office Building • Washington, DC 20515 • (202) 225-5107

For More Information Contact Jeff Dobrozsi of the
House Republican Conference at (202) 225-5107



TALKING POINTS

<http://hillsource.house.gov>

October 15, 1998

GOP SENDS TEACHER FUNDS TO LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS

***GOP Proposal Sends 100 percent of Funds
to Local Schools - Not Washington Bureaucrats;
Emphasis Placed on Special Education***

In a tremendous "win" for parents, teacher, and local school boards, the Clinton administration accepted a **House Republican proposal to send \$1.2 billion directly to local school districts to help reduce class size and to train, test, recruit and hire new teachers.** In what can only be described as a great victory for "local control," President Clinton acceded to the so-called Goodling proposal to **bypass the U.S. Department of Education and to send 100 percent of the funds directly to the local level.**

While the Administration's initiative centered on the hiring of new teachers, the Republican proposal would allow funds to be used not only for reducing class size, **but also for the recruiting, hiring, training and testing of regular teachers, special education teachers and teachers of special needs children.**

Our proposal will drive **dollars directly to the classroom and give local educators more options for spending federal funds to help disadvantaged children.**

House Republicans also stood fast on the existing **prohibition on the President's proposed federal tests** in 4th grade reading and 8th math. Republicans also **prevented the administration's attempt to create a massive federal school construction program** that would ultimately lead to the U.S. Department of Education acting as a national school board determining local school construction and maintenance issues.

House Republican Education Proposal

Dollars to the Classroom & Local Control

- **\$1.2 billion additional funds made available in FY99 under the Elementary and Secondary**

Education Act.

- **Control of the funds remains totally at the local level to reduce class size and to hire and train quality teachers.**
- **100 percent of funds driven locally and no funds used for federal or state administration. No more than 3 percent of the funds may be used for local administration.**

Flexibility of Uses

- **Funds must be used to reduce class size with quality teachers including:**
 - 1. Recruiting, hiring, training and testing regular teachers, special education teachers and teachers of special needs children.**
 - 2. Hiring qualified teachers through state and local alternative certification routes.**
 - 3. Professional development of regular teachers, special education teachers and teachers of special needs children consistent with Title II of the Higher Education Act.**

Accountability

- **Each school shall produce an annual report to parents and the general public on its student achievement.**

No New Paperwork

- **No new application for funds will be required of the local educational agency.**

1010 Longworth House Office Building • Washington, DC 20515 • (202) 225-5107

THE REPUBLICAN VS. DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION AGENDAS:

Although Their Rhetoric Has Changed, GOP Still Doesn't Support Policies to Improve Public Education

When Republicans took control of Congress in 1995, they began attempting to implement their beliefs in the area of education. Fundamentally, most believe that there is no appropriate role for the federal government in the area of elementary and secondary education — which is solely the responsibility of state and local governments. Beginning in 1995, Republicans began to vote these beliefs. Hence, over the last four years, congressional Republicans have voted to:

- Abolish the Department of Education;
- Slash overall federal spending on education by \$31 billion over a seven-year period;
- Cut the Safe and Drug-Free School program by 57%;
- Cut Title I Aid to Disadvantaged Students by 17%;
- Eliminate the Goals 2000 School Reform program;
- Eliminate Eisenhower Teacher Training;
- Cut bilingual and immigrant education by 50%;
- Cut School-to-Work by 23%;
- Cut Vocational & Adult Education by 16%; and
- Provide no funding for the Educational Technology Challenge Fund.

However, in 1999, congressional Republicans are becoming increasingly nervous. They have learned over the last four years that the public doesn't like their anti-education agenda and rhetoric. Typical of recent public opinion polls is the *Washington Post*/ABC News poll released on March 17 that shows that Americans trust Democrats over Republicans on the issue of education by 16 points — 51% to 35%. Other public opinion polls, published by a wide range of different polling organizations, have shown similar results.

So, Republicans have decided that they need to change the way they talk about education. The House Republican Conference is now sending out "Talking Points" that urge that Republicans begin talking about Republican plans for "strengthening our public schools."

Republicans have also responded to the national polls by deciding that they can no longer be perceived as a party that wants to cut federal support for education — therefore, after spending four years voting to cut federal support for education, the GOP has now reported out a budget resolution calling for increases in education spending.

Democrats will be delighted to sit down with Republicans this year and finally receive GOP cooperation in efforts to increase critical federal investments in the area of improving education.

However, despite this new GOP budget resolution, the GOP education agenda that has been laid out by the House Republican Conference continues to call for proposals that would have the result of *undermining* public education in this country. These proposals include the following:

- Eliminating many key federal elementary and secondary education programs by rolling them into an education block grant to the states; and
- Providing education savings accounts to pay for tuition at private and religious schools.

If Republicans were serious about “strengthening public education,” they should be joining hands across the aisle and vowing to work with Democrats to enact several important new initiatives that would actually help the nation’s public schools — including initiatives to modernize our school facilities, hire 100,000 more teachers, institute new accountability measures, bring more technology into the classroom, improve the quality of teaching, and expand after-school learning opportunities.

Instead, there seems to be every indication that — in a harshly partisan manner and in a way that ignores the pressing needs of America’s schoolchildren — Republicans will continue to refuse to act on these important initiatives to improve the nation’s schools.

Following is an overview of the 1999 GOP education agenda, as outlined by the House Republican Conference, and the 1999 Democratic education agenda.

THE REPUBLICAN EDUCATION AGENDA

House Republicans wanted to begin promoting their 1999 GOP education agenda during the week of March 8 — as the House was considering the “Ed-Flex” bill (H.R. 800). As a result, on Monday, March 8, the House Republican Conference issued a number of “Talking Points” papers on key elements of the GOP education agenda for the year.

As outlined by the House Republican Conference in these “Talking Points,” three key components of the 1999 GOP education agenda will be the following:

- The GOP Education Block Grant Proposal;
- Education Tax Breaks for the Wealthy; and
- “Ed-Flex” Without Important Accountability Provisions

Below is a description of these key components.

The GOP Education Block Grant Proposal

First, on March 8, the House Republican Conference issued “Talking Points” indicating that one of the key components of their 1999 education agenda will be reviving their “Dollars to the Classroom” block grant bill, which they tried to enact in September 1998. According to the House Republican Conference publication, “The Dollars to the Classroom Act consolidates 31 education programs into a single, flexible grant program.” This appears to be identical to the bill (H.R. 3248) that House Republicans passed by a vote of 212 to 198 on September 18, 1998 — but which died in the Senate.

This GOP proposal — misleadingly labeled “Dollars to the Classroom Act” — eliminates these 31 key elementary and secondary education programs by rolling them into an Education Block Grant to the states.

This GOP bill is based on the false premise that too few federal education dollars go to the classroom — but instead are wasted on federal bureaucrats. Indeed, in its “Talking Points,” the House Republican Conference claims that an education block grant is needed because currently, in many programs, “as little as 65 cents of every federal education dollar ultimately reaches the classroom” — with the rest spent on the federal bureaucracy.

This GOP claim is simply inaccurate. The facts are that more than 98% of federal education dollars go directly out to states, school districts, and local communities — with less than 2% of the Education Department’s budget spent on federal administrative costs. In addition, nearly all major elementary and secondary education programs include a 5% cap on funds that may be used by state and local educators for administrative purposes.

The education block grant proposal is one more in a long list of Republican attempts over the years to undermine the federal commitment to aid local communities across the country in improving education. As part of the long-term GOP effort to undermine federal support for education, the proposal rolls into the block grant the very same education programs that Republicans have been trying to cut or eliminate over the last several years. For example, in 1995, Republicans voted for a 23% cut in the School-to-Work program and the elimination of funding for the Eisenhower Teacher Training Program. Now, in 1999, the Republicans are once again proposing rolling these very same programs into an overall block grant — effectively terminating all of these programs.

Among the federal education programs eliminated by the Republican block grant are:

- Educational Technology Challenge Fund;
- Eisenhower Teacher Training;
- School-to-Work;
- 21st Century After-School Learning Program; and
- Goals 2000 School Reform.

In other words, the Republican education block grant proposal would eliminate some of the most effective programs that have been created by Congress over the last two decades.

Education Tax Breaks for the Wealthy

On March 8, the House Republican Conference also issued "Talking Points" indicating that a second of the key components of their 1999 education agenda will be reviving their "Education Savings Account" proposal (H.R. 2646), which President Clinton vetoed in July 1998. This GOP proposal permits families to place \$2,000 per year, per child, in an education savings account. Parents would then be allowed to withdraw funds from this account on a tax-free basis to pay for tuition at public, private and religious elementary and secondary schools. This GOP proposal has been re-introduced this year as H.R. 7 — highlighting its importance to the House GOP Leadership.

The House Republican Conference makes the claim that this proposal "strengthens public schools"!! And yet nothing could be further from the truth.

To the contrary, this GOP proposal involves diverting scarce taxpayer dollars to subsidize private and religious schools. Furthermore, it disproportionately benefits the wealthiest American households.

Following is how President Clinton summarized some of the flaws of this GOP proposal in his July 1998 veto message:

"The bill would divert limited federal resources away from public schools by spending more than \$3 billion on tax benefits that would do virtually nothing for average families and would disproportionately benefit the most affluent families. More than 70 percent of the benefits would flow to families in the top 20 percent of the income distribution, and families struggling to make ends meet would never see a penny of the benefits. Moreover, the bill would not create a meaningful incentive for families to increase their savings for educational purposes; it would instead reward families, particularly those with substantial incomes, for what they already do."

That this Republican proposal provides virtually no benefit to those who need it most is highlighted by the following additional facts:

- An analysis of the Republican proposal by the Joint Committee on Taxation found that more than 50% of its tax benefits go to the 7% of families who send their children to private and religious schools.
- The Joint Committee on Taxation (JCT) analysis also found that, for the average family — whether or not their children go to private or public school — the tax benefits under this proposal would be almost minuscule. Specifically, the JCT found that the tax benefit for the average family with children in private schools would be \$37 even in FY 2002, five years into the program. Similarly, the JCT found that the tax benefit for the average family with children in public schools would be only \$7 in FY 2002.

“Ed-Flex” Without Important Accountability Provisions

Furthermore, on March 8, the House Republican Conference also issued “Talking Points” indicating that they were going to highlight the modest, bipartisan “Ed-Flex” bill (H.R. 800) as a third key component of the 1999 GOP education agenda. The House Republican Conference urges Members to go home and talk about how Republicans want to “give local schools and school districts more flexibility to spend education dollars as they see fit.”

The fact is that both Democrats and Republicans support giving local school districts flexibility in administering federal elementary and secondary education funds — but Democrats also insist upon strong accountability provisions — in order to ensure that local school districts use their new flexibility in order to raise student performance.

Unfortunately, on March 10, when the “Ed-Flex” bill was considered on the House Floor, all 219 Republicans voting voted against an amendment — offered by Rep. Miller (D-Calif.) and Rep. Kildee (D-Mich.) — which would have added important accountability provisions to the bill — accountability provisions based on what GOP Governor George W. Bush is currently doing under the “Ed-Flex” pilot program in the State of Texas!

The “Ed-Flex” bill extends eligibility for the “Ed-Flex” program from the current 12 states to

THE DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION AGENDA

In sharp contrast to the 1999 GOP education agenda which provides no new resources or initiatives to improve public education, Democrats are once again promoting an aggressive comprehensive agenda to strengthen and improve the nation's public schools.

Democrats believe that every public school must be a school where children are mastering the basics; where classrooms are not overcrowded; where the environment is safe, disciplined, and drug-free; where there are adequate textbooks and equipment; where teachers are well-qualified and dedicated; and where facilities are up-to-date and in good repair. That is why Democrats have laid out a comprehensive, multi-pronged education agenda to help local school districts improve education. Some of the key components in this 1999 Democratic education agenda are the following:

- School Modernization;
- Smaller Classes;
- Accountability Measures;
- Teacher Training and Recruitment;
- Educational Technology; and
- After-School Learning Programs.

Below is a description of these key components.

School Modernization

One key component of the 1999 Democratic education agenda is a major school modernization initiative — an initiative that will provide significant help to local school districts and states in meeting their needs both to build new classrooms in order to keep up with skyrocketing school enrollments and to renovate and modernize their existing school facilities.

Democrats know that, in order for students to learn and compete in the global economy, America's schools must be well-equipped and up-to-date — and they must be able to accommodate smaller class sizes.

As a result, Democrats are supporting an initiative providing federal resources to help build and renovate public schools. This new initiative would provide significant help to local school districts in meeting their needs both to build new classrooms to keep up with skyrocketing school enrollments and to renovate and modernize their existing facilities. Indeed, it would help meet the documented \$112 billion backlog in unmet school needs.

Smaller Classes

The second key component of the 1999 Democratic education agenda is finishing the job of hiring 100,000 new teachers to reduce class size in the early grades to a national average of 18.

In 1998, Democrats put forward a Class Size Reduction Initiative — which involves helping local school districts hire 100,000 new teachers over the next seven years (FY 1999-FY 2005) in order to reduce the average class size in the early grades to 18 students per classroom. Throughout 1998, Republicans worked to block this initiative. Finally, in October 1998, in a major victory for Democrats, Republicans backed down and agreed to a downpayment of \$1.2 billion in FY 1999 for the initiative.

However, not only have congressional Republicans so far refused to authorize the full seven-year initiative, but on March 11, **Senate Republicans went even further and voted to renege on the commitment made in 1998 for \$1.2 billion for the first year of Class Size Reduction** — instead rewriting the 1998 provisions to allow school districts to use the \$1.2 billion for special education programs rather than for reducing class size, as the Senate was considering the bipartisan “Ed-Flex” bill. Democrats will work to remove this provision in conference.

In sum, Democrats will fight in 1999 to protect the Class Size Reduction Initiative from Republican attempts to undermine it — as well as fight to secure the full seven-year authorization for the program, which will guarantee helping local school districts with the hiring of 100,000 new teachers over the next seven years.

Accountability Measures

Democrats believe that all children deserve to attend high-quality public schools. Therefore, the third key component of the 1999 Democratic education agenda is a series of new Accountability Initiatives. These accountability initiatives are being designed to hold students, teachers, and schools accountable to high standards and ensuring that school districts and states obtain results in their efforts to provide a high-quality education.

One key accountability initiative will be working to help put an end to social promotion through stronger student remediation programs, including providing extra summer school help for those students falling behind. Other key accountability initiatives will include: strict entry-level standards and mentoring for new teachers; peer assistance and rigorous professional development for experienced teachers; assisting states to identify and intervene in low-performing schools; providing information to parents about the quality of their schools; and requiring schools to adopt discipline codes and making sure they are enforced.

Teacher Training and Recruitment

Democrats are committed to the goal that children in every community have highly-qualified and well-trained teachers. Therefore, the fourth key component of the Democratic education agenda is increasing support for teacher training, including supporting initiatives designed to help improve the quality of teacher preparation programs at colleges and universities; initiatives designed to improve teachers’ subject matter knowledge; and initiatives designed to hold states accountable for having high-quality teacher preparation and professional development programs.

Democrats are also proposing new incentives to recruit highly qualified teachers, including seeking funding for 7,000 scholarships to help recruit teachers to teach in areas with a shortage of well-prepared teachers, such as inner-city and rural areas, as well as seeking to extend the Troops-to-Teachers program, which recruits and trains retiring military personnel and other mid-career professionals to serve as new teachers in public schools.

Educational Technology

The fifth key component in the Democratic education agenda is seeking increased funding to meet the goal that every classroom and school library across the country has computers and every classroom and school library across the country is connected to the Internet by the year 2001. As President Clinton has pointed out, if we achieve this goal, "For the first time in our history, children in the most isolated rural town, the most comfortable suburb, and the poorest inner-city schools will have the same access to the same universe of knowledge."

The agenda also calls for enhanced resources for technology training for teachers, so that teachers can teach effectively using the new educational technologies, as well as enhanced resources to help schools develop strategies for successfully integrating technology into the curricula. In addition, the agenda includes ensuring Internet access for schools and libraries by protecting their "E-rate" discounts.

After-School Learning Programs

Finally, the sixth component of the Democratic education agenda is a major expansion in the availability of after-school learning programs. Specifically, the agenda calls for tripling the funding for the 21st Century Community Learning Center Program — from \$200 million in FY 1999 to \$600 million in FY 2000 and subsequent years. This program gives local school districts funds to operate academically-enriched after-school and summer school programs. This initiative would help roughly 1.1 million children each year participate in these programs. This program provides students with such adult-supervised, after-school activities as academic enrichment, tutoring, recreation, and other similar activities.

This Democratic initiative responds to the millions of parents across the country who want their children to meet high standards and to stay safe and secure when the school day ends. Today, over 28 million school-age children have both parents or their only parent in the workforce. Of these, at least five million children are "latchkey children," with no adult supervision in the after-school hours.

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National/World News : Friday, October 16, 1998

Congress OKs Murray plan to add teachers

by **Danny Westneat**
 Seattle Times Washington bureau

WASHINGTON - Some say Patty Murray is lucky. Others say she has an uncanny intuition. She says she's just persistent.

Whatever the explanation, the Democratic senator this week scored the biggest legislative victory of her political career: Congress has agreed to begin paying for her new federal program aimed at hiring 100,000 teachers during the next five to seven years.

Costing \$1.1 billion in its first year, the program dwarfs in size and reach anything proposed by a Washington state politician in recent years. It's estimated the money would hire and train 15,000 new teachers next year for kindergarten through third-grade classes around the country. Washington state school districts would get about 275 new teachers next year.

"It's a truly historic commitment to education," said President Clinton, who first proposed the idea in his State of the Union address in January, after which Murray sponsored it.

"I'm so proud of this accomplishment," said Murray, who was campaigning yesterday in Clark County, and was roundly criticized by Republicans for not being at the Capitol. "This is real money. These are new teachers that will reduce class size. This is exactly what people want us to do with their money."

Ambitious program

The deal on teachers was announced yesterday as the most ambitious new program in a \$500 billion budget that finances the federal government, not counting entitlement programs

such as Medicare and welfare. Congress is expected to approve the spending plan today or tomorrow, then adjourn until January.

The budget votes will bring to a close a session dominated thoroughly by the president's sex scandal. Most major legislative proposals never made it out of Congress, including far-reaching attempts to reform the campaign-finance system and to curb tobacco advertising.

In action with local repercussions, Congress agreed to launch an effort to revive declining Puget Sound salmon runs and begin paying for the Sound Transit light-rail system. It also will execute the largest land trade in the Northwest in 50 years, a swap of 79,000 acres in the Cascade Mountains along Interstate 90 with Plum Creek Timber (see box).

A plan to tear down one dam on the Olympic Peninsula has faltered, however, as Republican Sen. Slade Gorton said yesterday he was refusing to let the Senate approve the money. The Clinton administration would not agree to repeated proposals by Gorton that sought to prevent federal agencies from modifying or tearing down dams on the Columbia and Snake rivers. As a price for that, Gorton would not release \$22 million toward tearing out the Elwha River dam, which blocks salmon runs.

The impasse means the dam-removal project will be delayed further. It was first approved by Congress in 1992, but has been fought over ever since, mostly by Gorton and environmentalists.

As Gorton got bogged down in squabbles with Clinton, and the tax-cut plan of Rep. Jennifer Dunn, R-Bellevue, was shelved by senators in her own party, two other members of the delegation emerged as legislative players for perhaps the first time: Murray and Rep. Rick White, R-Bainbridge Island.

White got legislation passed

White became extremely adept at passing laws, many of which he has worked on since he entered Congress in 1995. In the past two weeks, Congress approved a series of measures co-authored by White, including a three-year ban on taxes levied on Internet commerce and a bill that cracks down on software piracy, the high-tech industry's No. 1 priority.

White also wrote and pushed through a bill designed to shield smaller companies from class-action lawsuits by stockholders, and is likely to be successful on a measure that would require cars that were totaled and then rebuilt to be identified as such on the title.

"I feel like I personally came of age this year as a legislator," White said. "I finally feel I have learned how to get things done around here."

White said that if re-elected, he would try to craft a comprehensive Internet policy for the United States.

For Murray, the breakthrough with the teacher program comes at a most opportune time. She is in a tight race for re-election, and the major question hanging over her is whether she is effective at her job. Even her staff admits that until this success, Murray's Senate resume was mostly filled with small accomplishments.

What's more, her opponent in the Senate race, U.S. Rep. Linda Smith, R-Hazel Dell, began airing television ads this week deriding Murray's ideas on education, even as Smith's Republican colleagues in Congress were agreeing to them.

Smith downplayed Murray's success, saying the senator has not been at the Capitol to negotiate the details in the past week and that the teacher program is fiscally irresponsible because it spends money from the Social Security trust fund.

"She's like the mother at Christmas who's talking to each of the kids and saying, 'I'm giving you more, more, more, more,'" Smith said. "She never backs up and says, 'This is how I'm going to pay the bill.'"

The story of how Murray came to sponsor the 100,000-teacher program, and then succeeded in passing it through a combination of luck and doggedness, may sound familiar to anyone who has followed her 15-year political career.

Took charge of issue

The day after Clinton first announced the idea of hiring 100,000 teachers last January, Murray told her staff: That's our issue. We are going to take it and push it as long as it takes, she said.

The proposal Murray drafted was not modest. She wanted to hire enough teachers so that no kindergarten through third-grade class in the nation would have more than 18 kids per teacher. Over the life of the program, five to seven years, it was estimated to cost anywhere from \$7 billion to \$10 billion.

When she offered the idea on the floor of the Senate without a way to pay for it, she was ridiculed. Gorton called it an "empty and disingenuous" measure, and it was defeated by a 46-52 vote. A few weeks later, she offered it again, and Republicans again blasted it.

"I laugh at that," said Sen. Don Nickles, R-Okla., in a Senate speech. "Are you going to get one of these teachers? Is your school going to get a teacher? Who is going to be lucky enough to get a federal teacher? I don't think it makes any sense."

Again it lost, though this time by only one vote, 49-50.

Gorton said yesterday that during this time, he quietly tried to persuade his colleagues that Republicans should take the idea and run with it because it would be enormously popular. They refused.

But Murray persisted. She introduced a revised bill. At the same time, she launched plans to try to wiggle the proposal into the overall budget. Clinton, who had wanted to pay for the teachers with a new tax on tobacco, appeared to have dropped the proposal when the tobacco measure was defeated in the Senate.

Last week, Murray, Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., and other Democrats persuaded Clinton to rejuvenate the idea. The Republicans would never kill it, they reasoned, because the voters would punish them in the November elections.

"We've been sitting in our foxhole for months, just waiting for the budget endgame," said Ric Ilgenfritz, Murray's top legislative staff member. "We knew we would have a lot of leverage. The Republicans know they are weak on this issue. They had to agree to it."

They did. The plan is for only one year, not five, but Republicans said it very likely will be reauthorized next year. Even Gorton said yesterday that Republicans had made a mistake in ignoring the teacher plan. He also acknowledged that Murray deserved credit for tenacity.

"Senator Murray is going to be able to say that there is more money in this budget for teachers," he said. "She will. And she will be accurate in that statement."

Longtime Murray-watchers were reminded of the time when, as a state senator, she essentially shamed Republicans into voting for a law that allows workers to take up to 12 weeks off to care for a sick child. Or when she was snickered at for saying she could win the U.S. Senate race, only to dominate the election of 1992 in a year that was unusually favorable to women candidates.

Murray lucked out?

Gorton would not say yesterday that Murray had lucked out with the teacher program. But he implied it by saying that she only "truly deserved credit" on some other issues, such as the land trade with Plum Creek.

He also criticized her for not being at the Capitol all week to negotiate the details because she was back in the state campaigning. "My one-liner is: If you're not here, things get done to you. If you are here, things get done by you."

A clearly jubilant Murray laughed when she heard about the

sniping. Her top education aide, Greg Williamson, accompanied Kennedy to every negotiating session, and Murray said she was in constant phone contact with Kennedy and the White House, speaking with the president three times in the past five days. Kennedy himself said it was Murray's bill.

"I was a presence in that negotiating room," she said. "This is how you work hard as a U.S. senator 2,500 miles away. I worked and worked on this diligently for months, and now it has all come together.

"This is absolutely the biggest thing I've ever done, and I know in my heart that this will do more to help schools than anything we've done in quite some time."

Background and Related Info.

- [Murray-Smith debate postponed until tomorrow](#)

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Handwritten: "Italians was for control but Dems was keep it"

**COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION & THE WORKFORCE
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Oct. 14, 1998

**CONTACT: Jay Diskey
or Bill McCarthy
202/225-4527**

Handwritten: "Speaker" and "Special"

WHITE HOUSE ACCEPTS REPUBLICAN EDUCATION FUNDING PROPOSAL

***GOP Proposal Sends 100 percent of Funds
to Local Schools - Not Washington Bureaucrats;
Emphasis Placed on Special Education***

WASHINGTON - The White House today dropped its demands for new federal education mandates and accepted a House Republican proposal to send \$1.1 billion directly to local school districts to help reduce class size and to train, test, recruit and hire new teachers.

"The Clinton Administration has acknowledged that local control is the name of the game," said Chairman Bill Goodling (R-PA), who designed the GOP proposal. "President Clinton has acceded to our proposal to bypass the U.S. Department of Education and to send 100 percent of the funds directly to the local level.

"This is a real victory for the Republican Congress, but more importantly, it is a huge win for local educators and parents who are fed up with Washington mandates, red tape and regulation," Goodling said. "We agree with the President's desire to help classroom teachers, but our proposal does not create big, new federal education programs. Rather our proposal will drive dollars directly to the classroom and gives local educators more options for spending federal funds to help disadvantaged children."

Speaker Newt Gingrich and Chairman Goodling gave the proposal to White House Chief of Staff Erskine Bowles Tuesday. Today's agreement removes one of the final stumbling blocks to final approval of the federal budget for fiscal year 1999.

House Republicans also stood fast on the existing prohibition on the President's proposed federal tests in 4th grade reading and 8th math. "And, we did not agree to the President's request to create a massive federal school construction program that would ultimately lead to the U.S. Department of Education acting as a national school board determining local school construction and maintenance issues," Goodling said.

While the Administration's initiative centered primarily on the hiring of new teachers, the Republican proposal would allow funds to be used not only for reducing class size, but also for the recruiting, hiring, training and testing of regular teachers, special education teachers and teachers of special needs children.

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October 14, 1998, Wednesday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1419 words

HEADLINE: NEWS ANALYSIS;
A BRUISED CLINTON PREPARES TO GRAB LEGISLATIVE VICTORY;
POLICY: **REPUBLICANS** IN CONGRESS HAVE SCRAPPED A TAX CUT AND ARE ABOUT TO APPROVE MUCH OF THE PRESIDENT'S AGENDA.

BYLINE: RONALD BROWNSTEIN and JANET HOOK, TIMES STAFF WRITERS

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

It's not the ending anyone would have predicted to a season of turmoil in Washington. But just days after the House voted to begin an impeachment inquiry against him, President Clinton is closing out the legislative year with a chance to claim victory on his top domestic priority--and to deny **Republicans** success on theirs.

Republicans, faced with staunch opposition from Clinton, recently abandoned hopes for the tax cut many in the **GOP** had expected would be a cornerstone of their fall campaign. And now, the **Republican** Congress appears poised to include in the government's final budget package new money for several of Clinton's key domestic initiatives--including more than \$ 1 billion in funds for hiring teachers to reduce classroom sizes, Clinton's top goal.

The jockeying between Clinton and **Republicans** continued Tuesday, as White House and congressional negotiators sought agreement on a budget that would keep the government running for the coming year and allow lawmakers to adjourn for the year. As the talks dragged on, **Republicans** began to suspect that Democrats were deliberately slowing the pace because they saw political advantage in staying in Washington and battling the **GOP** over policy rather than returning home to answer questions about Clinton.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), who Monday had said that an agreement was within reach, was grim as he emerged from negotiations late Tuesday afternoon. "I am much less optimistic than I was this morning," Gingrich said.

Despite Gingrich's comments, the two sides had narrowed so much ground this week--and **Republicans** appeared so leery of allowing Clinton to precipitate another government shutdown--that an accord still appeared inevitable by week's end.

Aside from showing the enormous leverage even a weakened president can exert in legislative showdowns, the **GOP's** generally conciliatory approach in the talks underscores an electoral strategy generating growing controversy inside the party.

GOP Reluctant to Engage in Policy Fights

Confident that their own voters are motivated to register their disgust at Clinton's behavior with Monica S. Lewinsky, **Republicans** have become extremely reluctant to provide the president with any policy conflicts that might increase turnout in the Nov. 3 election among otherwise disillusioned Democrats. In that way, **Republicans** hope to gain seats and strengthen their hand for policy confrontations with Clinton.

But some conservatives fret that a backlash against impeachment by Democratic partisans may already have rendered this strategy obsolete--while leaving **Republicans** with few issues to trumpet to their own base.

"It all comes down to who goes to the polls," said Marshall Wittmann, director of congressional relations at the conservative Heritage Foundation. "That is the ultimate judgment on whose strategy was accurate."

The flurry of **Republican** concessions in the budget talks marks a distinct turn from the **GOP's** approach since the summer of 1997 when the two parties reached a sweeping deal to balance the federal budget. After conservatives loudly complained that the deal yielded too much ground to Clinton, **Republicans** systematically stymied the president's initiatives through most of 1998.

Earlier this year, congressional **Republicans** voted down Clinton's proposals to build more schools and subsidize more after-school programs, rejected his call for sweeping anti-smoking legislation and an increase in the minimum wage, killed campaign finance legislation that he supported and shelved without serious consideration his plan to open Medicare to the near elderly. Just five days ago, the Senate officially voted down another of Clinton's top priorities: the so-called "patient's bill of rights" legislation that would increase regulation of health maintenance organizations.

In turn, Clinton has vetoed several of the **GOP's** priorities, including proposals to test school vouchers in the District of Columbia, ban "partial-birth" abortions and create tax-favored accounts that parents could use to help pay private-school tuition.

Clinton's successes this week are not sweeping enough to change the basic verdict on this Congress as a session in which defeats substantially outnumbered victories for both sides.

But he has gained enough ground to generate considerable hand-wringing among conservatives. They did not expect a month that began with a House vote to investigate impeachment to end with Congress agreeing to the president's demands for billions of dollars in new spending for **class size reduction**, after-school programs, charter schools, summer jobs, housing vouchers for welfare recipients and the International Monetary Fund.

"If conservatives around the country were not so preoccupied with casting a vote against Clinton on Nov. 3, they'd be pretty upset about what is going on this week in Washington with the **Republican** Congress," said Bill Kristol, editor of the Weekly Standard, a conservative magazine.

Education is one of the issues sticking in the throats of conservatives. After spending most of the year opposing Clinton's proposal to provide \$ 1.1 billion to reduce class size by hiring 100,000 new teachers, **Republicans** have agreed to match his proposal dollar for dollar in a counterproposal that differs only in giving schools some flexibility to use the money for special education or purposes other than hiring teachers.

"**Republicans** are for schools," Sen. Slade Gorton (R-Wash.) said Tuesday in formally unveiling the **GOP** proposal. "The debate now is over who gets to spend that money."

That difference remains perhaps the most stubborn disagreement in the final talks. Still--after months of insisting that reducing class size was a state and not a federal responsibility--an argument about who controls new federal money is far from the debate the **GOP** anticipated at this point.

On taxes, too, **Republicans** now find themselves on unexpected terrain--trying merely to salvage a \$ 9.2-billion extension of existing tax breaks. And even that modest measure, approved by the House, may die in the Senate.

For most of the year, **Republican** tax-cutting hopes had ascended step-by-step with the growing estimates of the federal budget surplus. When new budget surplus estimates reached \$ 1.6 billion over 10 years, House **GOP** leaders offered plans to cut taxes by \$ 700 billion.

But faced with lukewarm Senate support and continuing Clinton threats to veto any tax cut that drew on the budget surplus--which he has proposed to reserve until Congress reforms Social Security--House tax writers settled for an \$ 80-billion tax cut package in September. Yet even that proved too much for the Senate **Republican** leaders, who quietly shelved the proposal last week.

"People were afraid of the Clinton rhetoric on Social Security," said Sen. John Ashcroft (R-Mo.).

Fear, Confidence Within the **GOP**

In fact, the decision to shelve the tax cut proposal--like the spending concessions to Clinton in the final budget negotiations--reflects both fear and confidence inside the **GOP**.

The confidence derives from the belief that **Republicans** will enjoy a turnout advantage that produces gains in November--so long as they do not allow Clinton to rock the boat with a galvanizing policy argument.

Yet, many conservative observers noted, buried inside that calculation is an underlying fear about the **GOP's** capacity to win policy disputes with the president. The most immediate problem is fear of reprising the government shutdown of 1995-96, which revived Clinton's presidency. But Kristol, among others, sees a broader dilemma at work in the **Republican** reluctance to confront Clinton on education and other issues.

"Clinton's weakness over the past year has masked a real problem on the **Republican** side--which is that they **GOP** leaders haven't developed a coherent governing philosophy or strategy," Kristol said.

For that reason, many conservative activists do not expect a more energetic agenda from congressional **Republicans** next year, unless they make gains next month much larger than now predicted. And with Clinton facing a potentially protracted impeachment inquiry, few Democrats expect him to breathe much life into the parts of his policy agenda that he could not disinter in the final hours of this legislative session.

"Barring an absolute blowout by **Republicans** in November," said the Heritage Foundation's Wittmann, "I think we are in for two more years of relative inaction."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: House Majority Leader Dick Armey (R-Texas), left, Rep. Jennifer Dunn (R-Wash.) and Sen. Slade Gorton (R-Wash.) discuss the budget and education with reporters. **Republicans** have agreed to match President Clinton's education proposal, with only minor differences over how the money can be spent. **PHOTOGRAPHER:** Associated Press

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: October 14, 1998

WH Bulletin

October 15, 1998, Thursday

LENGTH: 1184 words

HEADLINE: Negotiators Reach Agreement On Budget Deal.

BODY:

President Clinton interrupted a White House conference on school safety this afternoon to proclaim that Administration and Congressional Republican negotiators had concluded an agreement on a Federal budget for FY 99. Speaker **Gingrich** announced today he expects the House to vote on the \$500 billion bill either late tonight or tomorrow. Negotiators apparently agreed to disagree on the census, contraception, and some environmental provisions.

After praising the Democratic negotiating team during an afternoon press conference today, Clinton said a few kind words about the Republicans, but then quickly added that the budget negotiations did not even begin until the budget year had concluded. And, said Clinton, if Republicans had been as productive during the rest of the year as they were over the last eight days, much more would have been accomplished. During the joint press availability with Democratic congressional leaders, Clinton highlighted the Federal money being redirected to the local levels for education. "This 100,000 teachers, this is truly historic," said Clinton, adding: "This is the educational equivalent of what we did when we put 100,000 police on the street, and I would remind you that we now have the lowest crime rate in 25 years." As for redirecting even more money back to the local levels for school construction, Clinton said, "Those are things I would like to have, but we can debate those and work for those in the election."

Congressional Democrats also put their announcement in political terms for November's elections, claiming they won in the negotiations, but if more Democrats are elected this fall, the public will get even more next year. For example, House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt said, "The President sent us a State of the Union speech about nine months ago that asked the Congress to get 100,000 new teachers into the schools and to repair and expand the school buildings so that we could get smaller **class size** so that we could get better educated children. Well, today we got the teachers, and now we must come back with a new Congress and get the buildings."

Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle credited the President for the agreement, saying, "We're here because the President had a veto pen. And he was determined to use that veto pen unless, as Democrats, we were able to ensure the Republicans understood the depth of feeling we had about critical policy agenda items."

Republicans Claim Victory Too.

Republican leaders extolled the virtues of the concessions they won in the budget negotiations. House Majority Leader Dick **Armey** said, "These have been rigorous negotiations. They have gone on for a long time. And I suppose from my point of view, I would say that the time that we spent on that is a reflection of the magnitude of what it is we've accomplished here and the timeliness of it. And I'm particularly excited about the timeliness of it. For us to wrap up this year in such a way as to vindicate the good work of Chairman **Goodling** and Slade **Gorton** and Joe Pitts in terms of honoring the parents and the local communities as they administer their schools to take resources and especially to take resources home to America so that they can provide teacher and teacher-training for all our children, but that especially important group of youngsters that are found in special education." **Armey** also lauded GOP accomplishments on military readiness and new conditions for IMF loans, and praised Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott for his insistence on holding the line on extra spending in the face of Administration demands. **Armey** said, "And I can tell you, Mr. and Mrs. America, for the most part, your surplus is still intact. And next year when we come back we can begin the process of using that surplus as we should: to restore and guarantee retirement security for all Americans and at the same time get tax **reductions**."

Lott announced that the negotiators had also agreed to include the package of tax provision extenders in the omnibus spending bill.

Republican Support For 100,000 New Teachers

On October 15, 1998, President Clinton and Congressional budget negotiators reached agreement on a spending bill for 1999. Among the programs included in that agreement was a \$1.1 billion investment to hire 100,000 teachers to reduce class sizes across America. Here is how Republican leaders described the 100,000 teachers legislation at the time.

Former Speaker Newt Gingrich:

- ☐ "We said the local school board would make the decision, no new federal bureaucracy, no new state bureaucracy, not a penny in the bill that was passed goes to pay for bureaucracy; all of it goes to the local school districts...." [The American Spectator, December, 1998]
- ☐ House Speaker Newt Gingrich, Georgia Republican, called it "a victory for the American people. There will be more teachers, and that is good for all Americans." [Washington Times, 10/16/98]

House Majority Leader Dick Armey:

- ☐ Asked "what would [you] say are the key Republican achievements in this bill?" -- Armey responded:

...Well, I think, quite frankly, I'm very proud of what we did and the timeliness of it. We were very pleased to receive the President's request for more teachers, especially since he offered to provide a way to pay for them. And when the President's people were willing to work with us so that we could let the state and local communities take this money, make these decisions, manage the money, spend the money on teachers as they saw the need, whether it be for special education or for regular teaching, with a freedom of choice and management and control at the local level, we thought this was good for America and good for the schoolchildren. We were very excited to move forward on that. [The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, 10/15/98]

Rep. Bill Goodling, R-Pa, Chairman of the House Education and the Workplace Committee

- ☐ "It is a huge win for local educators and parents who are fed up with Washington mandates, red tape and regulation." [The San Francisco Examiner, 10/15/98]

Votes

freedom of choice and management and control at the local level, we thought this good for America and good for the schoolchildren. We were very excited to move forward on that."

About Class Size:

Republican Congressman Bill Goodling, Chairman of the House Education Committee, declared that the Class Size Reduction Act was "...a real victory for the Republican Congress, but more importantly, it is a huge win for local educators and parents who are fed up with Washington mandates, red tape, and regulation. We agree with the President's desire to help classroom teachers, but our proposal does not create big, new federal education programs."

Senator Slade Gorton said the same thing about the Class Size Reduction Act, "On education, there's been a genuine meeting of the minds involving the President and the Democrats and Republicans here in Congress...It will go directly through to each of the 14,000 school districts in the United States, and each of those school districts will make its own determination as to what kind of new teachers that district needs most, which kind should be hired...We've made a step in that direction that we like. We never were arguing over the amount of money that ought to go into education. And so this is a case in which both sides

genuinely can claim a triumph."

We should maintain that bipartisan support. The Senate should not turn its back on our promise to help communities reduce class size in the early grades.

We should meet our commitment to parents and students, to schools and communities, and we should meet it now.

We need to act now, so that communities can plan effectively for the full seven years. No school can hire teachers one year at a time. That makes no sense. Communities want to reduce class size — and they need to be sure that Congress will do its part to help them over the long term, as we promised.

The goal of ED-Flex is to improve the federal-state-local partnership. We should prove to the nation that we will not undermine that partnership by breaking our promise to help communities reduce class size over 7 years. What sense does it make to take one step forward by passing ED-Flex, and take two steps backward by breaking the class size commitment.

It makes no sense to short-change schools trying to give students a good

An Open Letter to Republicans in Congress

Dear Colleagues & Friends:

The Republican Main Street Partnership was founded in 1998. Our goal is to demonstrate that the Republican Party can govern and achieve our goals of bipartisan cooperation in enacting centrist policies. We are focused on speaking out, setting the agenda and demonstrating a new discipline for reaching consensus on difficult issues; without that, we believe that we will not be a Majority Party by the close of the Year 2000.

Immediately, the rhetoric of partisan hostility must stop. Our language too often has been heard as mean, judgmental and partisan. That "the other side does it" is no excuse. We need Republican unity to replace division or our statistical majority will never become a governing majority. We must restore dignity to our debate, civility to our conversations and compassion to our perspective. We need a new language and a new voice.

Our agenda must be positive; it must be an agenda for governance. On education, we should champion communities and parents, reducing class size and increasing accountability. On Social Security, we should press for personal choice, not 100% governmental custody of our retirement funds. On health care, Medicaid and Medicare we must legislate with compassion as well as prudence. On taxes, we must work to reduce the burden on hardworking middle-class American families. And when we discuss our agenda, we must do it in terms that dispel the fears and inspire the hopes of American families and businesses.

Both governance and civility will demand discipline. Challenges will rise from partisan and ideological quarters. That is when we must stay the course with unity, courage - and discipline.

If we can stand tall within our own tradition - if we can bring to the 106th Congress Lincoln's urgency for justice, Roosevelt's commitment to the environment, Eisenhower's vision of public education - then the finest elements of our party's legacy, the tone of our speeches, the content of our legislation and the discipline of our behavior will make this a season of triumph for the Republican Party, and for the nation!

Sincerely,

The Republican Main Street Partnership Board of Directors

Gov. John McKernan
Hon. Mike Castle
Hon. Amo Houghton
Hon. Rick Lazio
Hon. Fred Upton
Mr. Allan Cors



Republican Main Street Partnership; Steve Gunderson, Executive Director;
1601 N. Kent Street, Suite 1003, Arlington, VA 22209; Ph: 703.527.6388 Fx: 703.243.8377

Roll Call - 2/22/99



TALKING POINTS

<http://hillsource.house.gov>

October 15, 1998

GOP SENDS TEACHER FUNDS TO LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS

***GOP Proposal Sends 100 percent of Funds
to Local Schools - Not Washington Bureaucrats;
Emphasis Placed on Special Education***

In a tremendous "win" for parents, teacher, and local school boards, the Clinton administration accepted a **House Republican proposal to send \$1.2 billion directly to local school districts to help reduce class size and to train, test, recruit and hire new teachers.** In what can only be described as a great victory for "local control," President Clinton acceded to the so-called Goodling proposal to **bypass the U.S. Department of Education and to send 100 percent of the funds directly to the local level.**

While the Administration's initiative centered on the hiring of new teachers, the Republican proposal would allow funds to be used not only for reducing class size, **but also for the recruiting, hiring, training and testing of regular teachers, special education teachers and teachers of special needs children.**

Our proposal will drive **dollars directly to the classroom and give local educators more options for spending federal funds to help disadvantaged children.**

House Republicans also stood fast on the existing **prohibition on the President's proposed federal tests in 4th grade reading and 8th math.** Republicans also **prevented the administration's attempt to create a massive federal school construction program** that would ultimately lead to the U.S. Department of Education acting as a national school board determining local school construction and maintenance issues.

House Republican Education Proposal

Dollars to the Classroom & Local Control

- **\$1.2 billion additional funds made available in FY99 under the Elementary and Secondary**

Education Act.

- **Control of the funds remains totally at the local level to reduce class size and to hire and train quality teachers.**
- **100 percent of funds driven locally and no funds used for federal or state administration. No more than 3 percent of the funds may be used for local administration.**

Flexibility of Uses

- **Funds must be used to reduce class size with quality teachers including:**
 - 1. Recruiting, hiring, training and testing regular teachers, special education teachers and teachers of special needs children.**
 - 2. Hiring qualified teachers through state and local alternative certification routes.**
 - 3. Professional development of regular teachers, special education teachers and teachers of special needs children consistent with Title II of the Higher Education Act.**

Accountability

- **Each school shall produce an annual report to parents and the general public on its student achievement.**

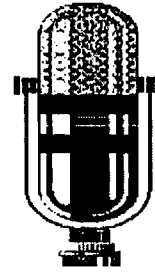
No New Paperwork

- **No new application for funds will be required of the local educational agency.**

1010 Longworth House Office Building • Washington, DC 20515 • (202) 225-5107



Conference Call



October 15, 1998

White House Accedes to Republican Education Plans

"President Clinton has acceded to our proposal to bypass the U.S. Department of Education and to send 100 percent of the funds directly to the local level... Rather, our proposal will drive dollars directly to the classroom and give local educators more options for spending federal funds to help disadvantaged children."

Education and Workforce Chairman Bill Goodling (R-PA)

Dollars to the Classroom & Local Control:

- * \$1.1 billion additional funds for next year and no new paperwork.
- * Control of the money remains at the local level to reduce class size and to hire and train teachers.
- * 100 percent of the funds are controlled locally. No money may be used for federal or state administration and no more than 3 percent of the funds may be used for local administration.

Flexibility of Uses:

- * Money must be used to reduce class size with quality teachers including:
 - Recruiting, hiring, training, and testing regular teachers, special education teachers and teachers of special needs children.
 - Hiring qualified teachers through state and local alternative certification routes.
 - Professional development of regular teachers, special education teachers and teachers of special needs children.

Accountability:

- * Each school must produce an annual report to parents and the public on student achievement.

Additionally, the President acceded to Republican demands to eliminate the President's

proposed national testing and massive federal school construction programs.

-

For More Information:

www.house.gov/eeo/Press/pressindex

1010 Longworth House Office Building • Washington, DC 20515 • (202) 225-5107

For More Information Contact Jeff Dobrozsi of the
House Republican Conference at (202) 225-5107

THE REPUBLICAN VS. DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION AGENDAS:

Although Their Rhetoric Has Changed, GOP Still Doesn't Support Policies to Improve Public Education

When Republicans took control of Congress in 1995, they began attempting to implement their beliefs in the area of education. Fundamentally, most believe that there is no appropriate role for the federal government in the area of elementary and secondary education — which is solely the responsibility of state and local governments. Beginning in 1995, Republicans began to vote these beliefs. Hence, over the last four years, congressional Republicans have voted to:

- Abolish the Department of Education;
- Slash overall federal spending on education by \$31 billion over a seven-year period;
- Cut the Safe and Drug-Free School program by 57%;
- Cut Title I Aid to Disadvantaged Students by 17%;
- Eliminate the Goals 2000 School Reform program;
- Eliminate Eisenhower Teacher Training;
- Cut bilingual and immigrant education by 50%;
- Cut School-to-Work by 23%;
- Cut Vocational & Adult Education by 16%; and
- Provide no funding for the Educational Technology Challenge Fund.

However, in 1999, congressional Republicans are becoming increasingly nervous.

They have learned over the last four years that the public doesn't like their anti-education agenda and rhetoric. Typical of recent public opinion polls is the *Washington Post*/ABC News poll released on March 17 that shows that Americans trust Democrats over Republicans on the issue of education by 16 points — 51% to 35%. Other public opinion polls, published by a wide range of different polling organizations, have shown similar results.

So, Republicans have decided that they need to change the way they talk about education. The House Republican Conference is now sending out "Talking Points" that urge that Republicans begin talking about Republican plans for "strengthening our public schools."

Republicans have also responded to the national polls by deciding that they can no longer be perceived as a party that wants to cut federal support for education — therefore, after spending four years voting to cut federal support for education, the GOP has now reported out a budget resolution calling for increases in education spending.

Democrats will be delighted to sit down with Republicans this year and finally receive GOP cooperation in efforts to increase critical federal investments in the area of improving education.

However, despite this new GOP budget resolution, the GOP education agenda that has been laid out by the House Republican Conference continues to call for proposals that would have the result of *undermining* public education in this country. These proposals include the following:

- Eliminating many key federal elementary and secondary education programs by rolling them into an education block grant to the states; and
- Providing education savings accounts to pay for tuition at private and religious schools.

If Republicans were serious about “strengthening public education,” they should be joining hands across the aisle and vowing to work with Democrats to enact several important new initiatives that would actually help the nation’s public schools — including initiatives to modernize our school facilities, hire 100,000 more teachers, institute new accountability measures, bring more technology into the classroom, improve the quality of teaching, and expand after-school learning opportunities.

Instead, there seems to be every indication that — in a harshly partisan manner and in a way that ignores the pressing needs of America’s schoolchildren — Republicans will continue to refuse to act on these important initiatives to improve the nation’s schools.

Following is an overview of the 1999 GOP education agenda, as outlined by the House Republican Conference, and the 1999 Democratic education agenda.

THE REPUBLICAN EDUCATION AGENDA

House Republicans wanted to begin promoting their 1999 GOP education agenda during the week of March 8 — as the House was considering the “Ed-Flex” bill (H.R. 800). As a result, on Monday, March 8, the House Republican Conference issued a number of “Talking Points” papers on key elements of the GOP education agenda for the year.

As outlined by the House Republican Conference in these “Talking Points,” three key components of the 1999 GOP education agenda will be the following:

- The GOP Education Block Grant Proposal;
- Education Tax Breaks for the Wealthy; and
- “Ed-Flex” Without Important Accountability Provisions

Below is a description of these key components.

The GOP Education Block Grant Proposal

First, on March 8, the House Republican Conference issued “Talking Points” indicating that one of the key components of their 1999 education agenda will be reviving their “Dollars to the Classroom” block grant bill, which they tried to enact in September 1998. According to the House Republican Conference publication, “The Dollars to the Classroom Act consolidates 31 education programs into a single, flexible grant program.” This appears to be identical to the bill (H.R. 3248) that House Republicans passed by a vote of 212 to 198 on September 18, 1998 — but which died in the Senate.

This GOP proposal — misleadingly labeled “Dollars to the Classroom Act” — eliminates these 31 key elementary and secondary education programs by rolling them into an Education Block Grant to the states.

This GOP bill is based on the false premise that too few federal education dollars go to the classroom — but instead are wasted on federal bureaucrats. Indeed, in its “Talking Points,” the House Republican Conference claims that an education block grant is needed because currently, in many programs, “as little as 65 cents of every federal education dollar ultimately reaches the classroom” — with the rest spent on the federal bureaucracy.

This GOP claim is simply inaccurate. The facts are that more than 98% of federal education dollars go directly out to states, school districts, and local communities — with less than 2% of the Education Department’s budget spent on federal administrative costs. In addition, nearly all major elementary and secondary education programs include a 5% cap on funds that may be used by state and local educators for administrative purposes.

The education block grant proposal is one more in a long list of Republican attempts over the years to undermine the federal commitment to aid local communities across the country in improving education. As part of the long-term GOP effort to undermine federal support for education, the proposal rolls into the block grant the very same education programs that Republicans have been trying to cut or eliminate over the last several years. For example, in 1995, Republicans voted for a 23% cut in the School-to-Work program and the elimination of funding for the Eisenhower Teacher Training Program. Now, in 1999, the Republicans are once again proposing rolling these very same programs into an overall block grant — effectively terminating all of these programs.

Among the federal education programs eliminated by the Republican block grant are:

- Educational Technology Challenge Fund;
- Eisenhower Teacher Training;
- School-to-Work;
- 21st Century After-School Learning Program; and
- Goals 2000 School Reform.

In other words, the Republican education block grant proposal would eliminate some of the most effective programs that have been created by Congress over the last two decades.

Education Tax Breaks for the Wealthy

On March 8, the House Republican Conference also issued "Talking Points" indicating that a second of the key components of their 1999 education agenda will be reviving their "Education Savings Account" proposal (H.R. 2646), which President Clinton vetoed in July 1998. This GOP proposal permits families to place \$2,000 per year, per child, in an education savings account. Parents would then be allowed to withdraw funds from this account on a tax-free basis to pay for tuition at public, private and religious elementary and secondary schools. This GOP proposal has been re-introduced this year as H.R. 7 — highlighting its importance to the House GOP Leadership.

The House Republican Conference makes the claim that this proposal "strengthens public schools"!! And yet nothing could be further from the truth.

To the contrary, this GOP proposal involves diverting scarce taxpayer dollars to subsidize private and religious schools. Furthermore, it disproportionately benefits the wealthiest American households.

Following is how President Clinton summarized some of the flaws of this GOP proposal in his July 1998 veto message:

"The bill would divert limited federal resources away from public schools by spending more than \$3 billion on tax benefits that would do virtually nothing for average families and would disproportionately benefit the most affluent families. More than 70 percent of the benefits would flow to families in the top 20 percent of the income distribution, and families struggling to make ends meet would never see a penny of the benefits. Moreover, the bill would not create a meaningful incentive for families to increase their savings for educational purposes; it would instead reward families, particularly those with substantial incomes, for what they already do."

That this Republican proposal provides virtually no benefit to those who need it most is highlighted by the following additional facts:

- An analysis of the Republican proposal by the Joint Committee on Taxation found that more than 50% of its tax benefits go to the 7% of families who send their children to private and religious schools.
- The Joint Committee on Taxation (JCT) analysis also found that, for the average family — whether or not their children go to private or public school — the tax benefits under this proposal would be almost minuscule. Specifically, the JCT found that the tax benefit for the average family with children in private schools would be \$37 even in FY 2002, five years into the program. Similarly, the JCT found that the tax benefit for the average family with children in public schools would be only \$7 in FY 2002.

“Ed-Flex” Without Important Accountability Provisions

Furthermore, on March 8, the House Republican Conference also issued “Talking Points” indicating that they were going to highlight the modest, bipartisan “Ed-Flex” bill (H.R. 800) as a third key component of the 1999 GOP education agenda. The House Republican Conference urges Members to go home and talk about how Republicans want to “give local schools and school districts more flexibility to spend education dollars as they see fit.”

The fact is that both Democrats and Republicans support giving local school districts flexibility in administering federal elementary and secondary education funds — but Democrats also insist upon strong accountability provisions — in order to ensure that local school districts use their new flexibility in order to raise student performance.

Unfortunately, on March 10, when the “Ed-Flex” bill was considered on the House Floor, all 219 Republicans voting voted against an amendment — offered by Rep. Miller (D-Calif.) and Rep. Kildee (D-Mich.) — which would have added important accountability provisions to the bill — accountability provisions based on what GOP Governor George W. Bush is currently doing under the “Ed-Flex” pilot program in the State of Texas!

The “Ed-Flex” bill extends eligibility for the “Ed-Flex” program from the current 12 states to

THE DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION AGENDA

In sharp contrast to the 1999 GOP education agenda which provides no new resources or initiatives to improve public education, Democrats are once again promoting an aggressive comprehensive agenda to strengthen and improve the nation's public schools.

Democrats believe that every public school must be a school where children are mastering the basics; where classrooms are not overcrowded; where the environment is safe, disciplined, and drug-free; where there are adequate textbooks and equipment; where teachers are well-qualified and dedicated; and where facilities are up-to-date and in good repair. That is why Democrats have laid out a comprehensive, multi-pronged education agenda to help local school districts improve education. Some of the key components in this 1999 Democratic education agenda are the following:

- School Modernization;
- Smaller Classes;
- Accountability Measures;
- Teacher Training and Recruitment;
- Educational Technology; and
- After-School Learning Programs.

Below is a description of these key components.

School Modernization

One key component of the 1999 Democratic education agenda is a major school modernization initiative — an initiative that will provide significant help to local school districts and states in meeting their needs both to build new classrooms in order to keep up with skyrocketing school enrollments and to renovate and modernize their existing school facilities.

Democrats know that, in order for students to learn and compete in the global economy, America's schools must be well-equipped and up-to-date — and they must be able to accommodate smaller class sizes.

As a result, Democrats are supporting an initiative providing federal resources to help build and renovate public schools. This new initiative would provide significant help to local school districts in meeting their needs both to build new classrooms to keep up with skyrocketing school enrollments and to renovate and modernize their existing facilities. Indeed, it would help meet the documented \$112 billion backlog in unmet school needs.

Smaller Classes

The second key component of the 1999 Democratic education agenda is finishing the job of hiring 100,000 new teachers to reduce class size in the early grades to a national average of 18.

In 1998, Democrats put forward a Class Size Reduction Initiative — which involves helping local school districts hire 100,000 new teachers over the next seven years (FY 1999-FY 2005) in order to reduce the average class size in the early grades to 18 students per classroom. Throughout 1998, Republicans worked to block this initiative. Finally, in October 1998, in a major victory for Democrats, Republicans backed down and agreed to a downpayment of \$1.2 billion in FY 1999 for the initiative.

However, not only have congressional Republicans so far refused to authorize the full seven-year initiative, but on March 11, **Senate Republicans went even further and voted to renege on the commitment made in 1998 for \$1.2 billion for the first year of Class Size Reduction** — instead rewriting the 1998 provisions to allow school districts to use the \$1.2 billion for special education programs rather than for reducing class size, as the Senate was considering the bipartisan “Ed-Flex” bill. Democrats will work to remove this provision in conference.

In sum, Democrats will fight in 1999 to protect the Class Size Reduction Initiative from Republican attempts to undermine it — as well as fight to secure the full seven-year authorization for the program, which will guarantee helping local school districts with the hiring of 100,000 new teachers over the next seven years.

Accountability Measures

Democrats believe that all children deserve to attend high-quality public schools. Therefore, the third key component of the 1999 Democratic education agenda is a series of new Accountability Initiatives. These accountability initiatives are being designed to hold students, teachers, and schools accountable to high standards and ensuring that school districts and states obtain results in their efforts to provide a high-quality education.

One key accountability initiative will be working to help put an end to social promotion through stronger student remediation programs, including providing extra summer school help for those students falling behind. Other key accountability initiatives will include: strict entry-level standards and mentoring for new teachers; peer assistance and rigorous professional development for experienced teachers; assisting states to identify and intervene in low-performing schools; providing information to parents about the quality of their schools; and requiring schools to adopt discipline codes and making sure they are enforced.

Teacher Training and Recruitment

Democrats are committed to the goal that children in every community have highly-qualified and well-trained teachers. Therefore, the fourth key component of the Democratic education agenda is increasing support for teacher training, including supporting initiatives designed to help improve the quality of teacher preparation programs at colleges and universities; initiatives designed to improve teachers’ subject matter knowledge; and initiatives designed to hold states accountable for having high-quality teacher preparation and professional development programs.

Democrats are also proposing new incentives to recruit highly qualified teachers, including seeking funding for 7,000 scholarships to help recruit teachers to teach in areas with a shortage of well-prepared teachers, such as inner-city and rural areas, as well as seeking to extend the Troops-to-Teachers program, which recruits and trains retiring military personnel and other mid-career professionals to serve as new teachers in public schools.

Educational Technology

The fifth key component in the Democratic education agenda is seeking increased funding to meet the goal that every classroom and school library across the country has computers and every classroom and school library across the country is connected to the Internet by the year 2001. As President Clinton has pointed out, if we achieve this goal, "For the first time in our history, children in the most isolated rural town, the most comfortable suburb, and the poorest inner-city schools will have the same access to the same universe of knowledge."

The agenda also calls for enhanced resources for technology training for teachers, so that teachers can teach effectively using the new educational technologies, as well as enhanced resources to help schools develop strategies for successfully integrating technology into the curricula. In addition, the agenda includes ensuring Internet access for schools and libraries by protecting their "E-rate" discounts.

After-School Learning Programs

Finally, the sixth component of the Democratic education agenda is a major expansion in the availability of after-school learning programs. Specifically, the agenda calls for tripling the funding for the 21st Century Community Learning Center Program — from \$200 million in FY 1999 to \$600 million in FY 2000 and subsequent years. This program gives local school districts funds to operate academically-enriched after-school and summer school programs. This initiative would help roughly 1.1 million children each year participate in these programs. This program provides students with such adult-supervised, after-school activities as academic enrichment, tutoring, recreation, and other similar activities.

This Democratic initiative responds to the millions of parents across the country who want their children to meet high standards and to stay safe and secure when the school day ends. Today, over 28 million school-age children have both parents or their only parent in the workforce. Of these, at least five million children are "latchkey children," with no adult supervision in the after-school hours.

Draft II
M. Cohen
7/6/99

Alternative Class Size Reduction Proposal

Based on H.R. 1995. Consistent with H.R. 1995, local school districts would receive a single funding stream for the three required purposes of improving math and science, providing professional development in other subjects, and hiring teachers to reduce class size. This proposal would not call for a dedicated funding stream for class size reduction. In order to strengthen the class size reduction component, H.R. 1995 would be amended to reflect the components described below.

Clarified Purpose. We would clarify that the overall purpose of this part is to help states and local school districts increase student achievement through such strategies as improving teacher quality and *providing smaller classes with qualified teachers in the early grades.*

Focus on Smaller Classes in the Early Grades. Districts would use their funds to reduce class size to 18 in the early grades, defined as grades K – 3. However, states or districts that have pre-existing class size reduction initiatives with a class size target of no more than 20 could use the state/local target instead of 18. School districts that have already reduced class size to 18 (or the preexisting target) would not be required to use any funds for class size reduction. These districts could use the funds to make further reductions in class size in the early grades, to reduce class size in other grades, or for the other purposes of this part of Title II.

Long Term Phase In. School districts would phase in the implementation of class size reduction over the same seven year period as in the Administration's original proposal, or five years from enactment of ESEA reauthorization. While school districts could begin reducing class size immediately if they choose to, in many districts there may be some time before districts actually hired additional teachers and started to reduce class size. Local districts that need first address the need to prepare, recruit or provide professional development in order to ensure an adequate number of qualified teachers could use funds in the first four years for these purposes, and then hire additional teachers in the fifth year. For example, a high poverty community could prepare for a reduction in class size in grades K-2 by using funds under this part in years 1-4 to provide (1) scholarships to undergraduate students or mid-career professionals from other fields preparing to teach in exchange for a commitment to teach in the district for three years; (2) intensive professional development in early reading instruction to current teachers in the target grades or wishing to transfer to those grades; and, (3) signing bonuses or other incentives to attract additional new teachers. At the same time, the district could also use these funds to develop and implement a mentoring program for the newly hired teachers. Funds from the fifth year would then be used to hire the additional teachers needed to reduce class size and provide them with needed mentoring and support.

Similarly, a school district that places a higher priority on professional development

systemwide could allocate more of its resources to this purpose, and devote fewer resources to class size reduction--as long as it reaches its target of smaller classes with qualified teachers in the early grades.

Local Plan and Performance Indicators Required. Local school districts would be required to submit a plan to the State, developed with input from teachers and parents, showing how the district would create smaller classes with qualified, well prepared teachers in the early grades. The local plan would specify the target class size and grade levels, describe the district's strategy for achieving the target with qualified, well prepared teachers, and specify the performance indicators that will be used to monitor the district's progress and performance. This class size reduction plan should be part of a broader local plan in which the district describes its strategy for meeting all three purposes of this part, and also shows how its use of these funds will be coordinated with its use of other federal funds (as already required in H.R. 1955) and state and local funds.

Authorized Funding Levels. This proposal should include authorized funding levels for each of the outyears; the funding levels should reflect at least the scaled up funding in the Administration's proposed ramp-up of class size funding, which reaches approximately \$2.8 billion in the final year. If we assume the Goals 2000 would be straightlined at \$500 million per year, and Eisenhower at \$350 million per year, then the total over five years would be approximately \$14 billion, and the authorization for the final year would be \$3.65 billion. We should work with the Dems. for them to propose a funding stream that would be more than \$4 billion in year five, and for a five year total in the \$15-\$20 billion range. This will help this proposal get attention, and help unite the Dems.

Targeted Funding. The Administration should insist on targeted funding, as close as possible to the current class size formula. At a minimum, we should insist on a hold-harmless provision guaranteeing that every district will receive at least as much as it currently receives under class size reduction (*or should this be the total of CSR, Eisenhower, and goals???*)

Other Class Size provisions to be addressed:

- ñ **Special Education Teachers.** Current law and H.R. 1955 permit districts to use CSR funds to hire special education teachers; H.R. 1955 makes clear that this does not have to result in class size reduction. I doubt we will ever get the Republicans to budge from this position. Instead, we should propose either a cap on the total that can be spent on hiring special education teachers, or some language, consistent with our guidance and the advice from the special education community, indicating that if special ed. teachers are hired they should be used to team teach with regular classroom teachers in classrooms in which special ed. students have been mainstreamed.
- ñ **Small Districts.** I am not sure if we need to retain from our current proposal a provision for small districts, allowing those that do not receive enough funds to hire a teacher to combine these funds with other federal, state and local funds for class size reduction, or to use the funds for professional development. We need to figure out if

this problem still will exist in light of the larger pot of funds being distributed through a single funding stream.

- ñ ***Accountability for Results.*** Each district would be required to provide an annual report card, for each school, on class size in the early grades, and on reading and math achievement in grades 3 or 4 (consistent with Title I assessment requirements). Districts that show substantial achievement gains over three years could receive a waiver from the state, exempting them from the requirement for reducing class size.
- ñ ***Set Aside for Professional Development.*** Current law and our proposal allow districts to use up to 15% of the CSR funds for professional development. I don't think this is needed or sensible in the framework proposed here.
- ñ ***Waivers.*** H.R. 1955 permits states to waive the requirement to use some funds for class size reduction if the district can show that it would have to hire unqualified teachers or lacks classroom space, or would instead use the funds to ensure that all teachers have necessary subject matter knowledge, teaching knowledge and skills to teach effectively. While I believe our five-year phase in helps address these issues, we should probably keep this provision in order to satisfy a number of Dems as well as Republicans.

Other Priority Issues to Address with Dems on this bill:

- ˆ *Push for set-aside for Institutions of Higher Education for professional development*
- ˆ *Strengthen attention to providing research-based professional development in overall purpose section*
- ˆ *Push for set-aside for states for standards development, assessments and reporting*

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September 20, 1999

Dr. Mary Ellen Maxwell
 President
 National School Boards Association
 1680 Duke St.
 Alexandria, VA 22314

Dear Dr. Maxwell:

Thank you for your comments regarding H.R. 1995, the Teacher Empowerment Act (TEA). I'm disappointed that NSBA was unable to support this important legislation which passed the House on July 21, with a bi-partisan vote of 239 to 185.

Given the flexibility provided to local school districts under TEA, I would have expected that NSBA would have been a strong supporter of this legislation. Clearly, your organization recognizes that the needs of schools differ significantly from district to district, and indeed from State to State.

It is my belief (and of the Members supporting final passage of TEA) that the current "100,000 New Teachers" program simply represents a "Washington-knows best, one-size fits all" approach to education reform. Certainly, if a school finds it has a reasonable class-size average, yet believes much more needs to be done to improve the quality of the teachers teaching those classes — the school should have the flexibility to use these Federal funds to target their priority. This is exactly what is provided for under TEA, and what is prohibited under the "100,000 New Teachers" program.

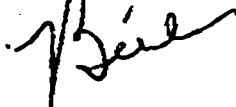
In addition to providing for more local flexibility, TEA ensures that funds are targeted not only to school districts that have a high-need, but unlike the "100,000 New Teachers" program, funds are also targeted within school districts to those schools with the greatest needs. TEA raises the bar on accountability focusing on reducing the growing gaps between high and low achievers in our nation's schools. Importantly, TEA also sets a high standard for the quality of professional development to make sure that teachers are provided the best possible assistance as they strive to improve the academic performance of their students.

Dr. Mary Ellen Maxwell
September 20, 1999
Page Two

I urge your organization to take a closer look at the many benefits of TEA. In doing so, it is my belief that you will find many reasons for actively supporting this important legislation as it moves forward in the coming months.

Again, thank you for your comments.

Sincerely,



BILL GOODLING
Chairman

cc. Anne L. Bryant, Executive Director

P.S. Have you not learned anything from California \$2 billion class-size reduction effort? The early grades have smaller classes in Los Angeles, and 35% unqualified teachers. As a Superintendent of a blue collar school district, my School Board helped me reduce class size 30 years ago, but we did it only when we were sure we could put a well qualified teacher in each new classroom. That district now needs money for good In-Service programs as they update the teaching skills of their present staff to teach to the new higher standards and the changes the 21st century presents.

As a school board President, the board and the administrators of the Dallastown area school district agreed with me, as do most reliable studies, that the number one factor determining whether a child receives a quality education is the quality of that classroom teacher. One size does not fit all!



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Not All Districts Using Class-Size Reduction Funds

Education: Several schools are not tapping new state aid for ninth-grade classes. Officials say money isn't enough to offset facility and personnel costs.

By ANNA GORMAN, Times Staff Writer

Although educators almost unanimously agree on the benefits of class-size reductions, several Ventura County school districts are not taking advantage of new state funds to cut ninth-grade classes in two subjects--English and either math, science or social studies.

And while the smaller high school classes have been in effect in some districts for more than one year, there have not been any studies documenting the program's benefits.

One of the largest districts in the county--Oxnard Union High School District--didn't reduce the size of any of its freshman classes. And four of the county's nine eligible districts, which already had small ninth-grade English classes, did not apply for funds to cut a second class.

Districts are paralyzed by the lack of classroom space and a shortage of certified teachers, Ventura County Supt. of Schools Chuck Weis said. Districts such as Oxnard Union and Simi Valley Unified are busting at the seams, he said, and simply can't buy enough portable structures to house the extra classes.

And finding teachers qualified to teach high school subjects, particularly math and science, is nearly impossible, he added.

"We knew there wouldn't be enough qualified teachers to fill these classes," Weis said. "But I think the districts made a good decision not to put unqualified teachers in those spots. If you have to teach trigonometry or calculus, you can't fake it."

Class-size reduction money first became available 10 years ago, when districts had the option to cut the ratio of students to teachers to 20 to 1 in one subject. Over the past decade, Ojai, Oak Park, Moorpark, Simi and Ventura reduced ninth-grade English class size with those ongoing funds. And Conejo Valley Unified reduced class sizes for 10th-grade English and math.

Then in August 1998, former Gov. Pete Wilson set aside \$78 million--or \$135 per student--to cut ninth-grade class sizes. This school year that funding increased to \$161 million, or \$165 per student. Districts that applied for the funds were required to cut ninth-grade English class sizes and could choose a second subject--math, science or social studies.

The federal government also set aside \$129 million this year for districts to cut class size in any one grade, and Gov. Gray Davis urged districts to use that money to reduce 10th-grade English and math classes. Districts receive money based on enrollment and the area's poverty level. Fillmore was the only district to apply for those funds, using the money to reduce 10th-grade English class size.

In the past year, Ojai and Ventura reduced the size of ninth-grade math classes, Santa Paula reduced ninth-grade English class size, and Fillmore and Conejo Valley reduced ninth-grade English and math class sizes.

Local educators said the funds were not enough to offset facility and personnel costs. Oxnard administrators said they had to turn down about \$500,000 in state funds because reducing class size would have cost up to three times that amount. The district would have had to buy between 15 and 17 new portable buildings, and hire as many teachers, Assistant Supt. Eric Ortega said.

"It's frustrating, because we think class-size reduction would have done a lot of good," he said. "But we looked at the numbers, and it just wasn't in the cards. It was just too heavy a burden."

If money is still available in a few years, Oxnard school officials said they might be able to reduce the size of their ninth-grade classes. The district plans to open a sixth high school in 2001.

Last year 40% of districts statewide did not apply for funds. This year state officials expect more districts to apply because the funding is expected to be enough to cover the costs. But some districts, such as Oxnard, still have not found a way.

"It's a major dilemma for districts that are trying to implement the reform," said Neil Yeager,

education programs consultant for the state Department of Education. "There are a lot of districts that are cramped for space and that can't find qualified, certified teachers to make it happen."

Since the program took effect in California, no official studies have been conducted on the impact of high school class-size reduction. Yeager said the state Department of Education doesn't have any plans to assess the program's success.

"When you have 490,000 ninth-graders in the state, and you don't have all districts participating, it's very hard to get comparable data for purposes of doing research," Yeager said.

Weis said research on class-size reduction in high schools is crucial. "We know it improves attention to students," he said. "And we know it improves classroom discipline. But whether it improves learning is the question."

* * *

A research study on elementary school class-size reduction released in June showed third-graders benefited academically from the popular reform. But cutting class sizes exacerbated inequities among elementary schools, the study said.

Schools in poor communities faced the most overcrowding and therefore were the slowest to implement the reforms, the study found. These schools also had to hire the highest number of inexperienced teachers.

Educators are worried about the same disparities in high schools, where class sizes can swell to 38 students.

But despite the downsides, teachers and principals throughout Ventura County say the program is paying off. With smaller classes, high school teachers can give students more personal attention and can catch struggling teens who might otherwise slip through the cracks. Also, the teachers say, they can spend more time teaching and less time disciplining.

"I think class-size reduction is a tremendous benefit for students," said Bob Iezza, assistant principal at Newbury Park High School. "It offers a great opportunity for teachers to get to know their students better and to really meet their needs."

Legislators targeted high school freshmen for the newest reform, and did so primarily for academic reasons. Ninth-graders throughout the state scored below the national average on the Stanford 9 exam in 1998 and 1999. This year, California ninth-graders scored at the 34th percentile in reading and Ventura County ninth-graders scored at the 42nd.

Under Davis' education initiatives, this year's ninth-graders will also be required to pass an exam when they become seniors to obtain their high school diploma.

"It's an ideal time to do it," said Richard Simpson, assistant superintendent for the Conejo Valley Unified School District. "This year's freshmen are the first students in California history that have to take an exit exam to graduate. And the exam is in English and math, so that's where we have to target."

* * *

At Fillmore High School last week, English teacher Eric Lindroth led his 19 students in a discussion of "Romeo and Juliet." Each student had the book opened to the same page, and their eyes were focused on the front of the room.

Lindroth said the smaller classes have made his job much easier. He said it's easier to have a discussion, grade papers, contact parents and help students. And it's easier to keep the class under control, he added.

Across town at Newbury Park High School, there were more empty seats than occupied ones in Brian Crain's math class. While his 17 students worked in small groups, Crain walked around the room helping them individually.

"It's easier to do group work because it doesn't get chaotic," he said. "And there's more interaction between the teacher and the students."

And his students said they now get more help in class.

"I wasn't really good at math last year," said John Evans, 15. "I tried to get help, but the teacher was always so busy with all the other students. Now I feel good because I'm actually learning stuff."

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